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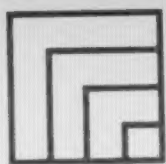
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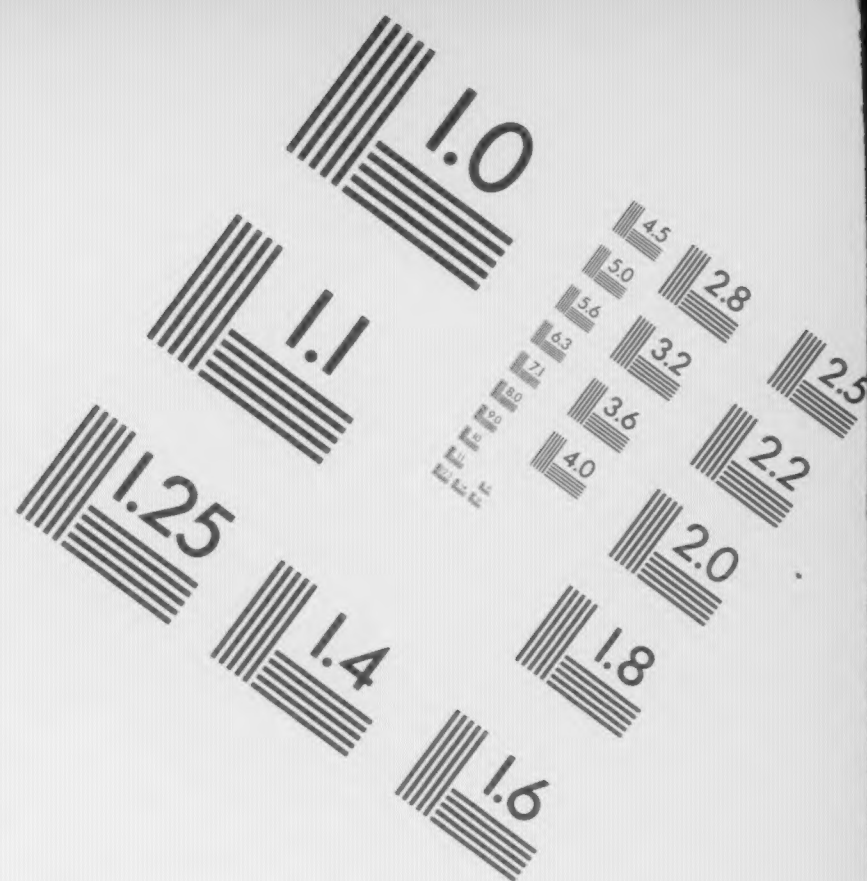
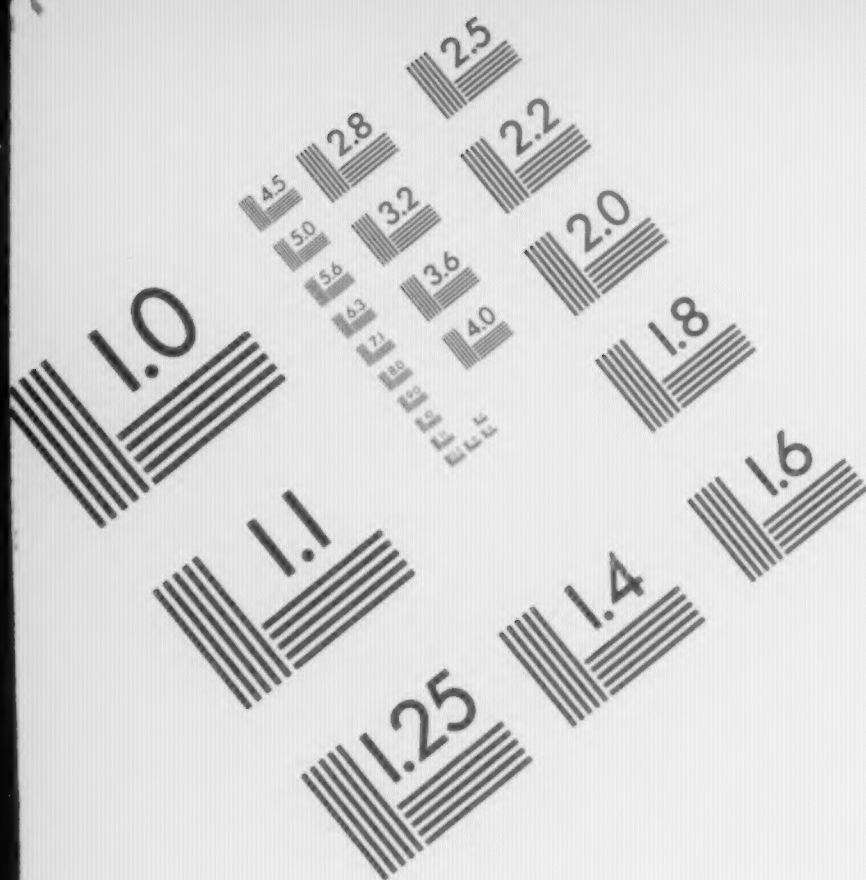


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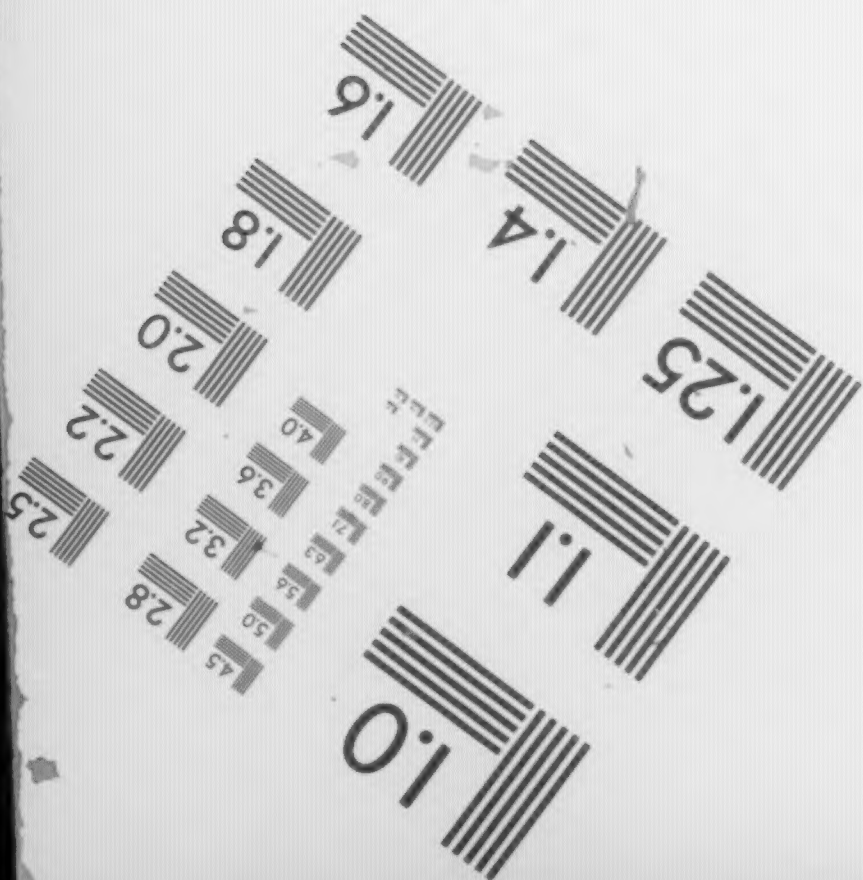
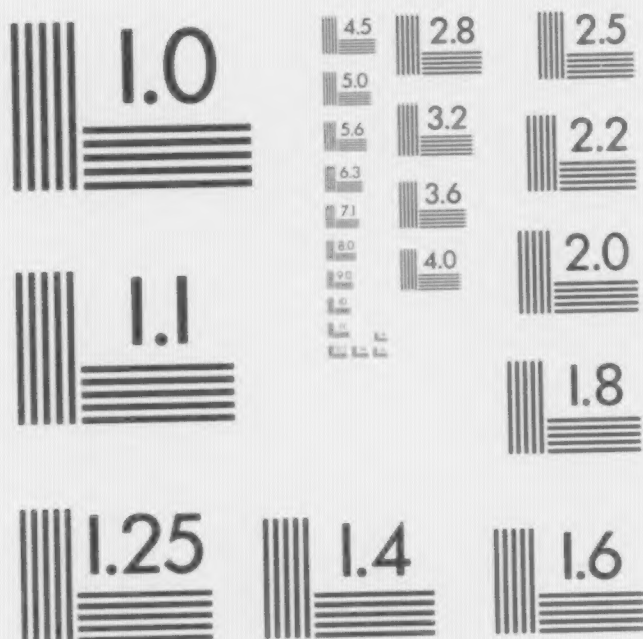
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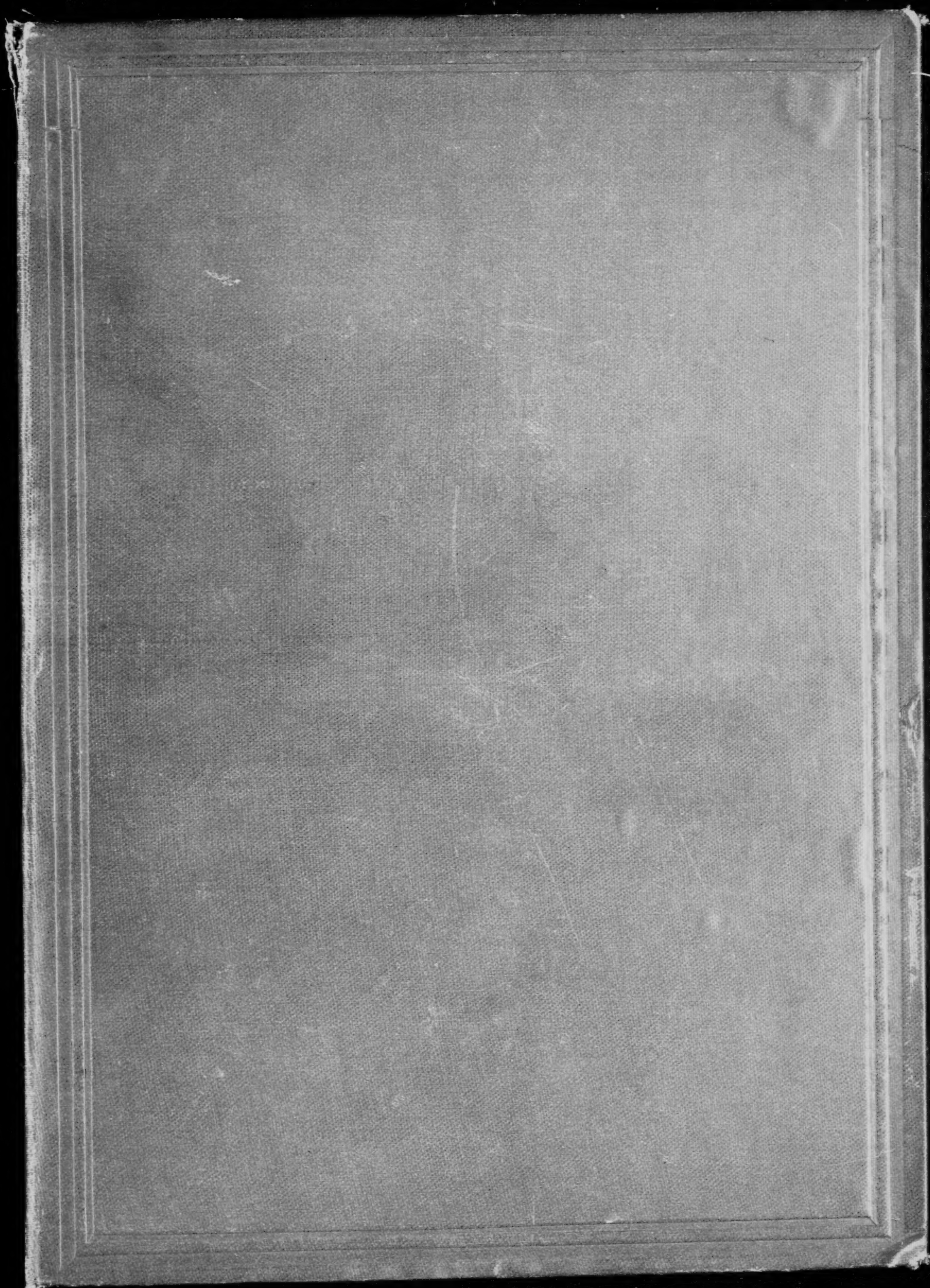
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THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.



THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT,

OF STANTON HARCOURT, AND NUNEHAM COURTENAY,  
IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, ESQUIRE.

VOL. I.

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## PREFACE.

THE longer a man lives, the more completely he learns the lesson that life is made up of little things. What is true of a man's life, is true of the country he lives in, and is equally applicable to the history of the world. What, after all, is history? it is nothing more than a systematising of events,—events ordained by God, and classified by man. The quality of history depends very much upon the quality of the mind through which it is focused. The historian is yet to be born whose apprehension is perfectly achromatic, and the prevailing ray of his mind is insensibly communicated to his works.

Thus the grand simplicity of an Herodotus, the masterly genius of a Gibbon, the classical polish of a Grote and a Thirlwall,



the judicial exactness of a Hallam, and the fervour of a Macaulay, form various media, through which the student is enabled to arrive at a more or less correct estimate of what is called history.

In the following Papers facts alone are presented, and the province of an historian is left to be fulfilled by the intelligence of the reader.

The institution of primogeniture in this country, has naturally had the effect of assembling at certain points great collections of deeds and papers. It is remarkable that even those who most inveigh against the enormities of the institution, look with a curious reverence, not to say envy, at all the venerable accessories which have grown up beneath its sheltering care.

The chief reason why so many manuscripts lie hidden, is, that their owners are simply unaware of their existence; and, too often, the moth and the housemaid put an end to records of incalculable value. The importance of such treasures, however, is

frequently more collateral than intrinsic. How often we find a fact, recorded in an every-day manner, and apparently very insignificant in itself, which offers incontestible circumstantial evidence towards the determination of some doubtful historical point. Moreover, private letters of by-gone days are the very best unintentional illustrations of manners, customs, and ways of thought, which, without them, would be little understood.

A strong feeling of the duty of each individual who happens to be the "protector of the settlement," as the lawyers have it, to maintain untarnished for his descendants, and through them for the public, such matters of interest as I have referred to; has induced me to call to my aid the efficient services of Messrs. Parker, to preserve from decay various family papers, some apparently trivial, and others of a more solid nature.

What I have proposed to myself has been, to obtain as perfect a record as was possible of the branch of the Harcourt family settled



in England. Especially, I have endeavoured to trace those descendants of Robert de Harcourt and Elizabeth de Camville, who have been their successors as Lords of the Manor of Stanton Harcourt, during a period of 700 years.

I have reprinted the Genealogical Tables of Mr. Edmondson, which, although they are not minutely accurate in every small particular, give the best general information that has yet been collected, and afford a very fair view, of the family descent.

Those who give themselves the pains to wade through them, will find a few points of discrepancy between these tables and the evidences which I have collected. But I have thought it best to leave Mr. Edmondson's tables unaltered.

I have printed such letters and documents as I believe to be authentic, and which I consider useful in illustrating either the characters of individuals, or the manners of the times.

I am indebted to my sister, Emily Har-

court, for having laboriously collected much useful book-lore; and to my son, Aubrey Harcourt, for assisting me in transcribing some of the papers.

Many of my friends have urged me to publish the "Harcourt Papers;" my object, however, as I have before stated, is not to present a readable book to the public, but to preserve documents and reminiscences *in extenso* for those who come after me.

I frankly acknowledge, that in carrying out my scheme, I have totally disregarded what ordinary critics are pleased to call "the dignity of history."

Lord Macaulay has said,—

"There is a vile phrase, of which bad historians are exceedingly fond, 'the dignity of history.' . . . To us the importance of events consists in the value of the general truth which is to be learned from them. . . . Under this head, it is as useful to us to know how the young ladies of England employed themselves 180 years ago, how far their minds were cultivated, what were their favourite studies, what degree of liberty was allowed them, what use they made of that liberty, what accom-



plishments they most valued in men, and what proofs of tenderness delicacy permitted them to give their favoured suitors, as to know all about the seizure of Franche Comté, and the treaty of Nimeguen. . . . Society is thus presented to us under new aspects . . . . and this is the really precious part of history,—the corn which some threshers carefully sever from the chaff, for the purpose of gathering the chaff into the garner, and flinging the corn into the fire.”

The Frontispiece is an etching by Lady Susan Harcourt, and represents the church of Stanton Harcourt; the Harcourt chapel is on the south side; Pope's Tower and the old kitchen are seen in the distance.

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### Early History of the Harcourts.

IN the early history of the human race, the only names that we find employed to individualise men, are what we now call proper names; and children were distinguished from their parents by the adjunct of some term signifying "the-son-of."

As families multiplied into nations, generic appellations were adopted to indicate different races; and personal peculiarities suggested a nomenclature for individuals. It was not, however, till the commencement of the eleventh century after Christ that names or surnames became hereditary. To unravel, therefore, the pedigree of a family to a previous date, must always be a work of labour and patience, accompanied by some uncertainty.

In the year 1027 the name of Harcourt was first adopted as a surname, by Anchetil, the son of Turchetil, grandson of Torf, and



great grandson of Bernard the Dane. The name (which was also used as the war-cry of the family) was said to signify "Stout-hearted," from *har*, which meant "strong" in the Saxon tongue, and *cor*, which signified "heart."

When arms, crests, and mottoes, as well as names, became hereditary, two golden bars on a red shield, by way of arms, with two golden lions as supporters; a golden crownlet surmounted by a peacock for a crest (the tail or wing of the peacock being sometimes assumed by the younger branches), and the motto, "*Gesta verbis prævenient*," were adopted by the Harcourts.

The manuscript of the Prieure du Parc, which was compiled by le Sieur Boullence, the Prior of the place, begins with these words:—

"The nobility of every nation assumes to itself the glory of having derived its origin from the

\* This motto was changed by the English Harcourts during the civil wars, for "*Le bon temps viendra*," which alluded to the return of the Stuarts. But still both mottoes appear to have been used indiscriminately.

Trojan race. The House of Harcourt is descended from Antenor the Trojan, that is to say, from Danne one of his children."

A second manuscript refers the Harcourt origin to a Saxon Prince; and again, another writer informs us that the first Prince who reigned in Denmark, was called Dan, or Danus, and gave his name to that country; and that from him Bernard the Dane was descended. We may, however, be content to abandon a descent from either Hercules or Danus, and to agree with the conclusion drawn by the learned compiler of the "*Histoire de la Maison de Harcourt*," when he says,—

"Nous devons etre satisfaits de remonter la filiation de cette maison de Harcourt jusqu'à Bernard, qui le premier de sa race embrassa le Christianisme; ceux-là qui procedent, d'ancetres infidelles, estant estimes comme Melchisedec, sans père, sans mere, et sans genealogie."

Hardly less ridiculous are some of the so-called records of a more modern date:



the following may be taken as an example :—

Vinc. No. 56, 360. "John Kinge of ffrance that was taken Prisoner by prince Edward into England at the Bataile of poyters hathe yssue Charles King of ffraunce, Phelipe Le Hardy duke of Burgoine, Grandfather to the King that now is the duke of Anjoye, the duke of Barraye, the which are passyd without yssue, and a daughter maryed unto th'erle Harcourt of whose body came all the Harcourts to Henry the VIth, the Sonne of the Erle Harcourt that was behedid at Rone because he obeyed King Edward's Leaugaunce, the yonger brother of the said Erle had Staunton by Gyt of King Edward, by whom be comyn all these Harcourts, the Lady Harcourt, King Jhon and daughter of ffrance was sister to Charlys King of ffraunce and Aunte to Charles King of ffraunce that last died, father to Quene Katherin Quene of England, Mother to King Henry the 6th that now is. By the vertue of her, as this desent shewithe, all these Harcourts of this Countrey ar as well of the Kings bloud of England, as of the Kings blowde of ffrawnce, and therefore the Harcourts beare their helme Crownyd gold. This decent is trewe and lakethe nothinge save the name of the Countes Harcourt daughter to King John. And let a man of Lawe sett this

descent in ordre eche descent before other, and the understanding will be the better."

The first authentic records of the family of Harcourt, are derived from the writings of William Calcul, a monk, who lived in the time of William the Conqueror, to whom he inscribed his history. These records are confirmed by manuscripts preserved in the Abbey of Preaux.

In the year 876, when Charles the Simple reigned in France, a company of Danes sailed from Denmark. The cause of their departure from their native country was this: Gourin, the chief of the Danes, had two sons, the one named Raoul, or Rollo, the other called after his father, Gourin; these two brothers engaged in a civil war, in which Gourin was slain; Rollo, with those who had taken his part, fled from home; he was accompanied, amongst others, by his kinsman, Bernard, known in foreign countries, on account of his prowess, by the name of "the Dane." This company first landed in England, from whence they passed



to Spiers; having made Flanders their tributary, they descended upon Harfleur, and gave the name of Normandy to the country they conquered.

In the year 912 a peace was concluded between Charles the Simple and Rollo, the former giving to the latter his daughter Gillette in marriage. Rollo was permitted to assume the title of Duke of Normandy on doing homage to the king. Rollo and his followers, and amongst them Bernard, were at this time baptized by Francques, Archbishop of Rouen, after having been instructed in the Christian faith. Rollo changed his name to Robert at his baptism; he died in the year 917. He was succeeded by his son William, surnamed Longsword, as second duke of Normandy. The Bretons took advantage of the change of government to rise in revolt. William hesitated about resisting them, but Bernard, who was his first minister, and general of his army, took the affair into his own hands, and the rebellion was soon suppressed.

William Longsword appears to have been naturally of an indolent temperament, and entertained an idea of retiring into a monastery, to free himself from the cares of state; he was only prevented from doing so by the threat of Bernard to return to Denmark. William, after this, undertook a campaign against Helouin, Count of Monstreuil, in which he was so successful that his adversary, despairing of overcoming him by fair means, procured his death by treachery, and caused him to be poisoned by some of his own servants at Pequigny, in the year 943.

On William's death, Bernard became by the will of the late duke, regent of the dukedom, and governor of the young duke, Richard "sans peur," who was a minor. He immediately assembled together the Barons and principal men of Normandy and Brittany, and after lamenting the fate of Duke William, he presented to them the young duke, and obtained from them a promise to serve him, and obey him in



all things. In the meantime Bernard established a gold coinage in the principality, and acquired great credit by his love of virtue and justice.

King Louis, "d'outre-mer," who thought that he now saw an opportunity of recovering his lost provinces, went to Rouen, and invited the young duke of Normandy, his cousin, to meet him there; when he arrived, Louis fell on his shoulder, and wept concerning the fate of his father, Duke William; nor did he suffer him to depart for three days and nights. The people suspected treachery, and began to arm themselves. Louis in alarm sent for Bernard, and desired him to take the young duke in his arms, and shew himself to the people. Confidence was thus restored. Louis was profuse in his gratitude to Bernard, and asserted his joy at having made Richard's acquaintance. Bernard replied, that if Louis would constitute himself Richard's protector, he might in all things count upon the assistance of himself and the rest of the Nor-

mans. Louis answered with perfidy, that his only desire was to conclude with the Normans an offensive and defensive alliance. In the meantime he commanded Osmond, whom he had placed about the person of Richard, to keep him in close confinement. Nevertheless, Osmond and Yues de Bellesme managed to conceal Richard in a basket of herbs, and to convey him to the house of Bernard the Count de Senlis, his uncle.

Bernard the Dane having discovered that an agreement had been come to between King Louis and Hugues the Great, Count of Paris, to attack the Normans together, upon the understanding of dividing the spoils; it was decided by the Count de Senlis and Bernard, that the latter should feign to take the part of Louis, and deliver up Rouen to him, to save it from destruction. And further, that when he had obtained the confidence of Louis, he should endeavour to detach him from his alliance with Hugues.



Louis, finding that fraud did not serve his purpose, threw off the mask, and entered Normandy on one side with his army, whilst Hugues invaded it on the other. The Normans made a stout resistance, but the fate of the country seemed sealed.

At this moment, Bernard appeared before Louis, and throwing himself at his feet, did him homage, and thus addressed him: "Why, oh King, should you wish to carry desolation into a country which is ready to receive you with open arms? True it is that the Normans have been faithful to their dukes, but they are now without a ruler. Let the Count de Senlis keep his nephew, whom he has kidnapped, and let us be ruled by a mighty king, rather than by a helpless infant. Enter Rouen, which is impatient to receive you; and take the kingdom which belonged to your forefathers." King Louis yielded at once, and obtained a splendid reception.

When the King was established in Rouen, Bernard represented to him that it was con-

trary to reason and good government to allow Hugues to ravage his Norman dominions; and that it was impolitic to suffer the presence of a Prince who acknowledged no fealty to him, but was solely bent upon obtaining what spoils he could for himself. Louis, flattered by the words of Bernard, and pleased with his easy conquest, sent messengers to Hugues, desiring him to desist from ravaging a country which already belonged to him. Hugues had no choice but to disband his army, and returned home vowing vengeance against Louis.

Meanwhile, the people of Normandy, who were not in the secret of Bernard, wondered to see the man, who was governor of their country, prostrate himself before Louis, without offering to make any resistance. The Count de Senlis, however, who was a party to the plot, went at once to Hugues, and proposed to him to take revenge upon Louis, and to assist his nephew Richard to recover his possessions. Hugues easily assented.



King Louis remained three months at Rouen. One of his courtiers advised him, that although Bernard was old, yet he was still quite capable of being troublesome, and that the better policy would be to send him back to Denmark, even if he allowed him to take his wife and goods with him.

In the meantime, Bernard, who had now no further fear of any union between Louis and Hugues, had sent messengers to Aigrold, King of Denmark, beseeching him to bring an army to the succour of Richard. In compliance with this request, the Danish king landed with a considerable force at Cherbourg, in 945. Louis assembled a large army to oppose him, and the rival forces came in sight of each other on the confines of Normandy. A parley was arranged between the two kings; but one of those who advanced on the side of the French, happened to be Helouin, Count of Monstreuil, who had caused the death of William Longsword. One of the Danes perceived him, and wishing to avenge the death of William,

he cut him down with his sword. The engagement immediately became general, and Louis, seeing that his troops were giving way, took refuge in flight.

After the battle, a treaty of peace was concluded, on the one side by Louis, and on the other by Bernard, acting for Duke Richard; by this treaty Richard was to hold Normandy and Brittany, free of any homage to Louis, and the boundaries of Normandy were extended.

The young Duke Richard was affianced to Emma, daughter of Hugues the Great, and Aigrold returned to Denmark. Bernard the Dane here drops out of the scene, and the history of France, therefore, does not further concern us. He died in the year 955, having married, according to some authors, Sprote de Bourgogne, a daughter of the royal house of Burgundy. The name Bernard is said to signify a "bold baron," from the Saxon words *ber*, "baron," and *dard*, "valiant."

Bernard was succeeded by Torf, surnamed



the Rich, who, with much probability, was assumed to be his son. Torf was made viscount or lieutenant of the kingdom under Richard, Duke of Normandy, and is said to have married Ertemberge de Bricquebec, or Bertram, a lady of Danish origin. He built Torville in the year 955. All historians agree that Torf was the father of Touroude and Turchetil. The elder brother, Touroude, married Duceline, sister-in-law to Duke Richard, and became ancestor of the Lords of Veulles, Beaumont, Meullent, Leicester, Warwick, and Neubourg.

The families of the two brothers became re-united in after generations, by the marriage of Sir Richard Harcourt, Lord of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, with Arabella, daughter of Sayer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, and Margaret, who was lineally descended from Robert de Beaumont, eldest son of Touroude.

Turchetil, the second son of Torf, was Lord of Turqueville, Turqueray, &c., and with his eldest brother Touroude, was joint-guardian

of Duke William of Normandy. He was murdered for his attachment to this Prince. He married Adeline, daughter of Toustain de Montford. He had two sons and one daughter. His second son was Walter de Turqueville. His daughter Esseline was married to William, Count d'Eu, second son of Richard, Duke of Normandy.

In 1027, Turchetil was succeeded by his eldest son, Anchetil. The name Anchetil signified "Little-John" in the Saxon tongue. He was the first who adopted the name of Harcourt as a patronymic; he married Eve de Boissay, and had seven sons and one daughter. Errand was the eldest son of Anchetil; he married Emma d'Estouteville. He commanded the archer-guard on the invasion of England, 1066, but returned to Normandy after the coronation of William the Conqueror.

Robert, the second son of Anchetil, was surnamed the Strong; he built the castle of Harcourt in Normandy. He, as well as his brother, went to England with the



Conqueror. He married Colede d'Argouges, and was the first who took the title of Baron de Harcourt. He had seven sons: the second son, Richard, founded the Commandery of St. Stephen's at Reneville; he became a Knight Templar, Grand Prior of France, and was buried at Reneville. The third son, Philip de Harcourt, was Dean of Lincoln, Archdeacon of York, named by the King to be Bishop of Salisbury<sup>b</sup>, and appointed Bishop of Bayeux, where he was buried in 1163.

William, the eldest son of Robert de Harcourt, took part with Henry the First of England against his elder brother, Robert; and commanded the troops which defeated Walleran de Beaumont, Earl of Mellent, in the battle near Bourgtouroude, in 1123. For his numerous services he was rewarded with large possessions in England. He married Hue d'Amboise, and by her had four sons.

<sup>b</sup> "Iste Philippus Baiocensis Episcopus, fuit Philippus de Harcourt, qui primo fuit Archidiac. Ebor., Decanus Lincoln., cui Rex A.D. 1140, dedit Episcopatum Salesbiris, sed legatus non assensit."

Robert, the eldest, was surnamed the Valiant; he married in 1124, by dispensation, his cousin Jane, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Mellent. He was a great benefactor to the Church, and founded several abbeys and churches; amongst others, he built in the year 1200 the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, near Harcourt in Normandy, in memory of Thomas à Becket. He took part in the wars in Flanders. He accompanied Richard, King of England and Duke of Normandy, in his Crusade to the Holy Land, and shared that monarch's captivity, when he was shut up by the Duke of Austria in the year 1194.

His name appears in most of the chief records both of England and France at this time. He had fifteen children; namely, ten sons and five daughters; and became the ancestor of an illustrious race; of the Barons of Elbeuf, de la Saussaye, de Briosne, de Beaumesnil, the Viscounts de St. Sauveur, Chatellerant, l'Islebonne, the Counts of March, Harcourt, Aumalle, &c.; of the



Marquisses de Montmorency (1578), Marquisses la Motte Harcourt (1593), of the Mareschal Duke de Harcourt (1700), made a peer of France 1709, and of the Harcourts, Barons d'Ollonde.

Ivo<sup>c</sup>, the younger brother of Robert the Valiant, succeeded to his father's English possessions, and was the founder of the English race of Harcourts.

Ivo had two sons. Robert de Harcourt, the eldest, was sheriff of Warwick and Leicester in the years 1199 and 1201. He succeeded his father in 1202, and married Isabel, daughter and heir of Richard de Camville. She brought to her husband the Lordship of Stanton in Oxfordshire, from that time called Stanton Harcourt.

Richard de Camville had married Millicent, cousin of Queen Adeliza, second wife

<sup>c</sup> In the *Probationes sub Henrico Secundo*, we find that:—"The Earl of Warwick certified that Shilton in Warwickshire was part of seven Knights fees which Yvo de Harcourt then held of him, which Yvo hath disposed to Robert Basset with Beatrice his sister in frank marriage. Hence, probably, arose the suites which William de Harcourt had with Reginald Basset."

of King Henry the First, and daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant. Queen Adeliza gave her cousin the Lordship of Stanton as a marriage portion—a gift which was afterwards confirmed to her and her heirs by King Stephen and King Henry the Second. One of the deeds of confirmation runs thus:—

"Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Justices, Sheriffs, and all friendly and faithful men both French and English, greeting. Know ye that I have, at the request and by the command of King Stephen, granted and confirmed to Milisent, the wife of Richard de Camville, and her heirs in fee and inheritance, the Vill of Stanton, with its appurtenances, in like manner as Queen Adeliza gave it to her on her marriage. Wherefore I will, and strictly command, that she and her heirs shall well, peaceably, quietly, and honourably, hold of me and my heirs, the said Vill with all and every its appurtenances, in woods and in plains, in meadows, pastures, ways, footpaths, mills, and waters; and all things, liberties, and customes, belonging thereunto in the time of King Henry my grandfather.

"Witness; Roger, Earl of Hereford; Richard



de Humez, Constable; Manasser Biset, Dapier; Guarin Fitzgerald, Chamberlain; Gislebert de Laci; William de Chesseney."

One of the histories of Dover describes how the Lordship of Stanton Harcourt was held for the building and service of Dover Castle; and, as one of the towers in Dover Castle goes to this day by the name of the "Harcourt Tower," and bears the arms of Harcourt upon it, it is very probable that this account is correct; although I have been unable to obtain access to any deeds confirmatory of the fact.

The Lordship of Stanton formed part of the royal demesne of Woodstock.

"Att a survey taken the tenth of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of Edward the Sixth at Woodstocke, before Thomas Denton, Vincent Power, and James Bury, Commissioners. The jury did then present (amongst other things) that the Lord of Stanton Harcourt must fell, make, reare, and carry all the grasse growing in one Meadow within the Parke of Woodstocke, called Staunton, and in Southby Mead, and the Fellers and Makers thereof have used to have of custome of the King's Majesties

Charge, 6d in money or two Gallons of Ale. And alsoe, that the Lords of Stanton Harcourt aforesaid, have used and ought to find, four Browsers in Woodstocke Parke in winter time when any snow shall happen to fall, and tarrye, lye, and abide be the space of two days, and so to find the said Browsers there browsing soe long as the snow doth lye, every Browser to have to his lodging every night one Billett of wood the length of his ax-helve, and that to carry to his lodging upon the edge of his ax. And the King's Bayliffe of the demeasnes or of the Hundred of Wootten, coming to give warning for the said Browsers, shall blow his horne at the Mannor Gate of Stanton Harcourt aforesaid. And then the said Bayliffe to have a cast of bread, a gallon of Ale, and a piece of Beef, of the said Lord of Stanton Harcourt aforesaid. And the said Lord, or other for the time being, to have of custome yearly out of the said Parke, one Buck in Summer and one Doe in Winter."

The last claim that was made by a Lord of Stanton Harcourt for the yearly Buck and Doe, was made by William Earl Harcourt. After citing his charter, the only satisfaction he obtained from the Duke of Marlborough was a promise that the Duke's



part of the duties should be performed, if Lord Harcourt would also perform his; and so the charter has on both sides fallen into disuse.

The following is a copy of the Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh Charter:—

“Forasmuch as it appeareth by an antient Survey taken in the 4th year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, and by divers other surveys taken both before that time and since, that the King's Majesty's antient demain tenants of his Highnesses Manor of Woodstock in the County of Oxford, amongst divers other Antient Liberties and priviledges heretofore granted unto them and their Heirs, Have ever heretofore been and always ought to be freed from the payment of all Toll and Tribute in all Fairs and Markets whatsoever within his Highnesses Realms and dominions. And that the said Antient demain Tenants of the said Manor of Woodstock, and their Heirs, heretofore have been, and so always ought to be, freed from all Pawnage, Passage, Pontage, and Ferrage, in all parts within his Highnesses dominions, and to have and enjoy all such Liberties and priviledges as the Tenants of the Antient demense Lands have used, and the laws of this realm of England ought to have.

And, forasmuch also, as it appeareth by the said Antient Surveys that the Tenants and Inhabitants of the several Townships of South Ley and Stanton Harcourt within the said County of Oxford, lying near unto the King's Majest<sup>s</sup> said Manor of Woodstock, are bound by Custom to do and perform divers and sundry services and duties by themselves and their Teems unto the King's Majest<sup>t</sup>. within his Highnesses Parks and Meadows belonging to the said Manor House, For which they have ever heretofore been freed from the pay<sup>mt</sup> of all Toll and Tribute in all Fairs and Markets whatsoever within his Highnesses Realms and Dominions. These are therefore to certify you to whom these presents shall come, that the King's Majest<sup>t</sup> Antient demain Tenants of his Highnesses said Manor of Woodstock, and the said Inhabitants and Tenants of the said several Townships of South Ley and Stanton Harcourt, ought to have, take, and enjoy, the said Antient Liberties and Priviledges belonging to the said Manor of Woodstock.

“In witness whereof I, Edmond Hiorne, deputy Steward unto the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, of the most noble order of y<sup>e</sup> Garter, Knight, High Steward of our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty that now is of England, C<sup>t</sup>. of his Highnesses said Manor of Woodstock in the said County of Oxon: have hereunto set



my hand and seal y<sup>e</sup> Twentieth day of February Anno Regni undecim Domini Caroli Dei Grat. Angli. Scot. France. et Hirbern. Regis. fid. Defensor. Anno Dom. 1635, Edmond Hiorne."

The Lordship of Stanton Harcourt has remained to the Harcourts through the vicissitudes and troubles of seven dynasties. The vast possessions held by the family, and acquired sometimes by royal favour, sometimes through great alliances, have to a great extent left only their title-deeds in the muniment-room at Nuneham, to testify to their existence. The great Tory Chancellor of Queen Anne, when he succeeded to his father, found the inheritance of Isabel de Camville alone remaining to him. To him, and to his grandson, Earl Simon, it is greatly owing that some of the estates have been recovered by the purse which had been lost by the sword. To George Simon, the eldest son of Earl Simon, and to Elizabeth his wife, it is chiefly due that many of the family traditions are preserved.

"The House at Stanton Harcourt," says George

Simon, Earl Harcourt, "was never inhabited by any of the family since the death of Sir Phillip, An. 1688, when his widow, who had been his second wife, and on whom the estate was settled in jointure, disposed of the furniture by sale, and suffered the buildings to fall into decay, from neglect of the necessary repairs; and they were afterwards demolished by the late earl, (Earl Simon)."

The cause of a demolition, which we may now be permitted to regret, was partly to save the expenses of repairs, and partly because stone was required to build Nuneham, which was then in process of erection. There now remain only the Lodge, the Kitchen, the Chapel, the Tower, and part of the old Offices.

In making alterations some ten years ago to the Gate-house or Lodge, when the windows were inserted which now look upon the road, it was discovered that parts of the walls were composed of fragments of very elaborate carvings in white alabaster, evidently portions of tombs. This points to the probability of the buildings having



been erected at the time of Puritanical demolitions.

The fact of the arms of Harcourt and Darrell appearing over the gateway, shews that Simon Harcourt, who married a Darrell, was its founder.

The Kitchen, which is the oldest part of the building, was evidently constructed at a very early period. George Simon, Earl Harcourt, informs us, that it

"was, according to the conjectures of some learned antiquaries, repaired, and the present windows inserted, about the reign of Henry IV. In its form and general appearance it bears much resemblance to the Abbot's Kitchen at Glastonbury; and yet it differs considerably from the latter, which is an octagon inclosed within a square, with four chimneys in the angles; whereas this building is square, both inside and out. Moreover it is larger, and much more lofty, and has no chimney. A winding staircase in a turret leads to a passage round the battlements; and beneath the eaves of the roof, which is hexangular, are shutters, to give vent to the smoke, according to the quarter from whence the wind blows. The height of the walls to the bottom

of the roof, which in the centre rises 25 feet more, is 39 feet, and the griffin on the point of the cone is 8 feet. The turret that contains the steps is square, and rises 9 feet above the other walls, which are 3 feet thick, and measure on the outside from east to west 33 feet, and from north to south 31.

"The Abbot's Kitchen at Glastonbury is said to have been erected so late as in the reign of Henry VIII."

The principal apartments in the house at the time of its destruction, Lord Harcourt tells us,—

"were the Great Hall, the Great and Little Parlour, the Queen's Chamber, (so named from its having been occupied by Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, when she made a visit there,) which, with other chambers, filled the space between the domestic Chapel and the Kitchen, and remained entire within the memory of the present Earl Harcourt. Some upper rooms in the small remaining part of the house, adjoining the Kitchen, and now inhabited by a farmer, are nearly in their original state, and bear evident marks of remote antiquity; but the time when they were erected is not known, nor the date of that curious and remarkable building."



The domestic Chapel is described thus by Lord Harcourt :—

"The part immediately under the tower, where the altar stands, is 12 feet square, and 15 feet 10 inches high in the centre. Below the springing of the arch, on one side are the arms of Harcourt emblazoned on a shield, on the other those of Byron. The lower part of the Chapel has a flat wooden ceiling, composed of squares, with red and yellow mouldings, and a blue ground, with gilded stars in the middle of each compartment. It is 17 feet 5 inches by 14 feet 8 inches wide, and 11 feet 8 inches high. From the arms of Harcourt and Byron being placed where they are, it may be conjectured that the tower was erected by Sir Robert in the reign of King Edward IV.; yet the arch in the largest window resembles more those of the time of Henry VII. Had the stained glass that once filled the windows (which having been left at the mercy, or rather mischief of every idle boy, is now destroyed), remained unbroken, the armorial bearings might, in some measure, have ascertained the date of its erection."

There is a chamber over part of the Chapel, which used to be occupied by the family during the celebration of the Mass,

and there was a small arch at the east end of the chamber, which gave a view of the altar. The domestics entered the Chapel from a hall below, and were accommodated in the outer space. The body of the Chapel itself served as a chancel. The original stone altar remains.

The Chapel and Tower, which were falling into a very dilapidated condition, have lately been restored. The room above the Chapel had been used by the tenant to stack his wool; this had caused dry rot, and the floor had fallen through. The Priest's room had been turned into an apple-chamber; and the Chapel itself was used as a receptacle for onions, and other abominations. The restoration has been made in strict accordance with the original pattern.

The Tower over the Chapel contains three chambers, one above the other. They are all thirteen feet square. Access to them is obtained by a winding stone staircase, which commences from the inside of the outer chapel. The lower chamber, which is called



the Priest's room, has been made the scene of one of those mythical stories, which in many ancient houses have been handed down by credulous retainers from medieval times. It was supposed that "Alice," a daughter of the house, met with a tragic end in this chamber at the hands of a Priest; her "wraith" was supposed to be "laid" in the "Lady Pool," a piece of water in the grounds which still bears that name. If ever the Lady Pool is dry, the ghost of the unfortunate lady is said to wander about the grounds; and even when the water gets low, she is supposed to become uneasy, and to pass and repass the Chapel-door in the pale moonlight. There are those living whose easily-excited fancy makes them believe that they have seen the Lady Alice in her long white robe.

The room above the Priest's room has no particular history attached to it. The uppermost chamber retains the name of Pope's study. The great Poet passed a part of two summers at Stanton Harcourt for the

sake of retirement, and he was occasionally visited there by Mr. Gay, from the neighbouring seat of Lord Harcourt at Cockthorp. A pane of red stained-glass, upon which he wrote the following inscription, has been taken out of a casement in the tower-chamber, and preserved as a valuable relique at Nuneham :—

"In the year 1718  
I, Alexander Pope,  
finished here  
the fifth volume of Homer."

During the time that the Tower was under repairs, one of the masons employed in the work was an inhabitant of Witney. His mother, who was a pious Methodist, exhibited great distress at the nature of her son's occupation, which, she was firmly convinced, was no less an undertaking than preparing a fit habitation for the Pope, on his intended visit to England.

From the top of the Tower an extensive view of the neighbouring country is obtained; Wytham Hill, Eynsham, Oxford,



Wychwood, with many a distant tower and spire, may be seen from thence.

The Church at Stanton Harcourt, says Lord Harcourt,—

“is a very spacious and handsome building, in the form of a cross. The windows in the lower part of the Tower are of Saxon<sup>d</sup> architecture, those in the upper part of a much later date; and it is probable that the Tower itself was raised to its present height long after the first building. The ascent to the belfry is through a small turret, with a conical stone roof. The nave measures, from the west window to the chancel, 46 feet by 18; the cross aisles from north to south, 75 feet by 21. The Harcourt Chapel, annexed to the south wall of the chancel, is 28 feet by 16; and is a beautiful example of the ornamented Gothic. It was probably erected in the reign of King Edward the Fourth.

“The principal entrance to the Church is through a round-headed arch, of Saxon<sup>d</sup> architecture, on the left side of which is a small stone basin for holy water. Another lesser door, very little distant, is used by the women only; as, by a custom established there time immemorial, they never pass through the same door with the men. The

<sup>d</sup> Read Norman.

round-headed windows in the nave and the principal entrance being in the same style, it is probable that this part of the church is coeval with the lower part of the Tower; and there can be little doubt but that the large and light west window in the Gothic style, and the neat wooden roof, were alterations of a later period. The side-windows in the north and south transepts, are of the lancet form, that prevailed in the reign of Henry III.; and the light and airy windows which terminate the transepts, are evidently of a much later date. The windows in the chancel<sup>e</sup> are all of the slender lancet shape.

“In the chancel, on the north side of the altar, is a small but beautiful altar-tomb, with a rich canopy over it.”

It has been conjectured that this is one of the very few examples now met with of an Easter-altar; that is to say, an altar on to which the Host was moved during the Holy-week, whilst the sacred body was in the tomb, before the resurrection.

In the case of the use of such altars, the high altar of the church was supposed to be

<sup>e</sup> They are beautiful examples of the Early English.



divested of its sacred character, and many grotesque customs used to mark this fact.

The canopy over this altar has evidently been moved from some other place, probably from a tomb adjoining that of Sir Robert Harcourt, Knight of the Bath, in the Harcourt chapel. The arms of Blount are emblazoned upon the canopy.

"On the south side of the chancel," says Lord Harcourt, "is a plain altar-tomb without any inscription, but with the impression of a cross still remaining upon it; the brass has been torn away.

"The ancient monument under the arch in the south wall of the chancel, is that of Maud, daughter of John Lord Grey of Rotherfield, by his second wife, Avise, daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord Marmion (which Maud, with her two brothers, assumed the name and arms of Marmion), wife of Sir Thomas de Harcourt, son of Sir William and of Johanna, daughter of Richard, Lord Grey, of Codnor. She died in the 17th year of Richard II. She has the reticulated head-dress, with a narrow gold binding across the forehead; a scarlet mantle lined with ermine, with a narrow gold binding across the breast; the upper part of the sleeves the same; the lower part light blue, and reaching to the knuckles, like mittens. On the sur-

coat, the arms of Harcourt impaled with those of Grey. Those parts both of the arms and of the dress which are blue, are damasked. At her feet a small dog. On the front of the monument four shields, with the following arms; namely, Harcourt; Harcourt impaling Grey; Grey; Marmion.

"On a brass in the pavement is the figure of a priest in his vestments, in memory of Sir Henry Dodschone, Vicar of the parish."

It is remarkable that, although this brass was put down after the Reformation, an inscription upon it, in Latin, invites the piously-disposed to pray for the good Vicar's soul.

"In the north transept," to continue in Lord Harcourt's words, "on a small round blue marble inserted in the pavement, is a brass which has been described in the Gentleman's Magazine, and is worthy of notice, from the manner in which the arms of Beke are united to those of Harcourt. Sir Richard de Harcourt, son of Sir William and Hilaria, daughter of Henry, Lord Hastings, married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord Beke of Eresby; which said Lord devised by his will, made 29th of Edward Ist, the remainder of his arms to be divided between Sir Robert de Willoughby and Sir John de Har-



court; and the above-mentioned stone is probably in memory of Sir John, son of Sir Richard de Harcourt and Margaret de Beke; he died in the year 1330."

The "Probationes sub Edvardo Secundo," from which Lord Harcourt drew the above information, run thus :—

"Ex. 4 E. 2. in Com. Derb. et Sussex. Anthonius Dunelmensis Episcopus obiit, cujus hæredes sunt Robertus de Willoughby et Johannes de Harecourt."

"This sumptuous Bishop, Anthony Bek, dyed 5 Nones March, 1310."

"John Bek of Eresby, a Baron, by his will made 29 E. 1, devised to S<sup>r</sup>. Rob. de Willoughby and S<sup>r</sup>. John de Harecourt the remainder of his arms, to be divided between them, therein mentioning his brother Anthony, Bishop of Durrham. Some time after this Bek's son dyed, whereby Walter Willoughby, son of Alice and John de Harcourt, son of Margaret, daughter of the first John, became his next heir."

Lord Harcourt continues :—

"In the same transept the Harcourt arms are emblazoned on a shield; but whether placed there to mark the burial-place of one of that family, or

for what other reason, is not known. In the south transept is an altar-tomb, the monument of Sir Simon Harcourt, son of Sir Christopher and Johanna, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Miles Stapleton. He was knighted the 21st year of Henry the Seventh, and married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Dayrell. He died 1547. At the head of the tomb the arms of Harcourt; and on either side three shields, with the following arms :—Harcourt and Darrell (his wife); Harcourt and Stapleton (his mother); Harcourt; Harcourt and Darrell (repeated); Harcourt and St. Clair (his grandmother) :—both heiresses.

Close to this monument is the original cast of the large statue erected in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to the memory of William Earl Harcourt, Field-marshal. It was a gift from the artist, and placed where it now stands by the present owner of Stanton Harcourt.

"The font," continues Lord Harcourt, "is octangular. On the front is a cross, with letters in the Gothic character on either side of it. In each of the compartments are spread quatrefoils, except that on which there is a cross. Within the two



others a rose; and the remaining three contain shields, with the following arms: namely, Byron; Francis impaling Harcourt; Harcourt. By a strange error, to have been committed in an age when the science of heraldry was held in high estimation, the arms of Francis are placed on the dexter instead of the sinister side. Sir Thomas Harcourt, who died in 1460, married Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Francis; but no female of the former family married into the latter.

"It is probable, from the style of the ornaments carved upon the font, and from the arms of Byron being placed upon it, that it was erected by Sir Robert Harcourt, who married Margaret Byron, and was son of Sir Thomas."

In the year 1843, £1,000 were laid out by Archbishop Harcourt in repairs done to this church; he also built a new porch. The women's door, described by Lord Harcourt, was closed at this time. Men and women now enter indiscriminately at the north door, and sit together in the body of the church. Formerly the women were all placed in the north aisle, and the men sat alone in the nave.

The Early English wooden screen in this

church is one of the most remarkable in England. The layers of blue paint with which it was defaced, have lately been removed, and vestiges of the ancient decoration have been disclosed. The screen itself is made of oak, and is pierced in some of its lower parts by irregular holes, such as used to be made to allow the outside kneeling congregation a sight of the elevation of the Host, when the doors of the screen, which are very high, were closed<sup>f</sup>. The lancet-windows in the chancel, which are alluded to by Lord Harcourt, are very beautiful; some of them contain small portions of very ancient painted-glass.

The church has lately been warmed at the expense of the Rector. In digging under the centre Tower to place the hot-water pipes, some copper Neurenburgh tokens, and some fragments of Roman glass, were found. There is a very decent peal of bells

<sup>f</sup> Another explanation may be, that such holes were cut by the Puritans, with the object of disfiguring the paintings which existed on the screen.



in the church tower, and the Stanton Harcourt ringers have always been famous.

The Harcourt Chapel is thus described by Lord Harcourt :—

“Under the east window, where the altar formerly stood, is a large architectural monument of marble and alabaster, gilded, to the memory of Sir Philip Harcourt and his first wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller, the Parliament general, by the Lady Anne Finch, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Winchilsea. It consists of a pediment, supported by two columns of black marble of the Corinthian order. At the top the crest of Harcourt, and on either side two boy-angels holding a drapery, in the centre of which are the arms of Harcourt impaling Waller. Below the cornice are two oval niches, containing the bustos of Sir Philip and his wife; and under them two tablets, on which are inscriptions in Latin to their memory.

“The monument on the south side is that of Sir Robert Harcourt (son of Sir Thomas and Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Francis), and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byron, and widow of Sir William Atherton. Sir Robert was Sheriff of Leicester and Warwickshire in 1445; Governor of Vernon, &c., in Normandy, 1446;

and elected High Steward of the University of Oxford the same year; Knight of the Garter in the third year of Edward the Fourth; Commissioner with the Earl of Warwick, and others, for the treaty between England and France, in the year 1467; slain by the Staffords of the Lancastrian party, 1471. He is represented in his hair; a gorget of mail, and plated armour, strapped at the elbows and wrists; a large-hilted sword on the left, and a dagger on the right; belt charged with oak-leaves, and hands bare, and a kind of ruffle turned back at the wrists; shoes of scaled armour; Order of the Garter on the left leg, and over all, the mantle of the Order, with a rich cape, and cordon; his head reclined on a helmet, with his crest, a peacock; at his feet a lion.

“His lady is in the veiled head-dress falling back; has a mantle, and a surcoat, and cordon; long sleeves, fastened in a singular manner at the wrists, and the Garter, with the motto in embossed letters, above the elbow of the left arm; her feet partly wrapped up in her mantle.

“On the front, four spread six-foils, containing shields with the following arms; namely, Harcourt impaling Byron twice, and twice Marmion; which Maud de Grey, his grandmother, bore in right of her mother, heiress of the Marmions. At the head of the monument two shields; on one Harcourt and Byron, encircled with the



Gartr; on the other, Harcourt single. The figure of this lady is extremely curious, from her being represented with the Gartr; and is one of the only three known examples of female sepulchral effigies having been decorated with the insignia of that Order. According to Mr. Ashmole, Constance, daughter of John Holland, Duke of Exeter (first married to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and secondly to Sir John Grey, Knight of the Gartr, and Earl of Tankerville in Normandy), was thus represented on her tomb.

"But the figures of the ladies upon the fine monument of her brother, the Duke of Exeter, in the collegiate church of St. Catharine, near the Tower of London, (one of which, Dr. Ducarell supposes, was intended for the said Constance,) are so mutilated, that no such distinctive decoration can be traced on either of them.

"The other similar example is the effigy of Alice, daughter of Thomas Chaucer, wife of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, on her beautiful monument at Ewelme, in the county of Oxford, still in perfect preservation; but on the last-named figure, the Gartr is worn above the wrist, and has no motto. Of the three above-mentioned monuments, fine and accurate drawings are given by Mr. Gough in his 'Funeral Monuments of Great Britain.' From these authorities, Mr. Anstis has observed, that antiently the ladies of the Knights

of the Gartr, had not only the habit of the Order, which was semée of garters, but that they had also the ensign of the Gartr delivered to them.

"Opposite the monument of Sir Robert Harcourt and his lady, is that of Sir Robert, his grandson, son of Sir John Harcourt and Anne, daughter of Sir John Norris. He was standard-bearer to King Henry VII. at the battle of Bosworth, Knight of the Bath 1495, Knight Banneret 1497. On the front of the tomb are four monks in black, holding their beads, and two angels, holding each a shield; at the head, the red rose, the cognizance of the House of Lancaster. He is in his hair; plated armour; gorget of mail, collar of S.S., a large hilted sword, hands bare. His head reclines on a helmet, with the crest a peacock, on a ducal coronet."

This monument is of white alabaster, painted; it is attached to a portion of another tomb, which may possibly have formed the base of the canopy which now stands on the top of the Easter-altar.

Lord Harcourt's description continues thus:—

"On a stone in the pavement are the figures of two men in brass, and two shields; on the one, Harcourt impaling Atherton; on the other



(on the sinister side), the arms of Atherton only, the impalement on the dexter having been torn off. Underneath are inscribed the names of Thomas Harcourt, who died the third of February, 1460; and of Nicholas Atherton, who died the 26th of October, 1454. And under them the figures of three children; viz., George Harcourt, Alys Harcourt, Isabel Harcourt. Thomas Harcourt was third son of Sir Robert and Margaret Byron; and it appears, from the arms of Atherton being impaled with his, that he married one of that family.

"On one side of the Chapel is a large mural monument of marble, ornamented with flowers, to the memory of Simon, only son of Simon, first Viscount Harcourt, on which is an inscription in Latin, composed by Dr. Friend; and below it the well-known lines by Mr. Pope, which, however, differ in some respects from those published in his works. Near the head of the monument of Sir Robert Harcourt and Margaret Byron, is a Piscina. This Church, besides its several ancient and curious monuments, is distinguished by two epitaphs by Mr. Pope, and one by Mr. Congreve; viz., that inscribed on a tablet on the outside north wall, to the memory of the lovers killed by lightning, and that on the monument of the Hon. Simon Harcourt; and that on Robert Huntingdon and his son, Esq<sup>rs</sup>., by the last."

Since Lord Harcourt's account was written, there have been some additions made to the monuments in the Harcourt Chapel. In the first place, an important monument to himself was placed in the north-west corner of the chapel, by his widow. On an altar-tomb, a full-length recumbent figure is placed, with the hands crossed on the breast, at the feet a peacock; on the head, which rests on a pillow, is a coronet; the face was taken from a cast after death; the body is clothed in peer's robes; and a copy of verses, written by Lady Harcourt, commemorates the virtues of the deceased. A small wooden tablet with an inscription, attached to the monument of her husband, is all that records the sepulchre of Elizabeth, Countess of Harcourt; that gifted lady, who, as she used to say, was half a Harcourt before her marriage, and who, having married her first cousin, became wholly one.

Above the monument of George Simon Lord Harcourt, a marble tablet has been placed, to the memory of his brother Wil-



liam, the last Earl. And on the opposite side of the chapel is an altar-tomb, in stone, to the Hon. Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York, who succeeded to the family estates on the death of his cousin, the last Lord Harcourt. This monument is in stone by Noble. When first it was placed in the chapel, it faced towards the west. The sculptor, however, was requested to make it face eastwards. This he did, with some inconvenience. It is, however, probable that Mr. Noble was right in the position he chose. Ecclesiastics were generally interred looking westward, under a notion that they should face their flock at the resurrection.

The monument which Lord Harcourt describes, under the east window of the chapel, was moved by Mr. George Harcourt into the south transept. This is a great improvement, as the east window of the chapel was thoroughly defaced by it. The present possessor has restored the altar at the east end, over which he has placed a brass tablet, inscribed with the names of the

Lords of Stanton Harcourt, and their wives, for thirty-seven generations<sup>g</sup>. At the foot of the monument of Archbishop Harcourt is a marble bust and pedestal, erected to the memory of his eldest son, George Harcourt, by his second wife, Frances, Countess of Waldegrave<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> The following forms the heading of the Tablet :—

“Majoribus suis, Dominis olim de Stanton Harcourt, plerisque necnon in hac ecclesia sepultis, tabulas has, piè memor, poni voluit Edvardus Gulielmus Harcourt; qui, A.D. 1825 natus, A.D. 1849. Susan Harriet, filiam unicam Comitis de Sheffield, uxorem duxit; de quibus descenderunt Aubrey filius, et Edith filia.”

<sup>h</sup> At the time that Mary, Countess Harcourt, was buried, the family vault was re-constructed. Many of the more ancient coffins were buried lower down, under the floor, and fresh compartments were built above. In the upper compartments are buried,—

Elizabeth, second wife of the first Lord Harcourt, died 1724.  
 Simon, first Lord Harcourt, died 1727.  
 Hon. Elizabeth, mother of the first Earl Harcourt, died 1760.  
 Rebecca, Countess Harcourt, died 1765.  
 Hon. Elizabeth, sister of the first Earl Harcourt, died 1765.  
 Simon, Earl Harcourt, died 1777.  
 George Simon, Earl Harcourt, died 1809.  
 Caroline, daughter of Archbishop Harcourt, died 1815.  
 Elizabeth, Countess Harcourt, died 1826.  
 William, Earl Harcourt, died 1830.  
 Lady Anne, wife of Archbishop Harcourt, died 1832.  
 Mary, Countess Harcourt, died 1833.  
 Lady Elizabeth, wife of G. G. Harcourt, died 1838.  
 Archbishop Harcourt, died 1847.  
 Leveson, third son of Archbishop Harcourt, died 1860.  
 George, eldest son of Archbishop Harcourt, died 1861.  
 There are eight vacant places.



A pleasant theory has been broached respecting the first building of the church at Stanton Harcourt; the base of the edifice is formed of the plum-pudding stone, as it is familiarly called, which is found in the neighbourhood. Ancient remains, which by some are imagined to be Druidical places of worship, are also formed of this stone. It has, therefore, been suggested that possibly when the land became Christianized, the Druidical temples were demolished, and the materials used for building a Christian church. This is probably a fancy, but it is a pleasant one.

At a short distance from the village of Stanton Harcourt are some large upright stones, known by the name of the Devil's Quoits. The tradition in the county is, that the Devil was playing at Quoits one Sunday on Wytham hill, four miles distant, and that these stones were the result of his play. Mr. Warton has suggested that these stones were erected to commemorate an engagement, fought near Bampton in the year 614,

between the British and the Saxons; when the Saxon Princes, Cynegil and Cwhiclon, slew more than 2,000 Britons. Other accounts attribute the position of these stones to the Druids.

The situation of Stanton Harcourt is very healthy. It stands at a good elevation, about two miles distant from the river Thames, on a gravel soil. The gravel is limestone, formed of the detritus from the Cotswold hills; in some places it is thirty feet thick, and lies on the top of the Oxford clay. The supply of water is excellent, and never-failing. There is a peculiarity about the soil, which would puzzle any farmer not accustomed to the locality; the iron from the oolite, mixing with the limestone, is cemented by the action of an acid, which is the produce of decayed vegetable matter; the product is a conglomerate, which in places is formed into masses that defy anything but the process of blasting to reduce their substance. The plough frequently suffers from contact with such objects, and



the cutting of ditches is often impeded by the same cause. Frost has no effect in disintegrating such soil; and the upturned land is, therefore, very little benefited by being fallowed.

The House at Stanton Harcourt was surrounded by a moat, which on one side dilated into fish-ponds. In his "Natural History of Oxfordshire," Mr. Plott writes as follows:—

"I met with a contrivance for fish-ponds at the Right Worshipful Sir Philip Harcourt's at Stanton Harcourt, where the stews not only feed one another, as the ponds of the Right Honorable the Earl of Clarendon at Cornbury, the learned James Tyrrel's, Esq., at Shotover Forrest, and may be served by letting the water of the upper ponds out into the lower, but by a side-ditch cut along by them, and sluices out of each, may be any of them emptied without letting the water into, or giving the least disturbance to, any of the rest; which being a convenience that I never met with before, and perhaps unknown to many, I thought good to mention."

Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his pleasant little

volume, "Our Old Home," published in 1864, speaks thus of Stanton Harcourt:—

"Stanton Harcourt is a very curious old place. It was formerly the seat of the ancient family of Harcourt, which now has its principal abode at Nuneham Courtenay, a few miles off. The lodge is a relic of the family mansion or castle, other portions of which are close at hand; for across the garden rise two grey towers, both of them picturesquely venerable, and interesting for more than their antiquity. One of these towers, in its entire capacity from height to depth, constituted the kitchen of the ancient castle, and is still used for domestic purposes, although it has not, nor ever had, a chimney; or we might rather say, it is itself one vast chimney, with a hearth of thirty feet square, and a flue and aperture of the same size. There are two huge fireplaces within, and the interior walls of the tower are blackened with the smoke that for centuries used to gush forth from them, and climb upward, seeking an exit through some wide air-holes in the conical roof, full seventy feet above. These lofty openings were capable of being so arranged, with reference to the wind, that the cooks are said to have been seldom troubled by the smoke; and here, no doubt, they were accustomed to roast oxen whole, with as little fuss and ado as a



modern cook would roast a fowl. The inside of the tower is very dim and sombre (being nothing but rough stone walls, lighted only from the aperture above-mentioned), and has still a pungent odour of smoke and soot, the reminiscence of the fires and feasts of generations that have passed away. Methinks the extremest range of domestic economy lies between an American cooking-stove and the ancient kitchen, seventy dizzy feet in height, and all one fireplace, of Stanton Harcourt.

"Now—the place being without a parallel in England, and therefore necessarily beyond the experience of an American—it is somewhat remarkable that, while we stood gazing at this kitchen, I was haunted and perplexed by an idea that somewhere or other I had seen just this strange spectacle before. The height, the blackness, the dismal void before my eyes, seemed as familiar as the decorous neatness of my grandmother's kitchen; only my unaccountable memory of the scene was lighted up with an image of lurid fires blazing all round the dim interior circuit of the tower. I had never before had so pertinacious an attack, as I could not but suppose it, of that odd state of mind wherein we fitfully and teasingly remember some previous scene or incident, of which the one now passing appears to be but the echo and reduplication.

"Though the explanation of the mystery did not for some time occur to me, I may as well conclude the matter here. In a letter of Pope's, addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, there is an account of Stanton Harcourt (as I now find, although the name is not mentioned), where he resided while translating a part of the *Iliad*. It is one of the most admirable pieces of description in the language—playful and picturesque, with fine touches of humorous pathos—and conveys as perfect a picture as was ever drawn of a decayed English country-house; and among other rooms, most of which have since crumbled down and disappeared, he dashes off the grim aspect of this kitchen, which, moreover, he peoples with witches, engaging Satan himself as head-cook, who stirs the infernal cauldrons that seethe and bubble over the fires. This letter, and others relative to his abode here, were very familiar to my earlier reading, and, remaining still fresh at the bottom of my memory, caused the weird and ghostly sensation that came over me on beholding the real spectacle that had formerly been made so vivid to my imagination.

"Our next visit was to the church, which stands close by, and is quite as ancient as the remnants of the castle. In a chapel or side-aisle, dedicated to the Harcourts, are found some very interesting family monuments, and among them, recumbent



On a tombstone, the figure of an armed knight of the Lancastrian party, who was slain in the Wars of the Roses. His features, dress, and armour are painted in colours, still wonderfully fresh, and there still blushes the symbol of the Red Rose, denoting the faction for which he fought and died. His head rests upon an alabaster or marble helmet; and on the tomb lies the veritable helmet, it is to be presumed, which he wore in battle—a ponderous iron case, with the visor complete, and remnants of the gilding that once covered it. The crest is a large peacock, not of metal, but of wood. Very possibly this helmet was but an heraldic adornment of his tomb; and, indeed, it seems strange that it has not been stolen before now, especially in Cromwell's time, when knightly tombs were little respected, and when armour was in request. However, it is needless to dispute with the dead knight about the identity of his iron pot, and we may as well allow it to be the very same that so often gave him the headache in his lifetime.

“Leaning against the wall, at the foot of the tomb, is the shaft of a spear, with a woefully tattered and utterly faded banner appended to it—the knightly banner beneath which he marshalled his followers in the field. As it was absolutely falling to pieces, I tore off one little bit, no bigger than a finger-nail, and put it into my waistcoat-

pocket; but seeking it subsequently, it was not to be found.

“On the opposite side of the little chapel, two or three yards from this tomb, is another monument, on which lie, side by side, one of the same knightly race of Harcourts, and his lady. The tradition of the family is, that this knight was standard-bearer of Henry of Richmond in the battle of Bosworth Field<sup>1</sup>; and a banner, supposed to be the same that he carried, now droops over his effigy. It is just such a colourless silk rag as the one already described. The knight has the Order of the Garter on his knee, and the lady wears it on her left arm—an odd place enough for a garter; but if worn in its proper locality, it could not be decorously visible.

“The complete preservation and good condition of these statues, even to the minutest adornment of the sculpture, and their very noses—the most vulnerable part of a marble man as of a living one—are miraculous. Except in Westminster Abbey, among the chapels of the kings, I have seen none so well preserved. Perhaps they owe it to the loyalty of Oxfordshire, diffused throughout its neighbourhood by the influence of the University, during the great civil war and the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hawthorne has made a mistake between Sir Robert Harcourt and Sir Thomas Harcourt; it was the latter, whose tomb he previously described, who was at the battle of Bosworth.



rule of the Parliament. It speaks well, too, for the upright and kindly character of this old family, that the peasantry, among whom they had lived for ages, did not desecrate their tombs, when it might have been done with impunity.

"There are other and more recent memorials of the Harcourts, one of which is the last lord, who died about a hundred years ago<sup>k</sup>; his figure, like those of his ancestors, lies on the top of his tomb, clad, not in armour, but in his robes as a peer. The title is now extinct, but the family survives in a younger branch, and still holds this patrimonial estate, though they have long since quitted it as a residence.

"We next went to see the ancient fish-ponds appertaining to the mansion, and which used to be of vast dietary importance to the family in Catholic times, and when fish was not otherwise attainable. There are two or three, or more, of these reservoirs, one of which is of very respectable size,—large enough, indeed, to be really a picturesque object, with its grass-green borders, and the trees drooping over it, and the towers of the castle and the church reflected within the weed-grown depths of its smooth mirror. A sweet fragrance, as it were, of ancient time and present quiet and seclusion was breathing all around; the

<sup>k</sup> This is the tomb of George Simon, the last Earl but one, who died 1809.

sunshine of to-day had a mellow charm of antiquity in its brightness. These ponds are said still to breed abundance of such fish as love deep and quiet waters; but I saw only some minnows, and one or two snakes, which were lying among the weeds on the top of the water, sunning and bathing themselves at once.

"I mentioned that there were two towers remaining of the old castle; the one containing the kitchen we have already visited, the other, still more interesting, is next to be described. It is some seventy feet high, grey and reverend, but in excellent repair, though I could not perceive that anything had been done to renovate it. The basement-story was once the family chapel, and is, of course, still a consecrated spot. At one corner of the tower is a circular turret, within which a narrow staircase, with worn steps of stone, winds round and round as it climbs upward, giving access to a chamber on each floor, and finally emerging on the battlemented roof. Ascending this turret-stair, and arriving at the third story, we enter a chamber, not large, though occupying the whole area of the tower, and lighted by a window on each side. It was wainscoted from floor to ceiling with dark oak, and had a little fireplace in one of the corners. The window-panes were small and set in lead. The curiosity of this room is, that it was once the residence of



Pope, and that he here wrote a considerable part of the translation of Homer, and likewise, no doubt, the admirable letters to which I have referred above.

"The room once contained a record by himself, scratched with a diamond on one of the window-panes (since removed to safe keeping to Nuneham Courtenay, where it was shewn me), purporting that he had here finished the fifth book of the *Iliad*, on such a day.

"A poet has a fragrance about him, such as no other human being is gifted withal; it is indestructible, and clings for evermore to everything he has touched. I was not impressed at Blenheim with any sense that the mighty Duke still haunted the palace that was created for him; but here, after a century and a-half, we are still conscious of the presence of that decrepit little figure of Queen Anne's time, although he was merely a casual guest in the old tower during one or two summer months.

"However brief the time and slight the connection, his spirit cannot be exorcised so long as the tower stands. In my mind, moreover, Pope, or any other person with available claim, is right in adhering to the spot dead or alive; for I never saw a chamber that I should like better to inhabit,—so comfortably small, in such a safe inaccessible seclusion, and with a varied landscape from each

window. One of them looks upon the church, close at hand, and down into the green churchyard, extending almost to the foot of the tower; the others have views wide and far, over a gently undulating tract of country. If desirous of a loftier elevation, about a dozen more steps of the turret-stair will bring the occupant to the summit of the tower, where Pope used to come, no doubt, in the summer evenings, and peep—poor little shrimp that he was!—through the embrasures of the battlement."

And now we must return to the family pedigree. Robert and Isabel de Harcourt had four sons and one daughter, William, surnamed "the Englishman," his heir; Oliver de Harcourt, who joined Prince Louis of France and his party against King John, and was made prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, A.D. 1217; John de Harcourt, who lived at Roledge, or Rodeley in Leicestershire, having married Hawis, daughter of Sir William Burdet; Sir Robert de Harcourt, who married Dionysia, daughter and co-heir of Henry Pipard, of Lapworth in Warwickshire; and Alice, married first to



John de Limesi, and afterwards to Walleran de Newburg, Earl of Warwick. In the "Probationes sub Richardo Primo," we read, that—

"Waleran, Earl of Warwick, owed the King 100 marks, to marry Alice, daughter of Sir Robert Harcourt, widow of John de Limesse."

William de Harcourt, eldest son of Sir Robert and Isabel, was called "the Englishman," to distinguish him from others of the same name; he adhered to King John against Louis the Dauphin of France, and the rebellious Barons, in 1216; and went with Sayer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, to the Holy Land, 1218. He was present at the siege of Damietta. In 1219, he was made Governor of Tamworth Castle. He married, by appointment of King John, Alice, eldest daughter and heiress of Thomas Noel of Ellenhall and Ronton. She had for her portion Ellenhall, Seighford, Bridgeford, &c., in Staffordshire, and Grandborough in Warwickshire, &c. Her younger sister, Joane,

who married William Dunston, had Ronton; which, however, afterwards reverted to the descendants of Alice. From Phillip, younger brother of Thomas Noel, the Earls of Gainsborough are descended. William de Harcourt was buried in Worcester Cathedral, where there is a monument to him, with his legs crossed, in indication of his having been a Crusader. He had two sons and one daughter; Sir Richard, his heir; Sir Henry, knighted in 1278; and Hellen, wife of Hugh Bigot, Chief Justice of England.

The eldest son, Sir Richard, Lord of Stanton Harcourt and Ellenhall, married Arabella, daughter of Sayer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, Constable of Scotland; who by her mother, Margaret (sister and co-heir of Robert Fitz-Parnel, Earl of Leicester), was descended from Touroude, the eldest son of Torf. She brought with her the Manors of Bosworth, Aileston, and Charnwood, in Leicestershire.

Sir Richard had two sons and one daughter; the elder son was Sir William,



who succeeded him; the second son was Sayer de Harcourt, who joined Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, against King Henry the Second, and, being taken at the battle of Evesham, August 6, 1266, died in prison the same year, disseized of his lands; the daughter, Maud, married Sir Giles Peneston. Sir Richard died 1258.

Sir William de Harcourt was summoned by Henry the Third, in 1263, to attend him at Worcester on Lammas-day (August 1), sufficiently furnished with horse and arms to fight against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales; and again, in 1264, he was summoned to join the King at Oxford, to march against the same prince. Sir William was afterwards seduced, as well as his younger brother, Sayer, by Simon de Montfort, into joining his party against the King; but, after the battle of Evesham, he received the King's pardon, under the benefit of the "Dictum de Kenilworth," Oct. 31, 1266.

Sir William married two wives; first, Alice, daughter of Alan la Zouche, by whom

he had two daughters, Margery, married to Sir John Cantelupe, and Arabella, married to Sir Fulke Pembrugge; second, Hillaria, daughter of Henry Lord Hastings, by his wife Ada, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, brother to Malcolm the Fourth and William the Lion, Kings of Scotland. By his second wife, Sir William had an only son, Richard, who succeeded him in 1279.

Richard de Harcourt, in 1293, obtained from King Edward the First a grant of the fairs and markets at Bosworth, which remained in the family till the reign of Henry the Eighth; he married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beke, of Eresby in Lincolnshire, and sister and co-heir of Sir Walter Beke. He had two sons,—Sir John, his successor, and Nicholas, Rector of Shippey in Leicestershire. He died in 1293.

Sir John de Harcourt was knighted at Whitsuntide, 1306, with Edward, Prince of Wales, and served with King Edward the First in Scotland. He had two wives; first, Ellen, daughter of Eudo la Zouch, and Mili-



cent his wife, by whom he had an only son, William; second, Alice, daughter of Peter Corbet of Caus Castle in Shropshire, but by her he had no issue. Sir John died in 1330.

Sir William married Jane, daughter of Richard Lord Grey, of Codnor; by her he had two sons, Sir Richard, the elder, and Sir Thomas, the younger; he died, June 6, 1349. His widow survived him twenty years, having married, secondly, Ralph de Ferrers.

The eldest son, Sir Richard, died during the lifetime of his father. He married Joan, daughter and heir of Sir William Shareshull, of Shareshull in Staffordshire, Lord Chief Justice of England. He left an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Thomas, second son of Lord Astley, from whom he obtained Newton in Leicestershire.

The younger son, Thomas, was Knight of the Shire for the county of Oxford, 1376, and custodian of Oxford Castle. He married Maud, daughter of Lord Grey, of Ro-

therfield, by his second wife, Avice, daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Marmion; she had Coggs<sup>1</sup> and Hardwicke assigned to her

<sup>1</sup> The Barony of Arsic consisted of Coggs, Hardwicke, and Standlake. It belonged in 1103 to Manasser Arsic, who was High Sheriff of Oxon. 9th Henry II. His grandson, John Arsic, married Margaret, daughter of Richard de Vernon. He had no issue, and was succeeded by his brother, John Arsic, who married Sibylla de Crevequer. They had two daughters, Joan de Greinville, and Alice de Haye; who, notwithstanding that they had a half-brother, Gerard, were co-heiresses; and on the death of their mother, whose dower was fixed on Coggs, made over the Barony of Arsic, with the other vast possessions of their father, to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York. The Archbishop was the fifth son of Henry de Grey of Codnove, or Codnor, who lived in the time of Richard the First. Henry de Grey had five sons:— 1. Richard de Codnove, 2. John de Wilton and Ruthin, 3. William de Landford, 4. Robert de Rotherfield, 5. Walter, Archbishop of York. Robert, the fourth son, received Rotherfield as a gift from his younger brother, the Archbishop, who also endowed his nephew, Walter, son of Robert, with the Barony of Arsic. Walter the younger died, leaving a son, Robert, who married Avice, daughter of William de St. Lice, he died seised of the Barony of Arsic, by the service of keeping Dover Castle. He left a son, John, twenty-four years old, who married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of William de Odingfells, she had Coggs for her dower. He was succeeded by his son John, who was twice married; first, to Katherine, daughter and co-heiress of Bryan Fitz-alan of Bedall; secondly, to Avice, daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord Marmion, who brought him the manor of Berewyke in Sussex. He left a son, John, by his first wife, and by his second wife, Avice (who had Coggs for her dower); he left a daughter, Maud, married to John de Botetourt of Weoley, and



for dower. Maud was first married to John de Botetourt of Weoley. Sir Thomas was knighted in 1366 by King Edward the Third, by which King he was granted general letters of attorney for one year, on his going in his service to Milan, with Lionel, Duke of Clarence. He had two sons, Thomas and Richard, and died April 12, 1417. He left it in his will, that he should be buried by the side of his mother in Ronton Abbey.

Of his two sons, Thomas, the elder, married Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Francis of Forwark in Derbyshire. He had five sons and two daughters. He died on the third of June, 1460, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Sir Robert was the eldest son, but the succession, on the failure of his heirs in the fourth generation, passed to the grandson of his brother, Sir Richard. Sir Robert

afterwards to Thomas de Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt. When the male line of Grey of Rotherfield failed, an heiress took Coggs to the Lovells. Minster Lovell remains with the name of the family.

was Sheriff of Leicestershire and Warwickshire in 1445. At the time when a marriage was concluded between Henry the Sixth, and Margaret, daughter of the King of Sicily, Sir Robert Harcourt was sent with others to receive her at Rouen. We find a note of the King's largess on this occasion :—

"To our well-beloved Robert Harcourt, Kt., £15 18s. 6d. for the wages of him and 2 yeomen for 30 days, being in the parties of Ffrance and Normandie, attendyng upon the saveguard of oure moost deere & best-beloved wyf the Queene."

He was Governor of Vernon in Normandy, and was also High Steward of the University of Oxford. In 1463 he was made a Knight of the Garter. There is no account of the time of his election entered in the Black Book of the Garter, but divers manuscripts inform us that it was in the 3rd of Edward the Fourth, and that he succeeded Viscount Beaumont in the twelfth stall on the Princes' side. That book is



also silent as to the offering his achievements after his death; but other manuscripts assure us that at St. George's feast, 1471, which was the 11th of Edward the Fourth, the Duke of Gloucester and Lord Berners offered the sword of Sir Robert Harcourt, and that the Earl of Essex and the Earl Douglas offered his helmet. The Black Book of the Garter, on 29th April, 4th of Edward the Fourth, takes notice, that Sir Robert Harcourt's attendance was excused, with some others, as one of those who were engaged in urgent affairs for the King, and that he was afterwards present at the feasts kept at Windsor on 29th April, the 5th of Edward the Fourth, on the 27th April, the 6th of Edward the Fourth, and on the 22nd April, 7th of Edward the Fourth; which is the whole that book contains relating to him.

In this same year there was a reward of £300 given him by the King for the laudable service done by him at the siege of Alnwick Castle, 28 April, 1465.

"In consideration of the great and laudable service that our right wel-beloved Knight, Sir Robert Harcourt, did unto us at the seige of our Castle of Alnewyk, and after the getting of the same in keeping therof, not only to his grete commendation and worship, but also to his grete charge and cost, we have given him CCC<sup>l</sup>. by way of reward."

On the 6th of May in the same year, he was sent on an embassy to King Louis XI. of France, in company with Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick (surnamed the King-maker), to treat for peace.

The following is addressed to the Keeper of the Privy Purse in the 7th of Edward the Fourth:—

"We have graunted unto our trusty and well-beloved Sir Robert Harcourt, one of the Knights of the Garter, the some of £60, by way of reward for the costs and expences of the sayd Robert Harcourt, for the tyme of his going of late with our right truste and entierly beloved cousin th'eryl of Warrewyk, in our ambassade to our Cousin, King Lowys of Ffrance into Normandie, his abode there and comyng from thens unto us."

This is dated at Windsor.



Sir Robert was killed by some of the Staffords of the Lancastrian party on the 14 of Nov. 1471. A deed dated 16th of Edward the Fourth, declares that Margaret, late wife of Sir Robert Harcourt, remitted to William Stafford, late of Grafton in the county of Worcester, to bastard Humphry Stafford of that place, Esq., and to Thomas Stafford of the same place, Esq., all actions of appeal, robbery, felonies, &c.; and principally the appeal which she had brought against them for the death of her said husband. This was six years after Sir Robert's death. He and his wife were buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Sir Robert had four sons; the eldest, John, his successor; and three younger sons, Robert, Thomas, and George, who all died without issue.

John Harcourt was twenty years old at the time of his father's death; he married Anne, daughter of Sir John Norris, of Bray in Berkshire, and died on the 26th of June, 1485, at the age of thirty-four. He was

Sheriff of Stafford; and we find in the "Probationes sub Edvardo Quarto:"—

"Priv: Sig: ffeb. 5. E. 4 to make an assignment of 80<sup>l</sup>. to John Harcourt, Squyer, Sherif of Stafford, out of the issues of his baillywick."

This goodly custom of reimbursing the Sheriffs has long since ceased. The said John was also attached to the court; we read—

"John Harecourt unus generosorum Camere Regis, 18. E. 4."

He was succeeded by his only son, Sir Robert Harcourt, who was standard-bearer to King Henry the Seventh at the battle of Bosworth, on the 22nd of August, 1485. In 1495 he was made a Knight of the Bath, at the same time with Henry, Duke of York, afterwards King Henry the Eighth. He was made a Knight Banneret on June 22nd, 1497, for his gallant conduct at the battle of Blackheath, against James, Lord Audley, and his Cornish followers. He married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Lymbrake.



He was buried at Stanton Harcourt; his tomb is opposite that of his grandfather. He was Sheriff of Oxon and Berks.

"Priv: Sig: 11 May 8 Hy. Whereas we have odeigned our webeloved Rob. Harceurte, Squyer, to be Shiref of our Counties of Oxon & Berks for this present yere in wch. He shal susteigne great losse, ye assigne him <sup>iiii</sup>C<sup>l</sup>.

In 1501, Sir Robert was by a deed of the King appointed "Steward of the Manors and Lordships of Ewelme, Tackley, Swyncombe, Lewknor, Newnham, Swerford, Hooknorton, Kidlington, Thorp, and Garsington, with all the members and appurtenances, with the Mastership of the game of the Park of Ewelme, which late were of our rebel traitor, Edmund, late Earl of Suffolk, and at the present, by reason of his rebellion, have come to our hands and disposal."

Sir Robert had an only son, John, who died without offspring in his father's lifetime. There were four daughters, who became co-heiresses. The family property now went back to Sir Richard's branch; Sir Richard

had three wives,—first, Edith, daughter and heir of Thomas St. Clair; and we read that—

"the King (Edward the 4<sup>th</sup>), in consideration of the good services which Richard Harecourt, Esq., had performed unto Richard Duke of York, father to the King, and to himself, granted him and Edith his wife, and the issue male of their two bodies, the mannor of Shotswell in Warwick."

By her he had a son, Christopher, and a daughter, Anne, married first to Henry Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele; secondly, to John, son of Simon Montfort. We read that—

"Henry, who called himself Lord Say, & who dyed 1 August, 16 E. 4, left issue by Anne his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, a son."

Sir Richard's second wife was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Lewknor, of Rounton in Staffordshire; by her he had an only son, John, who married Margaret, daughter of William Bray, of Lembridge in Herefordshire. Sir Richard's third wife was Catherine, widow of Sir Miles Stapleton, who



presented him with an only son, William. Sir Richard was Sheriff of Oxon and Berks.

"Priv: Sig: 14 Nov: 5 E. 4. Whereas we have appointed Richard Harcourt, K<sup>nt</sup>., to be Sheriff of Oxford and Berks: for the year next coming, ye pay 100<sup>l</sup>."

The following letter was written by John Paston, to Sir John Paston, Knight, dated Norwich, 21st of Sept., 1472, 12th Edward IV.

"Letyng you wit, y<sup>t</sup>. y<sup>r</sup>. desyer as for the Knyghts of the Shyer was an ipossoybyl to be browght a bowght, ffor my Lord of Norff, and my Lord Suff, wer agreid mor then a fortnyght go to have S<sup>r</sup>. Rob<sup>t</sup>. Wyngfeld, and S<sup>r</sup>. Rycharde Harcourt."

Sir Richard died Oct. 1, 1487; in the "Probationes sub Henrico Septimo," we find—

"in libro Logge in Curia Prærog. Cantuar., p. 204. —I, Richard Harecourte, of Witham in Berks, make my will this 25 Sep<sup>r</sup>., 1486 . . . to be buried in the Church of oure Lady in the Abby of Abingdon . . . for the soule of Edyth, sometyme my wif, and for the soule of Dame Katerine now my wife, when she shall depart out of this world.

. . . . My sonne, William Harecourte . . . . my daughter, Isabel . . . . Alice, my daughter, wiff to W<sup>m</sup>. Bessillys . . . . Margarete, the daughter of Edward Harcourt, be in the ruling of my wife . . . and that Symond, and Richard his brother, be likewise."

Then follows an indenture,—

"that his feoffees make an estate to Katherine his wife . . . and after her decease to William his son, and to the heirs male of his body, and for default of such, to Symond, brother of the said Richard, and the heirs male of his body, and for default thereof to Miles Harcourt: the remainder to Anne, late wife of Henry ffenys, Lord Say, and to Alice, wife of William Besiles . . . to fane, wife of John Hodeston, Esq., Sometime wife of Christopher Harcourt, and after her decease to Richard, son of the said fane . . . Symond, brother to the said Richard. Probat. 25 Oct. 2 H. 7."

We also find the will of Catherine:—

"I, Dame Katherine Harecourt, widow, make my will 7 July, 1488 . . . . to be buried in the Abby of Rowley in Oxfordshire, &c."

Sir Christopher, eldest son and heir of Sir Richard, who lived at Wytham, was married to Joan, daughter and heir of Sir



Miles Stapleton, who was father of Sir Richard's third wife. He died in 1474, in his father's lifetime. He left three sons; first, Richard, who had no children; his will runs as follows:—

"I, Richard Harecourt, Esq., dwellyng in Abingdon, 23 Janry., 1512 . . . . to be buried in the abbey of Rewley, on the right side of the grave of Dame Agnes Harecourt, sometyme my wife. . . . That Margery my wife have my land called Ley ffarme, and after her decease, to the Heirs of two bodies comyng, and for default thereof, to my Neveu, Edmond Harecourt, the youngest of my brother Symond, and for want of heirs males of his body, to my Cosen, Richard Harecourt, my Unkill William Harecourt's youngest son, of Cornebury Park . . . . my father, Cristofer Harecourt, and Grandfather, S<sup>r</sup>. Richard Harcourte . . . . all other my goods to my wife. I will that lytell Eliz., my wif's youngest daughter, have the most part to her marriage. Probat., 1513."

"E Libro Holder."

We also find "E Libro Bodfeld :"—

"I Marery Hartcourte, of Abindon, widdow, 8 May, 1523, to be buried in the monastery of Abendon, beside James Braybroke, sumtyme my

husband . . . my husband Thomas Humfrey . . . my husband Richard Harecourt . . . to my son Olyver Wellysburne, to my d<sup>r</sup> Eliz. Braybroke . . . to Olyver, Margery, Alice, Bryget, & Margaret, children of my daughter Margaret Ogan . . . to Thomas Braybroke my son. Probat. 19 Jany., 1523."

Sir Simon, the second son, who succeeded his father, inherited the manor of Wytham from his father; half of the manor of Wytham was held of the Abbot and Convent of Abingdon, by the payment of one sack of wheat, and doing suit to the Court of Cumnor. Sir Simon was twice married, firstly, to Agnes, daughter of Thomas Dayrell, of Scotney, in the county of Salop; and secondly, to the widow of Sir Richard York. By his first marriage he had two sons, John and Edmond.

On the failure of the line of Sir Robert Harecourt, K.G., Sir Simon inherited from his cousin John Harecourt, Stanton Harecourt, Ellenhall, Ronton, and other properties. He distinguished himself at the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay, and at the action



Miles Stapleton, who was father of Sir Richard's third wife. He died in 1474, in his father's lifetime. He left three sons; first, Richard, who had no children; his will runs as follows:—

"I, Richard Harecourt, Esq., dwellyng in Abingdon, 23 Janry., 1512 . . . . to be buried in the abbey of Rewley, on the right side of the grave of Dame Agnes Harecourt, sometye my wife. . . . That Margery my wife have my land called Ley ffarme, and after her decease, to the Heirs of two bodies comyng, and for default thereof, to my Neveu, Edmond Harecourt, the youngest of my brother Symond, and for want of heirs mailes of his body, to my Cosen, Richard Harecourt, my Unkill William Harecourt's youngest son, of Cornbury Park . . . . my father, Cristofer Harecourt, and Grandfather, St. Richard Harcourte . . . . all other my goods to my wife. I will that lytell Eliz., my wif's youngest daughter, have the most part to her marriage. Probat., 1513."

"E Libro Holder."

We also find "E Libro Bodfeld :"—

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husband . . . my husband Thomas Humfrey . . . my husband Richard Harecourt . . . to my son Olyver Wellysburne, to my d<sup>r</sup> Eliz. Braybroke . . . to Olyver, Margery, Alice, Bryget, & Margaret, children of my daughter Margaret Ogan . . . to Thomas Braybroke my son. Probat. 19 Jany., 1523."

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fought on August the 18th, 1513, 5th of Henry the Eighth, near Guinegate, commonly called the battle of the Spurs. He was knighted for his bravery on these occasions. He built the gate-house at Stanton Harcourt, commonly called the Lodge, and his arms, with those of Dayrell, appear on the gateway. He died on the 16th of Jan. 1547, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Sir John Harcourt, the eldest son of Sir Simon, married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Barentyne, of Haselyn, in Oxfordshire. By her he had six sons and eight daughters; we read in the "Probationes sub Edvardo Sexto," that Sir John Harcourt bought the lands of Harcourt in Sussex.

Concerning his third daughter Ursula, we read that she was

"married unto Mr. Robert Gynes, Esq: of Sussex, and died in ffeet S<sup>r</sup>. within the city of London, the 14<sup>th</sup> day of December, and was buried in S<sup>t</sup>. Bride's Church, within the Chapell on the north side of the same church, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of

the said month of December, in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, ffrance, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., 1571. The afores<sup>d</sup> Mr. Robert Gynes, and Ursula his wife, deceased, hath issue, Elizabeth their only daughter living, being of four years of age. The mourners at her ffuneral were, M<sup>rs</sup>. Mary Taverner, sister to the defunct, M<sup>rs</sup>. Ridge, M<sup>rs</sup>. Eliz. Knevit, four brethren of the said defunct ware the black Gownes, Viz<sup>t</sup> Mr. Simon Harcourt of Oxfordshire, Esq., Mr. Robert Harcourt, Walter Harcourt, and the penon was born by Henry Harcourt, Mr. Bedyll, preacher. Witnesseth W<sup>m</sup>. Denthick, Esq., als Yorke Herald of Armes. Whereunto the said Mr. Robert Gynes hath subscribed, An<sup>o</sup> et die predict. 1571."

Simon, the eldest son of Sir John, of whom more hereafter, was Receiver-General for the county of Hereford, in the year 1568. Robert, the second son, was member for the borough of Tamworth. Michael, the third son, also represented the borough of Tamworth, with his brother Robert, in the year 1563. Michael married Joan, heiress of John Tilney, and widow of Richard Greenaway, Esq., and in her right he held the Manor of Leck-



hampsted, in Bucks; and in the year 1597 was elected for the town of Buckingham. He died 1597, and was buried there.

Sir Simon, eldest son of Sir John, had three wives; first, Mary, daughter of Edward Aston of Tixhall, in the county of Stafford; second, Grace, daughter of Humphrey Fitz-Herbert of Upsal, in the county of Hereford, and widow of William Robinson of Drayton-Bassett, in Staffordshire; and third, Jane, daughter of Sir William Spencer of Wormleighton, in the county of Warwick, (ancestor of the Duke of Marlborough), and widow of Sir Richard Bruges, of Shefford in Berkshire. Sir Simon was knighted by King Henry the Eighth, and served the office of Sheriff for the counties of Oxford and Berks: he died on the 27th of July, 1577, the 19th of Elizabeth, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

He left five sons and four daughters by his first wife, an only daughter by his second wife, and had no children by his third wife. The eldest son, Sir Walter, was knighted

at Rouen by the Earl of Essex. He married the daughter of his father's second wife, namely, Dorothy, daughter of William Robinson. The second son, John, married Mary, daughter of Walter Jones of Witney, and widow of Bryan De Cogges. Sir Walter had two sons and three daughters, Robert, Michael, Grace, Jane, and Elizabeth.

In "Wood's Oxoniensis," 1721, which purports to give an exact history of all the writers and Bishops who had their education at Oxford, from the year 1500 to the year 1695, we read that—

"Robert Harcourt, son of Walter Harcourt, Esq., of the antient and noble family of the Harcourts of Staunton Harcourt, near to, and in the county of Oxford, and of Ellenhall in Staffordshire, was born at Ellenhall, and became a Gentleman Commoner of St. Alban's Hall in the beginning of the year 1589, aged 15 years, where he continued about 3 years. But the genius of this person inclining him to see and to search out hidden regions, he procured of King James the first, a grant of letters patent, for the planting and in-

habiting of all that tract of land, and part of Guiana, between the river Amazonas and Dessequebe, situated in America, under the equinoctial line. Which, being so done, he began his voyage in the very begining of the year 1609<sup>m</sup>, with 23 landmen, (of whom his younger brother, called Captain Michael Harcourt, then lately of Balliol College, was one), two Indians, and 23 mariners and sailors, all in a ship called the 'Rose,' a pin-nace, and a shallop. After he had taken the place, and had continued with his company near three years, he wrote a relation of a voyage to Guiana, describing the climate, situation, fertility, provisions, and commodities of that country, containing seven provinces and other seigniories within that territory."

Both Collins and Edmondson make the mistake of saying that Sir Robert Harcourt went to Guiana with Sir Walter Raleigh; whereas Sir Walter Raleigh's voyages thither took place, the one in 1595, and the other in 1617.

Sir Robert Harcourt published two editions of a "Relation of a Voyage to Guiana;" the first, dated 1613, and the second 1626.

<sup>m</sup> The exact date was March 23, 1608.

Both editions are to be found in the Library at Nuneham. That published in 1613, bears the following inscription on the fly-leaf,—

"First edition, very rare, presented to the Nuneham Library, June 20, 1862. C. G. V. Harcourt "; and on the first page, is written,—

"Fmp<sup>t</sup>. Lond: 1689, price 6d.

"Emp<sup>t</sup>. Lond: 1860, price £8 8s.; after a competition with a Commissioner for the American Government, at a sale where there were many works relating to America."

The Epistle Dedicatory of the first edition, runs as follows:—

"To the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Prince of Great Britaine.

"Having had tryall (most worthy Prince) of your most renowned Brother Prince Henrie, his many favours towards mee, and princely furtherance of my humble sute unto his Maiestie your royall Father, and our dread Sovereigne, for obtayning for mee his gracious Letters Pattents for the planting and inhabiting of all that tract of Land, and part of Guiana, betweene the river Amazonas, and Dessequebe, situate in America, under the equinoctiall Line: whereof I have take

" Tenth son of Archbishop Harcourt.



possession to his Maiesties use, and discovered the maritime parts. I was greatly thereby encouraged to proceed in the enterprise, and had (under his Maiesties favour) devoted myself unto his service. But now, seeing (by God's permission) your excellent Brother, his princely Honour, by right of succession is fallen upon your Highnesse, and verily hoping, that you will not onely equall, but also exceed him in vertuous exercises, and advancing all honorable actiōs, and worthy enterprises; I have in like manner religiously vowed the best fruits and effects of my endeavors unto your Highnesse service.

"And forasmuch as that part of the world which wee now call America, was heretofore in the yeere of our Lord 1170, discovered, conquered, and possessed by Madoc, one of the sons of Owen Gwyneth, prince of North-Wales: I, therefore, (in all humble reverence) present the prosecution of this high action unto your gracious Patronage, principally belonging of right unto you, being the honourable, true, and worthy successor to the Principality of Wales. If my travell & service therein shall perform ought, woorthy of your Princely regard, I shall much glory thereat, and account it my happiest fortune, and greatest honour: and shall heartily pray unto the King of kings to continue in your Hignesse a pious and invincible heart; and to give you a conquering

and victorious hand; and the dominion of many rich and mighty kingdomes in this world, and in the worlde to come, a Crowne of Glorie, in his eternall kingdome.

"Your Highnesse

"most humble devoted Servant,

"ROBERT HARCOURT."

The Epistle of Dedication to the second edition, published 1626, thirteen years later, is as follows,—

"To the most high and mightie Monarch, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"Sir,—It pleased his most excellent Matie, your Royall Father (of happy memorie) through the high favour of your most renowned brother the Prince Henry, to grant his gracious Letters Patents to me, and to my heires, for the Planting and inhabiting (in America) of all that tract of Land, & parte of Guiana, situate betweene the Rivers of the Amazones, & Dessequebe: which (to my great cost and expence) I had discovered, and taken into Possession to his Maties use; By which encouragement, I proceeded by all fitting endeavours to prosecute that enterprise, under your gracious Patronage, as by the following Epistle to your Highnes more fully may appeare. But

it pleased our Omnipotent God (who by his infinite wisdom and divine Providence, governeth and guideth all things) to suffer many crosses, & grievous troubles to fall upon me, in the midst of my preparations for that Action, which interrupted the same, being then brought to forwardness.

"Whereupon it pleased his said Ma<sup>tie</sup>, for the supportation & furtherance of so noble an Action, to grant to a Corporation of Lords and Gentlemen, all that tract of Land, and part of America, between the river Wiapoco, & the said river of Amazonas, &c. By vertue of which grant, that Ho<sup>norable</sup> Gent., Roger North, Esquire, proceeded in the Enterprise, Transported 100. of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Subjects into those parts, and settled there, in the said river of the Amazonas, to the advantage (at this time), both of his Country, and of your Ma<sup>tie</sup>. The happy proceeding of which Action notwithstanding, was likewise diverted by the opposition of the Count of Gondomar, during his Ambassie in England.

"But the fulness of time being happily now come, wherein our good God will have his worke done: I, your most humble subject, am willing and readie, for his Glorie, your Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, and the Publique good, in all humble Reverence, to prostrate both my selfe, and my aforsaid Patent, at your Ma<sup>ties</sup> feete, to be disposed at your Royall pleasure.

"And forasmuch as it hath graciously pleased your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, at the humble suite of the said Roger North, to give Life and Motion to this suspended Action, by uniting the two severall grants before mentioned, by a newe grant to a Corporation; I have therefore (under your Ma<sup>ties</sup> favour), presumed the second time, to present unto your gracious view, this following Relation of my former Travelles, & Discoveries in the said Countreyes: whereby your Ma<sup>tie</sup> may partly gather, what hopefull successe (through God's Blessing) may be expected from the prosecution of so worthy an Enterprise: First, by the glorious propogatiō of God's holy Church, and our Christian Religion amongst those Heathen Nations, whose Hearts like waxe, or white paper, are ready to receive any Seale, or Impression we shall imprint in them. Secondly, by the honourable enlargement of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Dominions, by annexing those goodly Countreyes, and spacious Territories (inferiour to no other parte of the world), to the crowne of England; and Lastly, by the unspeakable benefit and profit which may redound to all your Kingdomes and People, by the varietie of Employments, Commodities, and Riches those parts may plentifully afforde, and yeeld us.

"Humbly praying, that God of his infinite goodness, will vouchsafe to Blesse your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Raigne, with the happy and full accomplishment of this



most glorious worke; and to exalte your Matie unto the sublime Might of all earthly Honour in this world, and celestiall happines in the world to come.

"Your Maiesties

"most humble subject,

"and devoted servant,

"ROBERT HARCOURT."

In his Preface, Sir Robert goes on to say,—

"The Discovery of this Countrey of Guiana, was heretofore attempted by St. Walter Raleigh, who made an honourable entry thereinto by the river of Orenoque; what hee then and there discovered, and how great and assured his hopes were, of gaining to our Countrey inestimable riches, and subduing to the Crowne of England a potent Empire, was effectually, and faithfully published to the world by his own penne; proceeding from so wise and judiciall an Author; who if some knowne fortunes had not crossed his first intentions, for the prosecuting of that enterprise, had (in all likelihood) long before this time increased the honour of our Nation, by the reputation of the most famous and rich discovery and conquest that the world could afford.

"Let us herewithal observe, that before his

time it was often attempted by the Spaniards, but to small effect; for eyther by misfortune or shipwrack, discention amongst the most eminent persons in their Troopes, mutiny of the Souldiers, mistaking of the Commanders, or violent fury of the Indians (who bear an inveterate and mortall hatred against them), they have ever failed of their purpose; whereof the said discourse of St. Walter Raleigh maketh particular mention more at large.

"The continuall losse, and great misfortunes that have followed the Spaniards from time to time, in all their attempts of this discovery and conquest, for the space of almost an hundred years; and the fortunate successe that most happily favoured the other in his first attempt thereof, may bee a great presumption, and may give us an assured hope, that the powerful hand of God doth worke for us in his behalfe; and hath reserved the execution of this action for the honour of our Nation.

"Which forcible considerations, gave me great encouragement to repair the decay of so worthy an enterprise, not with intent to rob him of his honour, who first of all our nation (nobly with great judgement and valour) gave the onset; but rather to doe him more honour, by working upon his foundation, and prosecuting this project, according to his first designs, which doubtlesse

aimed at the Glory of God, his Sovereigne's service, and his Countries good.

"Hereupon I made triall of my fortune in the attempt, and have found the successe so prosperous and hopefull (although it hath been chargeable unto me), and my acceptance so free and friend'y amongst the Indians, that it hath given not only to myselfe, but also to the rest of my associats, (who with the love and goodliking of the people, have lived and remained in Guiana for the space of three years), good assurance of repaying the charge past with trebble recompence; and a resolved courage to proceed in the enterprise, to the prosecution whereof, we have devoted both our substance and our selves.

"And because the life of this action consisteth in the timely progresse thereof, and requireth the assistance of many Adventurers; I thought it very needful to lay before you these former examples, and materiall considerations: and therewithall doe recommend unto your view this following discourse (wherein I have compiled the hopefull fruites of my painfull travels), thereby to move you to wipe away from your eyes the cloudie incredulous blindness that possessed our forefathers, in the days of Henry the Seventh, when they rejected the offer made by Bartholomew Columbus, in the behalfe of his brother, Christopher Columbus, and thereby lost the fruition

of those inestimable riches in the West Indies, which now we see possessed by the Spanish Nation: And also doe invite and summon my country-men in generall, to rouze up their valour, to quicken and spurre on their endeavours, to be coaducutors with us in this action, both of honour and profit.

"And because it may be objected to the discouragement of such as may have otherwise a desire to inhabit Guiana, that the Spaniards inhabiting about Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad, may disturb our plantation, and indanger the lives of those that shall make the first settlement there; I thought good to resolve all such as have affection to make themselves conquerors of that goodly Countrey, that from the King of Spaines Indies nothing can offend them; for Guiana being seated in the head of the Brises, and to windward of al the Spanish Indies, the current also of the sea setting to the West, maketh it impossible for any Shipping to turne it up from the forenamed places towards us. The Spaniard, therefore, can no way offend us but by a preparation out of Spain it selfe. And whensoever he shall find him selfe at so great leisure, as to send a Fleet out of Spaine to seek us out upon the shallow coast of Guiana, eyther we shall frustrate that attempt by raising a Fort defensible for two or three months (for they must famish



if they stay longer), or else by setting ourselves above two or three of the overfalles of the Rivers, where one hundred men will defend themselves against five thousand.

"But I am persuaded that the Spaniards will take great deliberation, and be well-advised of all insuing accidents, before they give any attempt upon us: for we doe not finde that they have yet attempted anything upon Virginia, which lieth in their way homeward from the West Indies, albeit there have passed many years since the first plantation there. And surely, if Virginia had not a sharpe winter, which Guiana hath not, (which country of Guiana is blest with a perpetuall Summer, and a perpetuall Spring), and that it had that store of victuals which Guiana hath, it would in a short time grow to be a most profitable place. But thus much I can avow truely, that from Guiana, without any great labour, there may be returned within the yeare, good store of cotton wooll, very rich dyes, divers sorts of gummes, many sorts of Fethers, all kindes of rich woods, Balsamums, Jasper, and Porpherie stone, waxe, Honey, and Tobacco; and so every yeare we may pay the Transportation, untill we encrease in people to make Sugars, and discover Mines."

Sir Robert describes the commencement of his undertaking thus:—

"In the yeare of our Lord 1608, and the three and twentieth of March, when I had furnished my selfe with one ship of fourescore Tunnes called the Rose; a Pinnesse of sixe and thirtie Tunnes called the Patience; and a Shallop of nine Tunnes called the Lilly, which I built at Dartmouth; and had finished my other businesse there, and prepared all things in readinesse to begin my voyage, the winde reasonably serving, I then embarked my companie, as followeth.

"In the Rose, I was accompanied with Captaine Edward Fisher, Captaine Edward Harvey, Master Edward Gifford, and my cosen Thomas Harcourt: and besides them, I had of gentlemen and others one and thirtie land-men, two Indians, and three and twenty Mariners and Saylers.

"In the Patience, my brother Captain Michael Harcourt had with him of Gentlemen and others twentie land-men, and eleven Mariners and Saylers.

"In the Lilly, Jesper Lilly the Master, had one land-man, and two Saylers: so that my just number (too great for so few ships of no greater burden) was in all foure-score and seventeen, whereof three-score were land-men."

The course of the voyage appears to have been as follows; after encountering a gale, in which the Shallop was nearly lost, they

arrived at the Canary Islands on the 7th of April, and, having taken in water at Teneriff, they landed in Guiana on the 11th of May. When they came to the river Wiapoco, the Indians came on board; Sir Robert says,—

“I used them with all curtesie, and entertained them as wel as the straight roome would give me leave, giving them good store of Aquavitæ, which they love exceedingly. I presented to their view their two countrymen . . . and understanding (from their owne mouthes) how well I had used them, they seemed to bee better pleased with our comming. . . . I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sr. Walter Raleigh in their country, in the raigne of our late Sovereaigne Queene Elizabeth, when (to free them from servitude) hee most worthily vanquished the Spaniards at Trinidad: burned their towne: tooke their Governour Don Anthonio de Berreo prisoner; delivered five of the Indian Kings imprisoned, and bound by the necke with collers of iron; and with great labour and perill discovered the river Orenoque, and the countryes adjoyning, as far as the Province of Aromaya, the Countrey of Topiawary, and the river of Caroly beyond it. And that their Countreymen

did then most willingly submit and render themselves under the subjection of the late Queene; all which they well remembered, and said that Sr. Walter Raleigh promised to have returned unto them long since.

“Then I excused his not returning according to his promise, by reason of other employments of great importance imposed upon him by the late Queene. . . . Then I told them of the death of the late Queene, whereby that business of theirs was againe hindered. . . . That now I, and the rest of these worthy gentlemen, my associats and friends . . . being there arrived . . . may bee fitly seated to dwell amongst them; that if any of those Nations shall attempt at any time to disturb the quiet living of their neighboures, they may have store of English friends at hand and amongst them, that will not spare their pains to appease their discords, nor their lives to defend them from harm. . . . They answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof, and said they were but words, having heretofore been promised (by Sr. Walt. Raleigh, and Capt. Lee) the like, but nothing performed.

“To resolve that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them that what I had spoken would certainly be performed, and to that end would leave my brother in their Countrey, and



some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, untill a greater supplie might be sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to give credit to my words: and so after much talke, and many complements to please the naked people, I gave them things which pleased them well. . . . The following day I tooke land, with my Companies in armes, and colours displayed. . . . The principall Indians came out to us, . . . and invited us to lodge in their houses. . . . I gave them many thanks, and some rewards for their kind entertainment, and thē disposed my company in conveniēt lodgings; but yet I kept a continual guard, as in time of warre. . . .

"Upon the 14 day of August, I went unto a Mountaine called Gomeribo, being the uttermost point of land to the Northward in the bay of Wiapoco, I found the soile of it most excellēt for Tobacco, Maix, Cotton trees, Annoto trees, Vines, & for any other thing that should be planted there; when I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes, then, in the presence of Capt. Fisher, divers gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the Indians also, I tooke possession of the land, by turfe and twig, in the behalf of our Sovereigne Lord King James: I tooke the said possession of a part, in the name of the Continent of Guiana, lying betwixt the rivers of Amazones and Orenoque,

not being actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased. . . .

"Now (some time afterwards), I had a purpose to perform a businesse, which might have proved profitable, and honourable unto us, if I had been able to have staid the time, but it was not my chance to bee so fortunate: for the Master, his Mates, and the Steward of my shippe, came unto mee, and told me plainly, that if I made any longer abroad in that Countrey, I would never in those shippes returne into England. . . . I was constrained (by the Master's fault) to make a vertue of necessity, and prepare myselfe for England, and leave my former purposes to bee accomplished hereafter; which shall bee done (God aiding mee) in time convenient.

"Then, disposing of my company, I appointed my Brother, Captaine Michael Harcourt, to remaine in the Countrey, as chiefe commander in my absence; and to continue the possession on the King's behalfe. . . . I left with him for his assistance, Captaine Harvey, above mentioned, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to bee imployed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant, I appointed Mr. Edward Gifford, a Valiant and worthy gentleman; and I left also with him of gentlemen and others, about twenty more, with all such necessaries as

I could spare, and thought convenient for them : and so commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed from Wiapoco, and the following day arrived at Caiane. . . . The tenth day of September, being Sunday, I left the main of Guiana . . . and upon the 18 day in the morning, we arrived at Punta de Galea. . . . Upon the second of October we arrived at Port de Hispania. Then we steered for an Island called Meues. In this Island there is an hot Bath, which I doe hold for one of the best and most soveraigne in the world. . . . For at my coming hither, I was grievously vexed with an extreame cough, which I much feared would turne mee to great harme, but by bathing in the Bath, and drinking of the water, I was speedily cured : and ever since that time, I have found the state of my body (I give God thanks for it) farre exceeding what it was before in strength and health. . . . Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October. . . . On the thirtieth day of October there began a storm, which caused our ships to lose company till the fifth of November. Then the winde came faire at West, and wee steered away East by North, and E. N. Eastamong.

"But when we sighted Fayal, it changed, first to the East by North, and then to the East South-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three daies space we were not able to

beare out saile, but did drive before the winde at least three leagues, a watch out of our course ; and the first land wee made was Cape Cleere, in the south-west part of Ireland, where, against our wils, we arrived at Crooke Haven, the twenty-nine of November. . . .

"During the time of my voyage, we left but one land-man, who died in Guiana : and one sailer, and an Indian boy, who died at sea in our returne : and during the space of these three years last past since the voiage, of all the men which I left in the countrey, being in number about thirty, there died but six, whereof one was drowned : and there was an old man of three-score yeeres of age ; and another tooke his death by his owne disorder ; the rest died of Sicknes, as pleased God, the Giver of life ; for which small losse, his holy name be blessed now and ever."

With an extract from the conditions he laid down for settlers in Guiana, I must conclude my quotations from Sir Robert's narration.

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased his Excellent Majestie, for the planting and inhabiting of all parts of Guiana, or Continent of America, lying betweene the river Amazones and the river Des-sequebe, to grant his gracious Letters Pattentes



to Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt in the County of Oxford, Esquire. . . . To have, hold, possesse, and enjoy all and singular premises, to the sole and proper use of the saide Robert Harcourt, and his heires for ever. And for that divers honourable personages, Gentlemen, and others, who are willing and desirous, for the Glory of God, and the honour of our Nation, to give aide and assistance, eyther in person, or purse, to the undertaking of this worthy action, and Plantation, may truly understand and know, how and in what maner they shal receive benefit and profit by their adventures, and travells therein; it is thought fit and necessary, for their better content and satisfaction, to publish these articles insuing."

Here follow long articles, from which a few are extracted.

"The meanest Adventurer in Person, shal have five hundred acres as a single share.

"If a man and his wife goe, each of them shal have five hundred acres.

"If a man, and his wife, and a childe of theirs goe, each shal have five hundred acres.

"Every one that adventureth twelve pounds, tenne shillings, shal have five hundred acres as a single share; and so ratably according to the adventure, be it more or less.

"The shares of Commanders, officers, and men

of place, and qualitie, that adventure in person, are not to be rated according to single shares of inferiour and common persons, that adventure in person; but according to their place, qualitie, and merite, in such sort as shal be fit to give them content.

"Divine preachers that wil imitate the glorious examples of the apostles (who ceased not to travell amongst all sorts of Heathen and savage people for the plantation of the holy Gospel), are worthily numbered amongst the persons of place and qualitie, and shal have such worthy shares for the adventure of their persons, in his service of the blessed Trinitie, as shal give them good content.

"These signiories or portions of Land shal be conveyed and assured unto them in Fee simple, with all such Royalties, Liberties, Priviledges, Franchises, and Commodities, as shal be fit and necessary for the advancement of their Plantations.

"They shal yeerely pay unto such officers as shal be appointed for that purpose, the fifth part of all ores of gold and silver, as shall at all times hereafter be found and gotten within the bounds and limites of the Signiories and Lands granted unto them, which fift part of oare, is by the Pattent reserved to his Majestie.

"The fift part being deducted for his Majestie, they shal also pay to the Patentees, or unto their officers for that purpose appointed, all such rents

and duties, as betwixt the said Patentees and them shall be agreed upon: and also from time to time shall observe, pay & performe all such other customs, impositions, reservations, and limitations, as are mentioned & expressed in the said Patent.

"And for their safety and defence in all the said particular Plantations, they shall be ayded, protected, and defended, both by sea and land, against all assaulters, invaders, and intruders, according to the power and strength of the undertakers of the Generall Plantation, which I hope (with God's assistance), shal be sufficient to resist and repell the malice of our greatest enemies."

George Simon, Earl Harcourt, in his printed "Description of Nuneham Courtenay," says,—

"Robert was eldest son of Sir Walter Harcourt, and was the principal adventurer with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, for which expedition he built, and fitted out at his own expence, three vessels, by which means (in addition to his costly buildings at Ellen Hall, com. Stafford), he dissipated a large fortune, and was reduced to sell that ancient possession, as well as that of Wytham in Berkshire; both of which had remained in the family from the reign of King John."

Lord Harcourt does scanty justice to the memory of his distinguished ancestor, and he is not quite exact in saying that Sir Robert accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh; as may be gathered from Sir Robert's own writings.

There are fine full-length portraits of Sir Robert, and of his second wife, Frances de Vere, in the dining-room at Nuneham, by Marc Gerard, both in excellent preservation.

Wytham, which was formerly a favourite residence of the Harcourts, is now the property of the Earl of Abingdon. The cornice of the dining-room there is still decorated with the arms of Harcourt.

It is related that when Sir Robert Harcourt, after the sale of Ellenhall, was forced to part with more of his property, to defray the expenses of his expedition to Guiana, he let loose a pigeon, and said he would sell the land over which the pigeon flew. The bird circled round the Wytham domain.

Sir Robert had two wives, the first was Elizabeth, daughter of John Fitz-Herbert,



of Norbury in Derbyshire; and the second was Frances, daughter of Geoffrey de Vere, fourth son of John, Earl of Oxford, and sister of Sir Francis Vere, and of Horace, Lord Vere of Tilbury; both renowned warriors. Sir Robert had no issue by his first marriage, but by his second he had seven children; namely, Sir Simon, his successor; Francis, who died unmarried; Vere; Elizabeth, who died young; Jane, married to Henry, son of Sir Giles Wroughton of Broad Hinton in Wiltshire; Dorothy, who married Henry Chetwynd, of Highwood in Staffordshire; and Margaret, who was born in 1607, and dying the same year, was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

We read in Burke's "Extinct Peerages,"—

"Frances, married to Sir Robert Harcourt, who was ancestor to the Earls of Harcourt, was daughter of Geoffrey de Vere, son of John, 15<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, & brother of John, 16<sup>th</sup> Earl. She was sister to Sir Francis Vere. Of the exploits of this gallant person an account appeared in 1657, under the title of 'the Commentaries of

Sir Francis Vere, being divers pieces of service wherein he had commanded, written by himself.' He died 1608, and was interred at Westminster, under a splendid monument. The youngest son, Sir Horatio Vere, becoming one of the most eminent persons of that period, was elevated to the peerage for his distinguished services, by King Charles the First, in the dignity of Baron Vere of Tilbury. It would be in vain even to attempt to epitomize the exploits of this gallant personage here.

"Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' thus characterizes his Lordship: 'Horace, Lord Vere, had more meekness, and as much valour as his brother; of an excellent temper,—it being true of him what is said of the Caspian Sea, that it doth never ebb nor flow, observing a constant tenor, neither elated or depressed with success; both lived in war much honoured, and died in peace much lamented.' He left an only daughter (marrying the daughter of Sir John Tracey), when the barony became extinct. Horatio, Lord Vere, was interred near his brother in Westminster Abbey."

We read in Somers's Tracts, p. 381, concerning Sir Francis Vere:—

"It may be a question whether the nobility of his House, or the honour of his great achievements, might most commend him; and he brought more glory to the name of Vere, than he took

of blood from the family. I finde not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almost perpetually in the Campe, but when he did, no man had more of the Queen's favor, and none less envied, for he seldom troubled it with the noise and allarmes of supplication. They report that the Queen, as she loved Marshall men, would court this gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence; and, surely, he was a soldier of great worth and command, 30 yeares in the service of the states, and 20 yeares over the English, in chiefe, as the Queen's Generall, and he that hath seen the battle of Newport, might there best have taken him and his noble brother, the Lord of Tilbury, to the life. He was amongst the Queen's swordsmen, inferior to none, but superior to many, of whom it may be said, that to speak much of him were the way to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and forget more that would make to his honour."

In the "Memorials of Affairs of State," 1725, we find the following letter from Sir Francis Vere to Mr. Winwood, one of the principal Secretaries of State, dated April 5, 1606:—

"I am sorry to hear the news of the French king's beseiging Sedan, which, in my estimation,

must be as pleasing to the enemies of this state, for that they now see him whom they most feared, engaged in a war, which in appearance must draw into the neck of it another and greater, to the fortifying of their party, and disabling of others, and in the meantime giveth them opportunity to prosecute offensively these united Provinces with their entire power, which I do think shall now be very suddenly employed, and the name of Spinola be currant again, tho' I hope not so much to his glory. I do long for my brother's arrival, and marvell not a little of his so long stay in England, being a month since he wrote me he was upon his coming over. I do conceive his absence wants your favourable assistance in supporting the remainder of his poor fortune, which else may turn to his great hinderance. You are so noble, wise, and just, that of your own instinct you will not be wanting in what is fit for you to do, both in regard to the Public service and him, and therefore it is needless to add any intreaty of mine; only thus much I avow, to be thankfull to you for any good office you shall afford him, and so rest,

Yours to command,

FRANCIS VERE."

Sir Robert Harcourt's sister, Elizabeth, was maid-of-honour to Anne of Denmark,



Consort of James the First. Pictures of the King and Queen, by Mac Gerrard, and of their daughter, Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia, by Hondthurst, all presents from themselves, now hang in the south corridor at Nuneham.

Sir Robert died on the 20th of May, 1631, aged 57, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Simon, to whom he bequeathed an impaired patrimony but high aspirations. Before, however, proceeding with the memoir of Sir Simon, it will be well to trace the descendants of his younger brother, Vere Harcourt.

We find that Vere Harcourt, Doctor in Divinity, was Archdeacon of Nottingham, and Rector of Plumtree, in that county, in the year 1660; he married Lucy, daughter of Roger Thornton, of Snailswell in Cambridgeshire, by whom he had Simon, his eldest son, besides another son and two daughters, who died unmarried. The Archdeacon died in 1683.

His son Simon married Elizabeth, daughter

and heir of Sir Richard Anderson of Pendley, and of Elizabeth his wife, sister and co-heir of Viscount Hewet of Ireland; thus, in right of his wife, he became Harcourt of Pendley; he was Clerk of the Crown; he died March 30, 1724, and was buried at Aldbury in Hertfordshire. He left two sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Henry, married Frances, only daughter and heir of Nathaniel Bard, and of his wife Persiana, only daughter and heir of Henry Bard, Earl of Belmont in Ireland. Henry died in 1741, and was buried at Aldbury. He left three sons and eight daughters. The eldest son, Richard Bard, married Rachel, daughter of Albert Nisbet; the third son, Henry, was Rector of Warbleton and Crowhurst in Sussex.

Richard had a son, Henry, who succeeded him at Pendley, and a daughter, Sophia, who married Amadée, Marquis of Harcourt in France. By him she had three children, William, George, and Mary.

Amadée was Aide-de-camp to General Harcourt, who was afterwards William, third

Earl Harcourt. Lord Harcourt died in 1830 without issue. He left St. Leonard's, near Windsor, which he had become possessed of through the favour of George the Third; together with a large sum of money, which was the private fortune he had derived, as a younger son, from his father; to William, eldest son of Amadée; on condition of his resigning his French position, and becoming an Englishman. Thus William, who was educated at Eton, became William Harcourt, Esq., of St. Leonard's; and his younger brother, George, the present accomplished Ambassador of France at the Court of St. James, succeeded to the French honours.

Under the will of William Lord Harcourt, the St. Leonard's property was never to descend to a Roman Catholic; consequently, when William Harcourt of St. Leonard's died without male issue, his younger brother, George, who was not a Protestant, was debarred from succeeding. To shew, however,

the vanity of such provisions, one of the younger sons of Mons. George d'Harcourt, who was born after Lord Harcourt's will was made, obtained the St. Leonard's property unconditionally, and presently sold it.

We now go back to Sir Simon, son of Sir Robert Harcourt.

Collins says,—

"This Sir Simon Harcourt signalized himself by feats of arms, in which he was initiated against the Spaniards in the Low Countries, where he was Major of the regiment commanded by his heroic uncle, Sir Horace Vere, Baron of Tilbury, at whose seat, at Kirby-hall in Essex, were the pictures of his Lordship's officers, and among them this Sir Simon Harcourte, who is said to be one of his Scholars, in the Epistle to the reader before Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

"He was knighted at Whitehall, on June 26, 1627, 3 Car. I.; and Sir John Temple, in his Appendix to the History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 52, gives this account of him: 'The Lords Justices and Council were shut up within the city of Dublin, in a most miserable condition, desperately threatened on every side, until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant gentle-



man and gallant commander, Sir Simon Harcourt, who being designed Governor of the city of Dublin, was dispatched away by special order of Parliament, with his regiment, for the preservation of that place; and landed there on the last day of December, 1641, to the great joy and comfort of all his Majesty's Protestant & well-affected subjects, and to the terror of the rebels in arms.' Borlace, in his *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 241, says, 'He was a long experienced and excellent officer, worthy the memory of the best Prince, and most grateful people; who afterwards was, by an especial order, admitted into the Privy Council.' On his landing at Dublin, as aforesaid, with his regiment (which consisted of 1200 foot), he was immediately invested with the government of that city; and on January 10 following, dislodged the enemy from Swords, a village about six miles distant, and raised the blockade.

"Of his last exploit we have this account:—'On March 26, 1642, Sir Simon Harcourt, with a small party, marched out of Dublin towards Wicklow, and finding the rebels possessed of the castle of Carrick-Main, but four miles from the city, he sent back for two great guns to batter it; but, before they arrived, Sir Simon, as he was viewing the castle with 200 musketeers, received a shot from the garrison, which killed him on the spot. His troops were so enraged, that within

a few hours after the cannon came up, having made a breach and entering the castle, under the command of Colonel Gibson, they put all therein to the sword, refusing quarter to those rebels who had slain their beloved Colonel.'

"This valiant Knight, whose corpse was buried at Dublin, espoused Anne, daughter to William Lord Paget; and by her (who was 2<sup>dly</sup> married to Sir William Waller, of Osterly-Park, the Parliament's general), he had two sons, Sir Philip, his heir, and Frederick Harcourt, who died without issue."

Sir Simon, whose father died when he was quite a young man, appears to have been taken great charge of by his uncle, Horace, Lord Vere. At the age of sixteen he went with him as his Lieutenant to the Dutch wars<sup>o</sup>, and was engaged in fighting more or less for twenty years. His last active work was in Ireland, where he was unfortunately slain. The "*Histoire de la Maison d'Harcourt*" brings the English

<sup>o</sup> Sir Horace Vere commanded, in 1620, a small but gallant body of English troops, sent to aid the Prince Palatine in maintaining himself in Bohemia; but they were not supported by reinforcements, and were suffered, after a single campaign, to moulder away on garrison duty.

Harcourts to an abrupt termination at this period ; we read, p. 1931, vol. ii. :—

"Simon de Harcourt, Baron de Bosworth, cherchant la guerre hors de son pays se trouva au siege de Mastrick l'an 1632, depuis estant passé en Irland il servait utilement Charles I<sup>r</sup>, Roi de la Grande Bretagne, ayant été tué en une rencontre des enemis."

And Monsieur de la Roque, the author, proceeds to say,—

"Aussi on nous a rapporté que cette branche de Harcourt a pris fin en Angleterre en Guillaume de Harcourt (fils de Simon) durant les derniers mouvemens et guerres civiles arrivees en cette isle. Le Pere et le fils estans morts en meme saison servans la couronne contre les rebelles sous le regne de Charles I<sup>r</sup>. Cette maison de Harcourt estant alliée par femme de toutes ces Branches Royales, et descend en plusieurs manieres des anciens Roys d'Angleterre."

This elaborate and expensive work is evidently not a trustworthy authority ; a magnificent copy, in four volumes, folio, is to be found in the Nuneham Library. It was presented by the Duc de Harcourt to Lord Chancellor Harcourt, in the year 1702. The

Lord Chancellor was the grandson of Sir Simon, of whom we are now writing, and was himself a living example of the incorrectness of de la Roque's statement.

In Borlase's "History of the execrable Irish Rebellion," 1680, p. 52, we read :—

"The last of December, 1641, arriv'd at Dublin (from the Parliament of England) Sir Simon Harcourt, with a regiment of 1200 foot ; a gentleman of good extraction, long bred in the low countries (the school of War) under Sir Horatio, the Lord Vere, that renowned and excellent person, one of the most noted and eminent Commanders of the late Age.

"Sir Simon was designed Governour of Dublin, much to the comfort of the Protestants, and terror of the Rebels."

In Leland's "History of Ireland," 1773, vol. iii. p. 157, we are told that,—

"The Lords Justices were engaged by an object, to them more interesting than the relief of Drogheda ; the legal conviction of the Lords and gentlemen engaged in the insurrection ; a measure previously necessary to the forfeiture of their estates. The arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men,



encouraged them to a little more activity in their military operations. . . . The Earl of Ormond was commissioned to lead 3,000 foot, and 500 horse towards the river of the Boyne, and to prosecute the Rebels with fire and sword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition; and he was strictly enjoined, on no account to pass the River. Scarcely had the Justices granted this commission, limited with such abundant caution, when they repented; and employed their agent, but in vain, to persuade the Earl to relinquish the enterprize, and commit the soldiers to the guidance of Sir Simon Harcourt."

And now to return to Borlase's History, page 72 :—

"Whilst preparations were making for this expedition, Sir Simon Harcourt, (who loved always to be in action), the 26<sup>th</sup> of March, 1642, took a small party of men, and went out towards the County of Wickloe, where he found the Rebels had possessed themselves of the Castle of Carrickmaine<sup>p</sup>, within 4 miles of Dublin; and seeing

<sup>p</sup> We learn from the "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," 1772, vol. ii. p. 531, that "the parish of Killgobbin is bounded on the east with Carrickmaine. The parish of Killgobbin contains 700 acres, there are on the premises one castle, thatched, and the walls of a Parish Church, the said buildings are valued at £20. They belonged to Sir Adam Loftus, mortgaged to Sir Maurice Eustace, Knight."

him draw near to it, with those small forces, and finding him to have no Artillery, so as their Walls were of sufficient strength to bear them out against any attempts he could make, they began to brave him from within, and to use reproachful signs from the top of the Castle, thereby to express their contempt and scorn of him. This his spirit was not well able to brook; and considering the Castle was not invincible, and that it would be very great advantage to the city of Dublin to remove so ill a neighbour; and that with two Pieces of Battery he could take it (in some few hours), he sent presently away to the Lords Justices to acquaint them with his design, and to desire them to send unto him two great guns for the effecting of it. They very well approved his design, and gave present order for the carrying them out, together with all necessaries and provisions fitting for the service.

"In the meantime, he took special care for the surrounding of the Castle, and disposing of his men so, as they might prevent the rebels from issuing out. In which service, Serjeant-Major Berry (with 200 fire-locks, viewing the Castle) was shot in his side, though he died not till 8 days after of a Fever. All things being put in order, whilst they attended the coming of the great Peeeces (now on their way), Sir Simon Harcourt, with some of the Commanders, laid them-

selves down under the side of a little thatch'd house, standing near the Castle, (which they took as a shelter to keep off the enemies' bullets), from whence he suddenly rose up to call the souldiers to stand carefully to their Arms, and to their duties in their several stations ; which one of the Rebels (from within) perceiving, discharged his piece at him, and shot him into his right breast, under the neck-bone ; and being so wounded, he was carried off, expressing his submission to the good hand of God, and much joy'd to pour out his last blood in the cause.

"The pain of his Wound was so great, as they could not bring him to Dublin, but carried him to Mirian, a house of Lord Fitz William's, where the next day he died, to the great grief of the English, and the prejudice of the Service. His Lieutenant, Colonel Gibson, took the command of that Party, and the great Guns being come, within the space of a very few hours made a breach sufficient for the souldiers to enter ; who being mightily enraged with the loss of their most beloved Colonel, entered with great fury, putting all to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, or child.

"The first officer that led them on in the breach, was Robert Hammond, Ensign to Sir Simon Harcourt, who carried himself very gallantly in this Service, and who afterwards, by the several ex-

ploits he performed (in the reduction of the West of England, under the command of the Parliament), attain'd unto great reputation, and one of the Chief Commanders in their army ; and at the King's coming to the Isle of Wight, was governor of Carisbrook Castle, and of the Isle, (and upon his notice to the Parliament that the King was arriv'd there), had command to attend His Majesty with respect and honour, with a promise that nothing should be wanting to defray the King's expenses ; in which service (a ticklish task at that time), I do not find that he forfeited his trust, or otherwise demean'd himself, then was well accepted.

"At the time that Sir Simon went forth, the Lords Justices and Council, finding what ill instruments the Priests continued to be, kindling and fomenting the Rebellion, caused as many of them as were in Town to be seized on, who being put into French bottoms, were shipt into France."

A picture of Sir Simon, which is described in Lord Harcourt's catalogue as "a very fine and highly-finished portrait," hangs in the south corridor at Nuneham ; it is painted on panel. Beside it hang pictures of his wife, Anna, daughter of William, fourth Lord



Paget, from a miniature by Mrs. Beale<sup>a</sup>; William, fifth Lord Paget, brother to Lady Harcourt, by Sir Peter Lely; Sir Philip, eldest son of Sir Simon, also after a miniature by Mrs. Beale; Anne, first wife of Sir Philip, and daughter of Sir William Waller, by Lady Anne Finch, also after Mrs. Beale; and Lady Anne Finch, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Winchelsea, by Vandyk.

Under Sir Simon's picture there is hung a framed and illuminated manuscript, which runs as follows:—

"Bellona's — Niobe's

or

Honours — Elegie:

written in memory of the late right Noble  
and most truly Hono<sup>ble</sup> minded Commander,

St. SIMON HARCOURT,

Knight and Colonell,

who was most unhappily slaine with  
a shot from the Castle of Kilgobbin, in  
persute of the Rebels, Anno Domini 1642.

"Phoenix Moriendo Reviviscit

Tam Marti Quam Mercurio."

<sup>a</sup> Mrs. Beale was born in Suffolk, 1632; and died 1697, aged 65.  
Sir Peter Lely was her instructor.

"What a thick night of sorrow, what a sadde  
And silent horroure have our Hearts late hadde.  
Those Tunes, those Fires which Aprill us'd to bring,  
Forsake our Clymate and forget the Spring,  
Harcourt the wise and Valiant, for to Thee,  
The Guest and Pleasure of Eternitie,  
Wee pay these floods and sighes which can command  
A tempest rise, and drowne us on the Land.  
It was thy last unminded praise, that when  
Thou meanst to leave them thou woldst shew thy men  
The way to Victory, and not depart  
Till thou hadst struck Rebellion through the heart.  
Which growling now, and vext with unseen harmes,  
Repents she e'er tooke up disloyall armes.  
The great experience Thou before hadst got  
In forraigne Kingdomes where thy sword had sought  
A way to early fame, whose trumpe doth take  
Delight to sound for such a souldier's sake.  
Thy skill in all the Arts, and the encrease  
Of that rich knowledge in the tyme of peace,  
Thy zeale unto Religion, and thy cause  
To serve the King, and to mayntaine his Lawes.  
These are the Acts proclaim thee, whether by  
Soft learnings, Palmes, or on thy Glorious Thigh  
Thy honour'd sword must ride, and Foes must feele  
The vengfull edge of thy Victorious Steele.  
Then Courage Soldiers, what Heart now can fayle,  
Though Brasse do thunder, and though Bullets hayle;  
Let men stand to't, lett winged Pelletts flye,  
Harcourt in one hath show'd all how to dye.

O that the Fates would suffer Cowards live,  
 That Valour only death to men might give,  
 Soe as Hee marcheth through the fields of Peace,  
 The shaddowes stare upon Him, and encrease  
 Their feares by gazing, where amongst the Rest  
 Tirone's<sup>r</sup> Ghost wonders at this mighty Guest;  
 And askes who 'tis so deeply hath imbrow'd  
 His standard, steeming with the Irish blood.  
 And 'gainst such strength almost alone did dare  
 Strong in his cause to stand himself a warre?  
 Hee speaks and trembles, woldst thou know Him, why  
 'Tis noble Harecourt (Rebell), Victory  
 Fledde from yow to Him, and with him did fight  
 'Gainst bould Rebellion in defence of Right.  
 Who buckling on his Armes Hee would not feare  
 Thee, nor O' Neale, if you had both been there.  
 But Hee expressing Valour more than Man  
 Repeate, or value, or Imagine can  
 St. Patrick murderd, weele not to do Him wrong  
 Nor yet impute more than may well belong  
 To second causes, for who ist will say  
 Unskillfull Paris did Achilles slay,  
 When there is none so weake who doth not know  
 Appollo shotte the Arrow from the Bow.  
 So fell our Harecourt, look not then more pale  
 Yee Shades for Envy in your quiet Vale;  
 But give Him all such welcome shoutes, that soe  
 Cæsar might stooping a Superiour knowe."

<sup>r</sup> The first rebellion was called Tyrone's Rebellion.

## EPITAPHIUM.

"Reader, burst forth in teares, for heere doth lye  
 The mappe of Honour and all Chivalry.  
 Holland first prov'd his valour, Scotland stood  
 His trembling Foe, and Ireland drank his blood.  
 In feates of Armes his unexampl'd name  
 The English cherish, and the world his fame."

I find in a manuscript-book in my possession, which was presented to George Simon, Lord Harcourt, by Mr. Edmondson<sup>s</sup>, Mowbray Herald extraordinary, the following extract from an ordinance of Parliament made die Jovis, tertii Augusti, 1648:—

"Whereas there have been several great and acceptable services performed by Sir Simon Harcourt, K<sup>t</sup>., deceased, against the barbarous and bloody Rebels in Ireland, in which service he adventured and lost his life honourably in the field in defence of the right and interest of the Crown and Kingdom of England against those bloody Rebels. The Lords and Commons in consideration thereof, do order and ordain that the capital Messuage, Town and Lands of Corballis in the county of Dublin, late in possession of Luke Nettervill, Esq.,

<sup>s</sup> Evidences collected by Mr. Austin, Garter, and Gregory King, Lancaster.



Dec. 8 (who was in actual rebellion in Ireland, and died in the said Rebellion), & also so much other his estate nearest adjacent to the said Town of Corballis, as, together therewith, shall amount unto £400 English a-year, over & above all charges & Reprises, the annual Value thereof to be accounted according to the value as the same were or might have been set at the usual Rates within one year next before the 23<sup>rd</sup>. of October, 1641, are hereby vested, adjudged, & settled in the actual & real Possession & Seisin of Anne, Lady Harcourt, late wife of the said Sir Simon Harcourt, K<sup>nt</sup>., dec<sup>d</sup>., and her Heirs & Assigns for ever.

"Nevertheless, unto the uses herein expressed. (viz.) To her use for Life; remaind<sup>r</sup>. of the said Corballis & so much of the other Lands as shall amount to £200 a-year, to the use of Philip Harcourt, Esq., their eldest son, his Heirs & Assigns for ever. And of the residue of the Premises to the use of Frederick Harcourt, their youngest son, his Heirs & assigns for ever. To be holden of the Chief Lord or Lords of the Fee, by the respective Rents & Services thereout due and of right accustomed—with a naturalization of the said Frederick Harcourt, as if he had been born of his English Parents within the Realm of England."

There is a good picture of Frederick Harcourt by Cornelius Jansen, painted upon panel, and in excellent preservation, in the State bedroom at Nuneham. He was born in Holland, when his father was serving there, and died young.

The property conveyed by this grant appears to have been very soon parted with by Sir Philip Harcourt, for we read in an indented deed, dated July 11, 1662,—

"Sir Philip Harcourte of Stanton Harcourte, Co: Oxford, K<sup>t</sup>. (Son & Heir of Sir Simon Harcourte, K<sup>t</sup>. dec<sup>d</sup>.), for the sum of £33. 4<sup>s</sup>. sold and conveyed in fee farm to W<sup>m</sup>. Williams, Brewer, All that House, Backside, & Garden, on the last side of New Street, in or near the City of Dublin, containing in breadth, on the fore front, 31 feet, and running backwards to the Lands of S<sup>t</sup>. Sepulchre's, on the East, 178 feet; paying to Sir Philip & his Heirs the yearly Rent of £2, of which premisses Luke Nettervill of Corbally, Co: Dublin, Esq., dec<sup>d</sup>. was Proprietor, & being forfeited by his late Rebellion, were afterwards granted to & vested in Sir Philip and his Heirs."

I also find a paper docketed, in the hand-

writing of Simon, Earl Harcourt, as having been taken from the Auditor-General's office, during the time that Lord Harcourt was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland:—

“Extract of a Patent of June 10, 1666, being the 19<sup>th</sup> year of the Reign of King Charles the 2<sup>nd</sup>., granted unto James, Duke of Ormond, his Heirs and Assigns for ever, of the Lands of Corballis with others in the Barony of Balrothery & County of Dublin, and also of several Houses in the City of Dublin.

“And whereas great care is to be taken of the Relict and Heirs of S<sup>r</sup>. Symon Harcourt, K<sup>nt</sup>., deceased, upon whom His Majesty's Royal Father did by His Letters under His Privy Signet, appoint that Lands to the Value of Four hundred Pounds per an; to be taken out of the Forfeited Estate of Luke Netterville, should be settled, part of which estate, together with certain houses in Dublin, were sett out accordingly, and the Relict & Heirs of S<sup>r</sup>. Symon Harcourt thereof possessed at the time of His M<sup>ties</sup> late Gracious Declaration & so still are, which Lands and Houses together are, as is alledged, still short of the value of £400 per an: intended to be settled as aforesaid. It is therefore explained and enacted that it shall and may be lawful to and for the

said S<sup>r</sup>. Philip Harcourt, K<sup>t</sup>., Son & Heir of the said S<sup>r</sup>. Symon, to hold & enjoy to him & his Heirs the houses in the city of Dublin so as aforesaid set out & possessed, so as the Houses & Lands together do not exceed the value of £400 per an:

“And whereas the said S<sup>r</sup>. Philip Harcourt, by his deed duly perfected & executed, bearing date the 8<sup>th</sup> day of August, 1665, for the Considerations therein expressed, did give, Grant & Convey all his Right, Title, and interest in, & to the Lands & Tenements & Hereditaments hereafter mentioned, & in & by the said Clause or Proviso intended & comprehended unto the said James, Duke of Ormond, his Heirs & Assigns, to the use of him the said James, Duke of Ormond, his Heirs & Assigns for ever<sup>t</sup>.”

<sup>t</sup> “Corballis, a Conygree Warren thereunto belonging, a Moiety of Baltra, a Mansion & 4 Messuages, Contg 120 acres of Profitable Land, & 60 acres of unprofitable Land of Plantation Measure; Killeraugh, 120 acres of Profitable Land; Palmerstowne, 6 Messuages, 300 Acres of Profit & 20 acres unprofit Land; Jordans-towne, 260 acres of Profit Land & 20 acres of unprofit Land; Cotterellstowne, 65 acres of Profit Land & 5 acres of unprofit Land; part of Grallah, 3 acres of profit Land, all plant measure, lying & being the Barony of Balrotheric & County of Dublin. And also one Messuage in the Town of Lusk, the Riglasse of Luske, 140 Acres, together with all the Tythes belonging to the said Town of Luske, lying & being in the Barony Nethercross & C<sup>o</sup>. of Dublin; Two Mesuages or Tenements in Winetavern Street, with a Plott of Ground now in the Possession of W<sup>m</sup>. Hughes,



A common-place book of Sir Simon Harcourt's, which I found at Nuneham amongst a variety of musty documents, will now be called upon to furnish a few extracts.

On the first page appear some lines, which I do not know that Peter de Vere would have thanked me for perpetuating.

2 wast places or Tofts w<sup>th</sup>. a Garden or Backside unto one of them belonging, one of which said Plotts is lying & being in S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas Street, the other in S<sup>t</sup>. James's Street, whereon are 4 Tenements built, now in the Possession of Alder<sup>n</sup>. Rich<sup>d</sup>. Teigh, one house or Tenem<sup>t</sup>. in S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas Street, & one other house or small Tenement thereunto adjoining in the Front Streetwards 80 Foot in length, backwards 300 Foot, now in the Poss<sup>n</sup>. of Tho<sup>s</sup>. Clarke. Sev<sup>l</sup>. parcels of ground or Garden Plotts, whereon divers Houses are built, except the 2 Houses adjoining to Ald<sup>n</sup>. Teighs, holding (viz<sup>t</sup>) one parcell of ground or Garden Plott, situate, lying & being in S<sup>t</sup>. Francis Street, Cont. 11 Perches & 17 Foot in breadth in the front, & in length backwards 13 Perches; one other parcell of Ground or Garden Plott, lying in S<sup>t</sup>. Francis Street afores<sup>d</sup>., cont<sup>d</sup>. in the front in breadth 9 Perches & 13 Foot, & in length backwards, 14 Perches & 9 Foot, now in the Possession of Thomas Burton, John Fletcher, John Bradock, John Stone, & their Tenants, all that House backside & garden, lying and being on the East side of New Street, in breadth 31 Foot, & in length 178 Foot, now in the Poss<sup>n</sup>. of W<sup>m</sup>. Williams Brewer, and also all other the Houses & Lands that did formerly belong unto the said S<sup>t</sup>. Philip Harcourt, in the City or County of the City of Dublin.

"The yearly Quit Rent, payable by the said Patent for all the Lands in the County Dublin amounts to £20 8s. 2½d.; and for the Houses & in the City of Dublin, £2 14s."

"When on this booke I looke and see  
I thinke on him, next God mayd mee,  
Which workes in mee such a pastion,  
Greve troubles the minde, o great alteration."

"This is the end of man, that wisemen spyes  
One ou<sup>r</sup> he lives, the oder he dyes,  
Make it so o man, what so ever  
Once here you must dye, and then dye neber."

"S<sup>r</sup> Edwarde Vere, whom in his life toke great cear,  
His friends he loved, his ennemies did him fear,  
In state matters, wise, and ever just,  
Lyes now, alas, hidden among the dust.  
This I finde trew, just is my fere,  
Wee hardly finde, such another Vere,  
His planits saye : even those of pann,  
In many adges you skaes finde such a man."

*Pieter de Vere.*

"Nossete ibsum."

Sir Simon was sent in the year 1632 to take part in the expedition to Scotland, and his journal gives the following particulars respecting the commencement of the undertaking :—

"On y<sup>e</sup> 18 of Aprill, 1632, I embarked my regement, haueinge my compleate number of 1700 men, reckoninge Sarriants, Drumes, Corporalls; and on y<sup>e</sup> one and twentieth I embarked my selfe

in y<sup>e</sup> Henrietta Maria, commanded by S<sup>r</sup> Henry Manneringe, vice-Admirall.

"On Tuesday, y<sup>e</sup> 22 of Aprill, wee sett saile from Yearmouth for the Northern parts, haveinge a fleete of 28 saile, under y<sup>e</sup> command of my Lord Marquise Hammelton, of w<sup>ch</sup> numbere three were of y<sup>e</sup> kinges; 8 y<sup>e</sup> Rainbow, in w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> Admirall S<sup>r</sup> John Pennington; y<sup>e</sup> Henrietta Maria, y<sup>e</sup> vice-admirall, S<sup>r</sup> Henry Manneringe; the Bone-adventure, commanded by Cap. Rich: Feildeinge; the Expedition, commanded by Cap. Slingsby; y<sup>e</sup> Rooe Bucke; the Antelope, commanded by Cap: Stradling; w<sup>th</sup> 20 colliers, each of w<sup>ch</sup> transportinge 250 sooldiers, lande-men, makinge y<sup>e</sup> number of 5000; w<sup>ch</sup> were deuided into 3 Regiments, haveinge each 1700 men; & these deuided into 13 companies; y<sup>e</sup> coll company beeinge 200; Lieut. Coll. 150; Sar. maiors 150; y<sup>e</sup> rest 120. y<sup>e</sup> Collonells, S<sup>r</sup> Tho: Moston, S<sup>r</sup> Nicolas Byrron, & my selfe.

"On y<sup>e</sup> 24, by ten of y<sup>e</sup> clooke, wee discovered Flamberow headlande in Yorkshore, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> utmost east point of lande of England, and distant some 35 leages from Yearmouth: & soe wee sayled all y<sup>e</sup> daye in viewe of y<sup>e</sup> cost; on the 25, y<sup>e</sup> winde became contrary & stormie, beeinge Northwest, soe y<sup>t</sup> wee were constrained to beate it out at sea; not beeinge able to hould our course, w<sup>ch</sup> was directly to y<sup>e</sup> Northwards;

on y<sup>e</sup> 26, y<sup>e</sup> winds continuinge stormy, wee were forced backe againe as farr as Scarbourrow, when wee came to an Ancor.

"On Satterday, y<sup>e</sup> 27, wee sett saile againe, about 5 of the clooke, in y<sup>e</sup> Morninge, the winde beeinge south southwest, calme, but rainery weather, & soe continued all that day; this day one in our shipp died.

"On the 28, wee came to an anker before the Holly Iland; & one the 29, rideinge at ancor, my Lord Marquise published unto us Coll: his commission as Gennerall of our Army; & on the 30 we sett saile for the Forth in Scotlande.

"On the first of May wee came to Ancor in the mouth of the frith by Duglas Castle; on y<sup>e</sup> 2 of May wee waiyed & anchored, about 2 leages beyond the bas Iland; & on the 3 wee came before Towone of Leith, where wee anchored in this manner; on y<sup>e</sup> 4, the Bayelies, w<sup>th</sup> some other officer of Leith, came w<sup>th</sup> an answere unto my Lord Marquise, but what, wee knewe not, but such as wee perceued well, pleased him not; this night wee helde a garde of 3 companies, commanded by Sarriant Major in Enketh Iland, w<sup>ch</sup> garde shall be continueed the time wee staye here; & this day wee receued directions from y<sup>e</sup> Gennerall in what manner wee should order our new levied troopes.

"Keepinge dilligent & carefull watch in our



boeats & shipp, to preuent y<sup>e</sup> danger of fireinge, if they should attempt any such thinges; my Lord Marquise this day sent one on shore to signify unto y<sup>e</sup> Mayors of Lieyth & Eddenbowrroug the Kinges grace & mersies to them & all persons, from the hieghest to the lowest, y<sup>t</sup> shale submitt, & become againe his true & loyall subiects, by his free pardoninge of them, w<sup>ch</sup> he would confirme & establish by act of Parlement, as was alleaged; y<sup>t</sup> night his messenger returned, but w<sup>th</sup>out answere, other then that they would communicate & impart it unto the Cheefe Lords of the Couenant, & soe then should be by them answere returned, in conuenient time.

"It seemed unto us that they tooke allarum at our arriuell very hottly; for they fired all their beackens upon hills; & all along the shore, as wee approached, they marched w<sup>th</sup> troopes, followinge our fleete; & when anchored, they stayed; and soe keepinge their gard all alonge the shore; the night wee came to Lieyth wee discouered some 20 coullers, w<sup>ch</sup> wee gessed to be some 2000 men marchinge into the towne; Gennerall Lashly, wee understoode, beeing there in person. On the 5 I receued order to lande w<sup>th</sup> my whole regiment upon the Island of Inshcom, w<sup>ch</sup> in part I did: & on the 6 day I landed the rest.

"Since which time, untill the 13, there was nothing done; on the 13 there came aborde the

Admirall, 2 commissioners from the couenanters; men well affected, and y<sup>t</sup> laboured to bringe matters to a right understandinge on both sides; about 4 of y<sup>e</sup> clooke, one Eliaser, one of y<sup>e</sup> most zelous & obstinate men of the couenanters, brought letters unto my Lord, the contents of w<sup>ch</sup>, we very well perceiued, pleased not my Lord Marquise; conditions of peace were offered, but sutch as stooode not w<sup>th</sup> honor to accept of; on the 20 of May, about 1 of the clooke in the morninge, a Flemish hoye was taken, brought in by our boeats.

"On the 21, wee embarked & left the Island of Inchcom, naked as wee found it.

"On the 22, I receued order from my Lord Marquise to sale downe w<sup>th</sup> my Regiment unto the Ile of Naye, & there to water, & leye at Ancor untill farther order. On the 23, I sett sayle from Inchkieth Island; on the 22, I likewise receued articles to publish both unto the officers & souldiers of my Regiment. The 23, about 2 of the clooke at night, wee came to an Ancor before y<sup>e</sup> Ile of Naye; the 24, I went on shore to viewe the Island, hopeinge to have founde store enough of fresh water for our shippes; diuers springes I founde, but they yealded not much water, nothinge neer enough for the seruice of one quarter of our fleete.

"On ye 9 of May wee disembarked & lodged y<sup>t</sup> night, (each Tertia or Brigade).

"On ye 11, beeinge Wednesday, wee dislodged & came y<sup>t</sup> night upon ye heath, where wee stayed y<sup>t</sup> night & y<sup>e</sup> next day; & on friday y<sup>e</sup> 13, we dislodged; y<sup>e</sup> Army beeinge deuied into 5 parts; & soe wee quartered y<sup>t</sup> night about y<sup>e</sup> Towne; y<sup>e</sup> 5 quarters were these.—The Princes, y<sup>e</sup> Here of Bredroes, Count Solloms, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Deedems & Count Morris.

"The Princes containinge	88 companies.
The Lord of Bredroes	48
The Count Solloms	32
The Count Morris	15
The Lord Deedems	18

"On Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 15, wee entrenched our quarters & on Munday night, beeinge 16, wee begann to Aproch: Lieu: Collonell Hollis commandinge y<sup>t</sup> night, wee rann a lyne of 200 pases w<sup>th</sup> a court of gard of a 120 in square.

"The 17, Collonell Broge commandinge in y<sup>e</sup> Aproches, haueinge more then dubble y<sup>e</sup> number of woorkemen then before, aduansed somme 500 pases, makinge thereon 2 courts of gard; w<sup>th</sup>out any looss. The 18, our ordinance beganne to playe from a Battery of 6 peeces halfe cannon; on y<sup>e</sup> Chappell Hill by y<sup>e</sup> Prince's quarter. This night, my Lord Morgan commandinge, wee aduanced (haueinge y<sup>e</sup> same number of woorkemen), 500 pases, makeinge 2 courts of gard.

"On y<sup>e</sup> 19, Collonell Balford commandinge, wee

rann a line of summe 120 pases, w<sup>th</sup> a great court of gard at y<sup>e</sup> end thereof; this nighte was slaine a Sarriant of my Lo: of Lesters, w<sup>th</sup> somm 3 souldiers more hurt. The 20, y<sup>e</sup> Cap: of y<sup>e</sup> gards commandinge, as deputie for y<sup>e</sup> Count Solloms, wee rann 2 lines, y<sup>e</sup> one towards y<sup>e</sup> Rine on y<sup>e</sup> left hand, of somme 40 paces, y<sup>e</sup> other to y<sup>e</sup> right, towards a horneworke of y<sup>e</sup> enimies. At beetween 30 & 40 pases, at y<sup>e</sup> end of each of these lines, were to be made a great court of gard or redoupt; w<sup>th</sup> a battery upon y<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> right hand, to fauour our aproch upon y<sup>e</sup> enimes out workes; y<sup>e</sup> lines & redoupt on y<sup>e</sup> left towards y<sup>e</sup> Rine, beeinge only to preuent y<sup>e</sup> enimies sallieinge on our backs.

"On y<sup>e</sup> 21, wee aduanced nothinge at all, neither were these redoupts & battery finished. On y<sup>e</sup> 22, Coll: Pagnam commandinge, a new line was begunn, out of y<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> right hand, upon y<sup>e</sup> point of a hornwoorke w<sup>ch</sup> laye on our left hand, at y<sup>e</sup> end of w<sup>ch</sup> there shall be likewise a court of gard. On y<sup>e</sup> 23, y<sup>e</sup> H. Lo: of Benerward commandinge, there was little donne, our Ingenneer van Neble, beeinge shoott, w<sup>th</sup> 3 sariants, who were overseers of ye woorkemen, slaine."

Next follows a note of receipt and expenditure.

Sir Simon found his circumstances much



involved when he succeeded his father; and he endeavoured to retrieve his fortune by a soldier's life. The occupation being, doubtless, made palatable to him, by the love of adventure which he had inherited on both sides.

The absence from home, however, entailed by such pursuits, appears, from Sir Simon's own accounts, to have been more detrimental to his affairs than any gains which his wanderings brought him.

Received from Stantan harcourt, y<sup>e</sup> 28

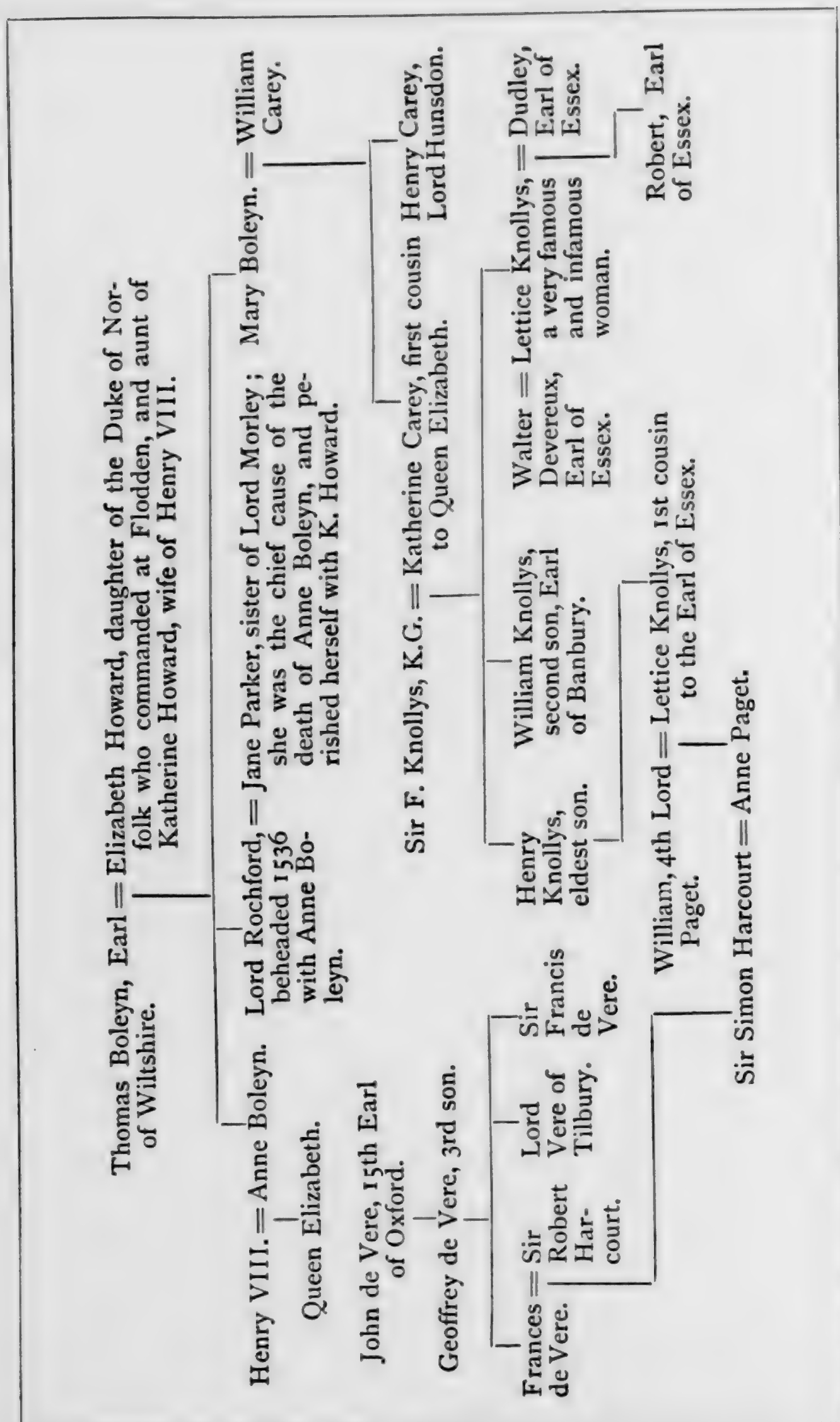
of May,	128 01 08
wherof disbursed,	
to my brother vere	019 00 00
to Sir Ihon marwood	025 00 00
to my cosen Hamond for my Lady's	
Silk	001 00 00
lent to my cosen hamond	020 00 00

I shall now proceed to give the private letters, which have been preserved, from Sir Simon Harcourt to his wife's mother, and to his wife, from 1638 to 1641.

His wife, as has been already stated, was a daughter of William, fourth Lord Paget;

her sister, Catherine, was married to Sir Anthony Irby, of Boston in Lincolnshire; her mother, Letitia, or Lettice, as she appears to have been called, was daughter and co-heir of Henry, eldest son of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G. There is a good three-quarter length picture of her in the ante-room at Nuneham, painted on panel by Marc Gerard. Sir F. Knollys was a Protestant, and fled to Germany in the reign of Mary; he was made a Privy Councillor and Knight of the Garter by Elizabeth, whose first cousin he married. He had the custody of Mary Queen of Scots, at Bolton, and sat in judgment on her.

The following table may serve to give an insight into the pedigree of the family at this date :—



"For the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lady Leticea Pagett.

"MADAM,

"Since I am as yett, by y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Orrange his denying me leave, deprived of the honor and happines in giveing you personall attendance, I have presumed in these to present my humbl dutie unto you; & to assure your Ladyshipp I will make what hast I can; & cheefely for my deare wife's sake, for I never broockt my absence from her w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>t</sup> impatience as now; but should it be my misfortune to be absent when she is brought to bedd, your Ladyshipp will be pleased to joyne with yourselfe such friends as you shall best like off, & soe honor me in makinge a Christian of what it shall please God to send me. I have nominated some unto my wife, who, if they may stande w<sup>th</sup> your Ladyshipp, her likeinge, it is well, otherwise your Ladyshipp will favour me in makeing your owne choyce; & if your Ladys' approve of mine, then I entreate you to doe me the honor, as to envite them. Thus, w<sup>th</sup> my prayers for y<sup>e</sup> continuance of your health, w<sup>th</sup> encrease of happines, I humbly take my leave, as beeing,

"Madam,

"Your dutifull and most respective

"Sonne & servant,

"S. HARCOURT.

"from the Hage,  
the 6 of Octo:  
1638, new Stile."



"MY DEAR SOULE,

"My joye was unspeakeable at y<sup>e</sup> newes of thy safe delivery, I beesee<sup>ch</sup> God to give us harts y<sup>t</sup> ever may be ever thankfull unto him for this his blesseinge to us; God grant y<sup>t</sup> it may live, & prove an instrument of his glory & our comforts; my deare, I will not now put you to the trouble of readinge many lines, I will earnestly invoke God for thee, & ever rest

"thy faithfull,

"now most joyeouse,

"affectionate husband,

"S. HARCOURT.

"London, the 6 of  
Decem: 1638."

"MY DEAR HART,

"I have now received 6 letters from thee, the last of the 18 of May, the contents whereof concerning my bussines of Stanton Harcourt; I have, accordinge to the opinion of councell, procured the kinges lettre, for the puttinge of the hearinge untill Michaellmas Terme, before w<sup>ch</sup> time, I doubt not but our bussines will be at an end heare; for my Lord Humes, one the cheefest of the covenanters, is thought will submitt & come into the kinge w<sup>thin</sup> this 2 or three dayes, & he is able to bringe a great party w<sup>th</sup> him, as it is

thought; soe that I trust in God that matters may & will be ended w<sup>th</sup>out bloodshedd.

"I have now been some 3 dayes w<sup>th</sup> my Regiment in the kinges Army, & I hope shall continue heare; his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is very gracious to me; & I am confident I shall not have cause to repent me of the time I spende in his service, although I were cashered in the lowe countries; but feare that not, my hart, for there is, & I am confident will be, none soe hard dealeinge w<sup>th</sup> me. I approve very well of your answer unto my sister Chettwins' letter, for I am resolved not to part w<sup>th</sup> any of that houeshould stuffe. I have hope shortly wee shall bee house keepers ourselves; for that matter wherein my Lord of Linsy was named, nothings can be donne in it; but if any happen hereafter, that party you knowe, will, I hope, be thought of. Concurring my bussines w<sup>th</sup> my Lord Saye, I desire there may be an end made of it, & therefore have advise w<sup>th</sup> my Brother Vere, & other of your friends in it; & what end soe ever you or they shall think fitt to make in it I shall be well pleased w<sup>th</sup> all, my dear hart, the sonner it be ended the better; for many respects I am very gladd to hear the 500 pounds is in reddiness, I hope you will speedely dispose soe of it as some proffitt may accrue unto us thereby; You Bro: Harry cannott procure leave to come over, w<sup>ch</sup> is much to his griffe and mine;

I would have now written to him to have procured a bill of exchange of one hundred poundes, to be sent thee by his sollissiter, but I had not time; I know if you write unto him your selfe in it, it will suffise; by the next, I shall not faile to write; I have payde a £100 heare unto my Bro: Wroughton, w<sup>ch</sup> he hath assured me he will take such order, as that it shall be payde unto thee, or any one you shall apoint to receave it for thee at London; had I been able, I would have sent thee more; I hope I shall ere long; in the meane time, dispose of this as you please, & of me, my dear hart,

"Thy most affectionate, loveinge

"husband. S. HARCOURT.

"my humble dutie unto your Mother, with love & service unto all my friends.

"From the army by Berwicke,  
the last of May, 1639."

MY DEAR HART,

"Since my last to thee, I received one from my Bro: Vere, w<sup>ch</sup> brought me the wellcome newes of his recovery, & the puttinge of the heareinge untill Michallmas termes, upon w<sup>ch</sup> newes I stayed the kinges letters here w<sup>ch</sup> were written to that purpose; soe y<sup>t</sup> now I hope my Bro: will be at leasure for the endinge of the other bussines w<sup>th</sup> my Lady Cope; I would gladly heare what my Lord Keeper's answeere was unto my Bro: upon the letter I writt unto him concurring that matter, rather then be put to farther trouble; I could be contented y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> summe in difference betwixt us were devided; therefore, my deare hart, lett that bussines be now thought on & ended, if it possibly may be in any reasonable manner; the end I aime at therein is thy good, for y<sup>t</sup> I would have somethinge assured to thee, whoever it shall please God to dispose of me: w<sup>ch</sup> I trust will be soe, that wee may longe comfortably enjoye each others.

"I have heare payde £100 unto my Lo: Chamberline; who hath sent a warrant unto the re-sever gennerall of his reveueus, Mr. Hinton by name; my Bros: Wroughton's letter will direct you where to send for it; I have now written unto yo<sup>r</sup> Bro: Henry, to procure a bill of exchange of 200 pounds, or, if he cannott for so much, yett for one, for the present, & the other



w<sup>th</sup> all convenient speede; I hope he will carefully doe it, my deare; nothinge troubles me more then that I have brought soe many on thee; but I doubt not, but God in deu time will redeeme us out of all; in the meane time lett us cheerefully submitt unto his pleasure therein, & begge his blessinge & direction in all our wayes; soe shall wee be happy in that of our meetinge, w<sup>ch</sup> is hartily desired & prayed for by

"Thy most affectionate

husband: S. HARCOURT.

"from our Army in  
Hurtley feilds, by  
Berwicke, the  
6 of May, 1637."

"MY DEAR HART,

"I am yett unprovided of a preacher, if it possibly may be in thyn, or any of your friends, power to help me to one, I should esteeme it a greate happines; I pray sende once more to Doctor Goffe about one, & lett him knowe how much I have binn disapointed by the expectation of him recomended by my Lo: Goreinge; Doctor Goffe lives w<sup>th</sup> my Lady Newport, as I take it."

"MY HART,

"As yet I cannott obtaine my leave, w<sup>ch</sup> doth soe much discontent me, y<sup>t</sup> were it not for thy sake I would not endure it; but as y<sup>e</sup> case standes w<sup>th</sup> me, I must have patience for a time, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will bringe it to a better issue; I expect letters out of England, w<sup>ch</sup> I doubt not will effeact my des<sup>ny</sup>; if not, I shall desire y<sup>e</sup> counsell & advise of my friends how to behave myselfe; for in my absence I may suffer more in my owne ocasions then ever my fortunes here will be able to recompense, besides y<sup>e</sup> losse of employment in y<sup>e</sup> Kinges Service, w<sup>ch</sup> in a short time may prove more benniffitiall to me then my life time (although longe) here; if I have a good end of my law bussiness I will w<sup>th</sup> what speede I can quitt here, yett not rashly, for I am much troubled to contineue in the service of soe ungratefull a people, who will not doe y<sup>e</sup> least courtesie to keepe an antient and faithfull survent, as I have ever binn to them, from utter ruinne; as in all apeerance theire deniall of my leave at this time may prove. Present my humble dutie unto your Mother, w<sup>th</sup> due respects to all, &, my dearest hart, prayeing thy health & little Phil's.

"Thy most dearely loveinge

"husband, S. HARCOURT.

"The Hauge, March 25,  
1640, new stile."

*"For my deare wife  
the Lady Harcourt at Cherney.*

"MY DEARE HART,

"I am, I prayse God, safely arrived w<sup>th</sup> my Regiment at Dublin, where I shall make noe longe staye, if I am not righted in y<sup>e</sup> wrongs I now suffer; for I finde another established by the Lords Justices as governor here<sup>u</sup>. They say that necessity forced them unto it haveinge noe man here in whom they durst confide, & that they can receve noe other w<sup>th</sup>out expresse order from my Lord Lieutenant; when they doe, I shall have my demand. I have written unto my Lord Lieutenant about it, likewise to my Lord of Holland; I pray make a journey to London, & entreate your Bro: my Lord Pagett; presse for a speedy answer y<sup>t</sup> I may knowe on what leggs I stand; & if he finde any difficulty in procuring my satisfaction here, then entreate him to procure a warrantable call for me from hence, w<sup>ch</sup> must be from those who employed me, y<sup>e</sup> Parlement & Lord of Lessester, who assured me y<sup>t</sup> I should heare receve my commission for the command of y<sup>e</sup> garrison, & y<sup>t</sup> he had to y<sup>t</sup> purpose written unto y<sup>e</sup> Lords here; but I finde noe such matter.

"I cannott have soe unworthy a thought of him,

<sup>u</sup> Sir Simon had been sent over to Ireland by the Parliament, with a force of foot and horse, and with a commission as Governor of Dublin.

as to thinke he willingly omitted it, to put an affront on me, who never gave him y<sup>e</sup> least cause of distrust; I impute it to his multiplissey of bussines, w<sup>ch</sup> hath made him forgett it; but y<sup>e</sup> truth will now apeare for it must come to y<sup>e</sup> triall, if I finde there hath binn by dealinge<sup>x</sup>, you shall have me speedely w<sup>th</sup> you, therefore lose noe time in y<sup>e</sup> discovery. Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 4 of Decem: were in you mention M<sup>r</sup>. Blany, came to my hands since my cominge to Dublin; I aprove very well of your resolution to buye coach horsse & to follow y<sup>e</sup> cause. I sent you forty pound before my cominge from Chester, & will send you more by an expresse, or other wayes, ere long. I have not binn here longe enough to gather newes; some thinge will be donne speedely for the release of Treda; God grant good suckses in it. Its now late, & y<sup>e</sup> post in hast, therefore I must be breeff; present my humble dutie unto your Mother, w<sup>th</sup> my best respects unto your sister & all my friends at Cherney; your Bro: is well, & Robin Hammon. My deare lett me here often from thee, for thy lovinge lines must & ever shall be y<sup>e</sup> most wellcome and acceptablest present can be sent unto

"Thy most faithfull & affectionate

"husband, S. HARCOURT."

"Dublin, January y<sup>e</sup> 3,  
1641."

<sup>x</sup> Meaning, "underhand."



"MY DEAREST HART,

"Since my last to thee, the weather here hath binn soe stormey, y<sup>t</sup> noe shipp durst put out of y<sup>e</sup> haven, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> sole cause that you have not heard from me; for I know your feares for me are great, concidderinge y<sup>e</sup> times heare, w<sup>ch</sup> I beleeve are made more dangerous by report then in truth they are, for were our supplyes of horsse & foote come out of England, I am of opinion y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> great danger of this rebellion were past. I as yet know not on what termes I stand here, beinge a stranger unto y<sup>e</sup> resolution taken in England; if it be not such as may stande w<sup>th</sup> my honor to accept, I hope my friends there will use some meanes to call me from hence. I have again writt unto y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Orringe to favour me in reservinge of my place untill such time as I see whether this be a warr like to continue. If you can procure my Lord of Holland's letter to second mine, I doubt not but it will be donne. Nothinge hath happened here of late worth y<sup>e</sup> relatinge, only wee have burnt many townes & castles w<sup>th</sup> out any resistance, y<sup>e</sup> rebells flying before us where so ever wee come; & I trust in God they will doe soe still.

"The releasse of Drogheda is y<sup>e</sup> only bussines now thought on; as y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> concernes mainly y<sup>e</sup> good & safety of this Kingdome; letters wee received this day from y<sup>e</sup> Gouverner & many

officers there, all complaineing of y<sup>e</sup> misserable want of victuall, haveing nothings left them but herringes & malt & rye, & of these not for above 8 dayes; there souldiers weake & sickly, not longer able to doe dutie; there horsse, in w<sup>ch</sup> was theire greatest strength, perrish for want of provision; soe y<sup>t</sup> they are constrained to turne many of them out of towne. In this lamentable condition they are.

"For there releafe wee have two wayes; y<sup>e</sup> one by sea, y<sup>e</sup> other by land; if God pleases to prosper us in either wee shall then doe well. Our shippes have binn out, but are driven backe againe by Tempestuous weather; & if God favour us not w<sup>th</sup> a speedy winde, wee must then put our land dissign in execution, in w<sup>ch</sup>, I doubt not, but God will blesse us w<sup>th</sup> good suces. If wee faile in it y<sup>e</sup> warr will be Spunn out to a greater length, & those brave men there will be in danger to be all lost, for although they should make their conditions by a capitulation, yet I feare they would never be kept; for there is noe creditt to be given to soe base an enemy; but I trust God will bless & preserve them from such danger.

"I presume you are now very bussee in y<sup>e</sup> solissitation of my law bussines, God prosper your endeavours therein, & bringe it to a speedy end; such a one as may give me a retiringe place; where I may at last finnish my dayes in peace

& quiett, & in y<sup>e</sup> comfortable enjoyment of thy deare selfe; & both in our true feare & service of our good God. Thine & thy children's health is the newes I most thirst after, & y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I hope I shall be comforted w<sup>th</sup> speedely, come it accompanied w<sup>th</sup> badd newes, it will be much sweetened & lessned therby, w<sup>th</sup> good it will treble my joyes. For my owne health, I prayse God I never enjoyed it more perfectly, wantinge nothing but thy most desired & sweete company & conversation.

"I have provided some houshold stuffe (w<sup>ch</sup> the rebells have furnished me w<sup>th</sup>all), against your cominge, as a very good basin & eawer, 2 fflaggons, a salt, suger-box, & 2 wine cupps of silver, some 2 dossen of pewter dishes, & good stoore of ordinary household Linnen. All this I found in a Castle w<sup>ch</sup> wee lately tooke, some 7 miles from Dublin, called y<sup>e</sup> Castle of Lyons, belonging unto one M<sup>r</sup>. Banesly Britton, a Barke-shire man, whom wee had as a prissoner, intendinge to have carried him w<sup>th</sup> us to Dublin; but in y<sup>e</sup> night he made an escape from us, & since, I beleeve, he is gonn into open rebellion, who before stode neuter. Wee had likewise y<sup>e</sup> pilliageinge of another towne called y<sup>e</sup> Nesse, some 12 miles from Dublinn, burnt some 5 or 6 other villiages & Castles in y<sup>e</sup> journey; & returned w<sup>th</sup> out any incountre. Our strentgh was 2000 foote

& 300 horsse; of w<sup>ch</sup> I had y<sup>e</sup> cheeffe commande.

"I have sent you a bill of exchange for £50: & will w<sup>th</sup>in a weeke or a fortnight send nan a bill of £50 more into y<sup>e</sup> low cuntryes, for y<sup>e</sup> payement of y<sup>e</sup> hanginges; & as fast as I can spare any you shall be sure to have it, for I am never soe well pleased as when I can send thee tookens of my love. Your brother Tom hath written unto my Lord to have £50 of his mony payde you, w<sup>ch</sup> I am to paye him here. If you receive it I would have you send it to Nann, for I beleeve y<sup>t</sup> will be y<sup>e</sup> safeest & speediest way; I shall forbear to send unto her from hence, untill I heare from you. My best respects & service unto all my friends at Cherney I desire may be presented; & lett my cosen knowe that her sonne is in very good health, & doth performe y<sup>e</sup> duties of his caleinge in a carefull & industrious manner, & shall have y<sup>e</sup> reward dew to such dillegence (God willinge), on y<sup>e</sup> first ocasion.

"I praye you in your next, lett me heare what probabillity there is of my Lord Lieut. cominge over, & if you can, y<sup>e</sup> time of his cominge, for matters here will never be put into a right frame till then. If I continue here I shall be nessesseated to turne begger unto some of my friends in England, to helpe me unto a good servicable horsse or 2, for



I am in very great want, beeinge forced to borrowe whensoever I goe abroade on service. I know my Lord of Holland would doe it, if some friende of mine would but mention it to him; if you can contrive it that way or any other, you will doe me a very acceptable kindnes; If you can effect it, you may send one by y<sup>e</sup> Messenger w<sup>ch</sup> your Brother sent, for he is speedily to returne. Somethinge I had to saye more, but neither time nor paper will permitt. I shall hope, my deare hart, y<sup>t</sup> what time henders me from sayeing in the expression of my love, your goodnes will make upp in beleeevinge y<sup>e</sup> best of

"Your faithfull & dearely

"lovinge husband: S. HARCOURT."

"Dublin, ffeb<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> 12,  
1641."

"I heare nothinge as yet of y<sup>e</sup> Preacher was recommended unto me by Doctor Temple, I praye make it your care to send him or some other good man to me; for here are but few good thought<sup>r</sup> many in number. A small supply of linnen wolde be very wellcome, as half a dozen bands, cuffes, & soe many paire of hooses, & some prittee small laces, but not great prized ones: for I will spare your pursse as much as may be. I shall by y<sup>e</sup> next lett you know of some other wants I have, y<sup>e</sup> cheefe of w<sup>ch</sup> cannott

<sup>r</sup> Meaning "though."

be supplied w<sup>th</sup>out your pressence, w<sup>ch</sup> in all my lifetime I never more desired; & I hope y<sup>e</sup> affaires will be shortly soe settled here, y<sup>t</sup> I may enjoye it w<sup>th</sup> content, & free from those feares w<sup>ch</sup> keepes most women from hence.

"I praye lett me by your next knowe how you have donne in the breedeinge case I left you; I hope soe well, as you will w<sup>th</sup> God's blessing bringe me another lousty boye; this is somethinge a large postscript, but I shall never be weary of talkeinge to thee, it beinge y<sup>e</sup> most pleasinge time I have. I praye lett me heare what Vere is likely to doe in his love bussines; I feare it will not prove agreeable to his expectation, & for my own part I knowe not whether I should wish it or not; if it be for his good I praye God it may be. My deare hart, here once more farewell."

"MY DEARE HART,

"Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 14 of ffeb: came to my hands y<sup>e</sup> 1 of March, wherby I finde y<sup>t</sup> my letters to thee have had slowe passage or els have miscarried, for I assure you I have not omitted any opertunity since my cominge, unlesse at such times as I have binn out of towne, neither, God willinge, shall I, for I am very sencible of y<sup>e</sup> feares & trouble thy not hearinge from me puts thee too; therefore I hope you will not harbour y<sup>e</sup> conceaite y<sup>t</sup> it's any willing omission, for there's nothinge in

this world I aime at or studdy more then thy content, & to be a comfort to thee; w<sup>ch</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> utmost of endeavours I shall expresse in all y<sup>e</sup> wayes y<sup>t</sup> it's possible, or may be in y<sup>e</sup> power of a loveinge husband, &, when I have donne all, thinke it farr to little in respect of what thy love to me may or doth justly claime; & this I desire you to beeleeve is spoken from y<sup>e</sup> hart, as well as from y<sup>e</sup> pen of thy deare husband; & now I will give you a briffe account of a peece of service w<sup>ch</sup> hath binn lately acted on y<sup>e</sup> rebels.

"At a place called Killshalrenen some 8 miles distant from Dublin, where they were some 1500 or 2000, stronge as any as I have yet seene in Ireland; beeinge mooreash & boggie grounde on y<sup>e</sup> one side, on y<sup>e</sup> other thick woods w<sup>th</sup> hiegh quicksett hedges and deepe ditches, w<sup>ch</sup> made it inaccessible; but wee forced our way by pionners, under y<sup>e</sup> favour of our musketteers; in y<sup>e</sup> middle of w<sup>ch</sup> woods & dickes stode y<sup>e</sup> Castle, haveinge but one Avenew unto it on y<sup>e</sup> side wee aproched it; on w<sup>ch</sup> they had cast upp a travers or barricade, w<sup>ch</sup> wee beate them from; y<sup>t</sup> done, I sent Cap: Congrave w<sup>th</sup> a 100 musketteeres to beate them out y<sup>e</sup> church (intendinge my selfe to second him with 500 of my owne regiment), yeard, w<sup>ch</sup> they had intrenched, & w<sup>ch</sup> was alsoe favoured by y<sup>e</sup> Castle standinge oppositt to y<sup>e</sup> gates; but, however, God soe blessed him, y<sup>t</sup> he

beate them from it himselfe, needinge noe healpe; after w<sup>ch</sup> they made noe more resistance, but fledd in great disorder & confusion unto y<sup>e</sup> boggs, where our horsse could not follow y<sup>e</sup> chace farr; my Lord Burlaeyes troope I commanded to follow soe farr as they could, who cutt of some 60 or 70 of them, & about as many more were slaine by y<sup>e</sup> foote; y<sup>e</sup> Castle was maintained against us, most of their best men havinge taken sanctuary in it; & wee, havinge noe peeces of battery, weere forced to leave it that time, & content our selves w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> beatinge of them out of y<sup>e</sup> woods, & y<sup>e</sup> burninge y<sup>e</sup> villages in y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they were quartered. In this expedition was my Lord of Ormond himselfe (unto whom I am very much bounde for many favours), my Lord Lambart, S<sup>r</sup> Charles Cook, & myselfe; our strength was 2500 foote, & 300 horsse. Wee lost in y<sup>e</sup> service one Cap: Rochford, who commanded y<sup>e</sup> forlorne hope & some 8 souldiers, y<sup>e</sup> most of them of my regiment, & some 7 or 8 hurt; this is all y<sup>e</sup> newes at present heare.

"Present my humble dutie unto your Mother & my dew respects & humble service unto all there, & with you at Chercey soe prayeing unto y<sup>e</sup> Almightye to blesse & keepe both you & yours in health & safety, & to send you a comfortable & happy meetinge w<sup>th</sup>

"Thy faithfull & affectionate

"husband, S. HARCOURT.

"Dublin, March y<sup>e</sup>  
21, 1641."



"I have, here inclosed, sent you a relation of all passages concerninge Drogeda, w<sup>ch</sup> when you have readd, communicate unto y<sup>e</sup> rest of my friends neere you.

"I praye you send this relation to S<sup>r</sup> Robert Tracy, or y<sup>e</sup> copy."

"MY DEARE HART,

"On Thursday y<sup>e</sup> 25, I receved a letter from thee by my Lady Stannepps Chappline, dated y<sup>e</sup> 12 of July, & on ffryday 26 another, bringinge the good & most wellcome newes (next that of thy health), of my cozen Hammon's safe arrivall in Holland; in requitall, I returne you that w<sup>ch</sup> I knowe will be very acceptable unto you, y<sup>e</sup> assured newes of a parly w<sup>ch</sup> began yesterday about 1 a clocke; on Monday or Tuesday they are to march out of y<sup>e</sup> ffort, on what conditions you shall knowe when I have y<sup>e</sup> happines to see you, w<sup>ch</sup>, God willinge, shall be about 7 or 8 dayes hence, if I can gett leave, w<sup>ch</sup> I doubt not off; & this is all for y<sup>e</sup> present I can say, more then that I am

"Your most affectionate

"& faithfull husband,

"S. HARCOURT.

"from y<sup>e</sup> Army  
July 27, new stile,  
1641."

"Present my humble service unto my Cosen Hammon; you might doe well to write unto your Bro: about y<sup>e</sup> 200 gilders, for I am unwillinge to speak unto him in it, unlesse you give me commission."

"MY DEARE HART,

"I can only lett thee know by this post y<sup>t</sup> I have passed y<sup>e</sup> ill weather & waies as farr as Coventry (I prayse God) in healthe & safetie, & can gather by that w<sup>ch</sup> I finde here, that it will be impossible ever to gett upp my Regiment w<sup>th</sup>out a presse, for although y<sup>e</sup> Drummes have beaten here & at Daintry these 3 dayes, yet wee have not entertained above 20 men, w<sup>ch</sup> I have given my Lord notice of, soe y<sup>t</sup> I expect speedy order to presse; this day I am goeing to Lichfield where I shall staye some 4 or 5 dayes, & then directly to Chester, & there attend farther directions; when I hope you will make me happy by y<sup>e</sup> receipt of a letter from you: for I desire to heare how you have done since my departure. I understand my cause is put off, but in what terms I knowe not; my affaires here call me away; & will permitt me to say noe more at pressent than that I am,

"My dearest,

"Thy faithfull affectionate husband,

"S. HARCOURT.

"Dantry, y<sup>e</sup> 26 of Novem: 1641."

"Present my humble dutie unto your Mother, for whose recovery & health I hartely praye, & shall be much joyed to heare off. My most respective love & service unto my Bro: & Sister Erby, w<sup>th</sup> my Cosen Hammon & her familie; her sonne is in good health."

*"For my Deare wife y<sup>e</sup> Lady Harcourt.*

"MY DEARE HART,

"Thine of y<sup>e</sup> 6 of December from Sarjant Glanvield's Chamber, came to my hands by my Cosen Harcourt, y<sup>e</sup> 16 of the same, beeinge y<sup>e</sup> seconde I have had from you since I saw you, by w<sup>ch</sup> I understande y<sup>t</sup> you have taken upon you y<sup>e</sup> care of sollisitinge of my cause; w<sup>ch</sup> I hartely thanke you for, beeinge confidant it will prosper & have y<sup>e</sup> better success; and although it may prove somewhat troublesome unto you at present, yet in y<sup>e</sup> end I doubt not but it will be for your greater contentment & satisfaction; besides it will bringe you to a cleere understandinge of y<sup>e</sup> cause, w<sup>ch</sup> may prove in y<sup>e</sup> future greatly for the good of you & yours; I shall be likewise gladd to heare by your next, y<sup>t</sup> you have, by your petition (or motion), obtained a day of hearinge in y<sup>e</sup> next terme; but one clause in your letter I am troubled at: y<sup>e</sup> King's displeasure, what have I donne to merrit it I know not, my hart that ever binn upright & loyall towards him, soe have my actions

for ought I knowe; for I am not conscious to my selfe of y<sup>e</sup> least willfull miscarriage in his Maties service; That I have undertaken this employment, beeinge therunto called by both houses of Parliament; I did it, confidently beeleevinge y<sup>t</sup> what they did was by his Maties direction & abrobation; &, this beeinge rightly understoode, may I hope restore me againe unto his Maties favourable & gracious opinion, if at all fallen from it, w<sup>ch</sup> I am very unwillinge to beeleeve. I praye you enquire more neerly after it; for it concernes me in a very hiegh degree, if it prove true; for, beeinge in his disfavour, I am like to have but an uncomfortable imployment, for y<sup>e</sup> worst construction thereby will be made of all my actions; w<sup>ch</sup> I can noe way soe well prevent as by quttinge y<sup>e</sup> imployment, & y<sup>e</sup> way of doeing it must advisedly be thought on, both by my friends there, who aproved of my undertakeinge it, & my selfe heare, w<sup>ch</sup> I shall praye for God's direction & assistance; as in this, soe in all other matters w<sup>ch</sup> concerne our good & future comfort, I am confident you will joine in prayere w<sup>th</sup>,

"My dearest,

"Thy affectionate

"faithfull husband,

"S. HARCOURT.

"Chester, y<sup>e</sup> 16 of  
December, 1641."



"MY DEARE HART,

"I have since y<sup>e</sup> writeinge of this, receved one from you dated from Chercey: whereby I perceave I am constant in your thoughts & prayers, w<sup>ch</sup> I take for my greatest worldly happines; I finde by yours my Bro: Vere hath againe exceeded in his expences since Aprill last very much; but I will say noe more untill I have seene them. I am gladd you are like to gett a day of hearinge y<sup>e</sup> next terme; God grant it may be (as I hope) for our good, but sorry to hear y<sup>e</sup> grant proves of noe use unto us; I will with y<sup>e</sup> first convenient messenger I can finde sende you 40 pounds, & as often as I can spare any you shall be sure to have it, if I know how to send it. For my Cozen, Rob: Hammon, you may be confident I will use w<sup>th</sup> all dew respect, & when I have opertunitie preferr, & soe you may assure his mother, unto whom, I pray, present my humble service.

"I am now in readinesse (my Regiment beeing compleate & havinge Armes & all thinges necessary) to take my passage, w<sup>th</sup> first opertunitie of winde, for Ireland, w<sup>ch</sup> God grant may be w<sup>th</sup> speede, & y<sup>t</sup> my arrivall there may bringe y<sup>e</sup> wished & desired comfort & releife unto y<sup>e</sup> poore distressed & opressed people there; I here nothinge more of y<sup>e</sup> Kinges displeasure w<sup>th</sup> me,

therefore I hope it's but a false report; by your next I hope to find it soe; y<sup>e</sup> post beeing now reddey to goe, I can say noe more then y<sup>t</sup> I am,

"My dearest,

"Thy faithfull affectionate

"husband, S. HARCOURT.

"Chester, y<sup>e</sup> 18  
Decem: 1641."

*"For my deare wife the Lady Harcourt at  
Cherey or Drayton, these.*

"MY DEAR HART,

"I was much disapointed of my hope by this post, for I was confident I should have heard from you, but neither from you or any one els had I y<sup>e</sup> happines, whereat I was a little out of countenance: many enquiring what letters I receaved, hopeinge to have had some newes; but it seems my entelligence is but badd, & not at all answering their expectation. I doe not say this expectinge any from you, more than y<sup>t</sup> of thy health & well beeing, (& y<sup>t</sup> I live still in thy loveinge & affectionate thoughts of me), w<sup>ch</sup> of all other is y<sup>t</sup> I most valew, & shall ever be most wellcome unto me.

"I have not heard more concerninge y<sup>e</sup> Kinges

displeasure, therefore I hope it was but a false report. I pray in your next lett me heare how your Mother doth of he legg, & who your children doe; little ffrederick I should be glad to heare were well, likewise y<sup>t</sup> your letter unto y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Orringe & y<sup>e</sup> States for my leave were sent away; if my Lieut: be come into England, praye wright to him to paye you y<sup>e</sup> 50 pounds he promised me should be heare payde, & alsoe y<sup>e</sup> fortie I borrowed for him of a merchant att Rotterdam. Present my humble service & best respects unto all at Chercy, & for yourselfe my prayers shall be, y<sup>t</sup> God would blesse & preserve you ine health, untill he make us happy by a comfortable meeteinge, w<sup>ch</sup> of all thinges shall be most prayed for & desired by,

"My dearest,

"Thy most faithfull

"affectionate husband,

"Chester, Decemb.  
24, 1641."

"S. HARCOURT.

Sir Simon's letters to his wife here end. They are sealed with his signet-ring, very small, bearing the arms of Harcourt,—two gold bars on a red ground, quarterly with the three lions of England, surmounted by a crownlet on which stands a peacock.

The following letter, from the Bodleian Library, purports to be addressed

"To a worthy member of the House of Commons, with a true relation of the proceedings of the English army under the Command of Sir Simon Harcourt."

"SIR,

"I hope by this time you are satisfied, by the receipt of my letters, that I have made it my care to uphold myselfe in your good opinion, which I shall ever value at a high rate, therefore, I will never prove so great an enemy unto myselfe, as to lose it by the neglect & omission of the tender of my due respect, which shall, on all opportunities, attend you in a most affectionate manner.

"And now give me leave to give you a brief account of a piece of service which hath lately been acted on the Rebels. At a place called Killshanghall, some seven or eight miles from Dublin, where lodged neere upon 2000, as we had intelligence. The situation of the Place, as naturally strong as I have seen any castle in Ireland, having moorish and boggy ground on the one side, the other invironed with thick woods, quick set hedges, high banks, & deep ditches; (inaccessible), but as we forced our way by Pioneers (under the favour of our Musquetiers); in the



middle of which woods stood the castle, which had but one avenue into it; on that side we approached it, on which they had cast up a treverse or barricadoe, which we beat them from. That done, I sent Captain Congrave with 100 Musquetiers to fall on them in the churchyard, in which they were intrenched, and which stood opposite unto the Castle Gate; he found there some small resistance: but they soon in great disorder fledde, taking their way (most of them) unto the boggy ground; those which betooke themselves unto the higher ground, I sent my Lord Borlasse's troop in chase of them, who had the cutting of some 60 or 70 of their throats: and about as many more were killed in the woods by the foote.

"The Castle was maintained against us (some of their best men having taken it for sanctuary), and we, having no pieces of battery, were forced to leave it. In this expedition was my Lord of Ormond, the Lord Lambert, Sir Charles Coote, and myselfe, having with us 2,500 foote, and 300 horse. We lost one captain Rochford, who led the forlorn hope, being of Sir Charles Coote his regiment, with some five or six of my regiment, and as many hurt.

"And this is all that for the present I can acquaint you with, only that to-morrow we make a visit unto the Lords & Gentry of the Pale, with

3000 foot, & between 500 & 600 horse; & this we are forced to doe for the reliefe of our soldiers, who have been kept this tenne weekes upon a meane allowance of salt beef, and herring, which hath caused great sicknesse and mortality amongst them: but I hope that youre care of this poore army here will be such that we may be speedily supplied with money, clothes, and victuals for them. I speak of their misery as briefly as I can, but the Lord Justice's letter will more at large informe you. I am confident you will doe all the friendly offices (in your power) for the soldiers here, whereby you shall engage them and me, most faithfully and affectionately to remain,

"Sir, your humble servant,

"HARCOURT.

"Dublin, 6 Martii, 1641."

The following letter was written to Sir Simon by his younger brother, Francis:—

"DEAR BROTHER,

"The intelligence that has passed between us since your last going over has hitherto been full of sadness, our great losse heere, and yo<sup>e</sup> great danger to be lost in the warre. It is soo lately that yo<sup>e</sup> owne letters assured us of yo<sup>e</sup> recoverie from yo<sup>e</sup> desperate hurte, that the hope of yo<sup>e</sup> friends in Staffordsh<sup>e</sup> are as yet scarcely confirmed. It is the fate of men that are much

louvd and engaged in forraine dangers to die so many deaths, as they friends have causes to feare their losse of life; the common and diversely confirmed reports of yo<sup>e</sup> fatall miscariage have put yo<sup>e</sup> friends into passionate disorders, from which, although yo<sup>e</sup> recovery hath recovered them for the present, yet their minds are soe habituated to feare in yo<sup>e</sup> behalfe, that they are subject to as many relapses as you are exposable to dangers.

"The hopes and desires of yo<sup>e</sup> friends are, that a settled good fortune heere, may redeeme you from yo<sup>e</sup> dangers there.

"A wife, or an unvexed estate, I hope, will be an obligation to keepe you amongst us, but without yo<sup>e</sup> owne sollicitation neither will be attained. Yo<sup>e</sup> business with Roberts will not, as I suppose, require yo<sup>e</sup> presence this terme, but when it shall come to hearing, you must not be absent, for though yo<sup>e</sup> letters, friends and brothers may sollicite the great Lords, yet all togeather will be less<sup>e</sup> effectuall than one worde from yo<sup>e</sup> owne person. Sr. William Cope is now in town<sup>e</sup>, and, as I heare, talks very peremptorily concerninge the business between you and him, but I thinke to as small purpose as ever. We have not as yet heard this tearme from either of the umpires, and we are not desirous any way to incite them to compose the matter, for I verily believe Sr W. C.

hath as yet noe better cardes than those he produced at Woodstock. Concerning the particulars of yo<sup>e</sup> affaires, my brother Vere's letter, I presume, will informe you. This only I have written to lett you know how passionately yo<sup>e</sup> friends have beene distracted for you, and now long to see yow. I beseech the Almightye to prosper you, and restore to them & to

"Yo<sup>e</sup> must affectionate brother,

"FFRA: HARCOURT.

"My sister & cosen are well at the Abby. My Lord Bishop and Lady were sollicitously inquisitive after your person and affaires, & received the present of yo<sup>e</sup> services to them by me very kindly, desiring to return their best respects to you. I pray remember my service and love to my friends and acquaintance with you.

"Temple Barre, Octob. 28,  
1639."

After the death of Sir Simon, his widow married Sir William Waller, who was son of Sir Thomas Waller, Constable of Dover Castle, and of Margaret, daughter of Sampson Lennard, Lord Dacre.

There is a fine picture of Sir William Waller at Nuneham, by Walker. It was



engraved by Milton for Sir William's vindication of himself, written and published in the year 1793. At the back of this portrait is affixed a copy of Sir William's admirable letter to Sir Ralph (afterwards Lord) Hopeton, written before the battle of Lansdown :—

"1643.

"SIR,

"The experience I have had of your worth, and the happinesse I have enjoyed in your friendship, are wounding considerations to me, when I look upon this present distance between us: certainly, Sir, my affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostilitie itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of 'usque ad aras' holdeth still; and where my conscience is interested, all other obligations are swallowed up. I should wait upon you according to your desire, but that I look on you as engaged in that partie beyond the possibilitie of retreat, and consequentlie incapable of being wrought upon by anie persuasion; and I know the conference could never be so close betwixt us, but that it would take wind, and receive a construction to my dishonour. That great God, who is the searcher of all hearts,

knows with what a sad fear I go upon this service, and with what a perfect hate I detest a war without anemie; but I look upon it as 'opus Domini;' which is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace send us, in his good time, the blessing of peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it.

"We are both on the stage, and must act those parts that are assigned in this Tragedy; but let us do it in the way of honour, and without personal animositie: whatsoever the issue of it be, I shall never resign that dear title of

"Your most affectionate friend,

"and faithful servant,

"WILLIAM WALLER."

I now give a few extracts from the manuscript journal of Sir Simon Harcourt's widow, which will conclude my notice of his life :—

"*June* 1649.

"An inumeration of the many mercyes I have receaved from G.—1<sup>t</sup> born w<sup>t</sup> the Name and fear of God is known—2<sup>ly</sup>, G— did plant in my hart a desire to fear his Name in my very yong years. Conserning this life, I have had a competensy of all things desirable, and have had experienses of all conditions, and of very many mercys in all conditions; espesially in my maryed and widows

state. In the first, that God gave me an honest and kind husband<sup>2</sup>; Children very hopefull; soe much estate as kept us comfortably, without want, for the greatest part of the time; the love of my husbands kindred and frends; and above all, if God made me att all usefull to y<sup>e</sup> good of my husbands soul. In my widows estate, y<sup>e</sup> strange recovery of Stanton, and G—s severall providences about the issues of events—1<sup>t</sup>. it was a mercy that my husband dyed in an unquestionable quarell<sup>3</sup>; a usefull and much desired man. My children, beeing both very sikly, have bin often recovered and preserved by God. The estate, which I found in all respects very much unsettled, is now, through God's goodness to me, very much settled. My hous, soe unlike to proove a comfortable place to inhabite in, is now made very pleasing. Att any time, when I have bin att a suden plunge for mony, some have, beyond expectation, helped me to it, or ofred it; wherby my mind has been quietted. Wher ever any busnes that has conserved me has bin publickly dealt with, in comittees, Courts, or in the hous, God has stired me up some good people to be my frends, though unknown to me formerly.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Simon Harcourt.

<sup>3</sup> He was one of the first victims of the Civil Wars; he died in command of the King's forces in Ireland.

"Many fears I have bin delivered from in respect of y<sup>e</sup> death of frends.

"Concerning my soul—My educa<sup>n</sup> was strickt in respect of all visiuos liberty, which youth in many other plases were incouradged in. God, in all conditions, and in all plases, provided me Godly frends, which have bin a mervelous help to me in the way of his fear: to satisfy me in regard of sruples, to comfort me in respect of doubting, to inform me in many things I did not understand, and to walk before me as an ensamble in the wayes of God, and to shew me much love and kindness upon all ocaisons. Especially would I name S<sup>r</sup> Gilbeard Gerard, one to whom I had not any relation, and yet received much kindness and good from him, both for my soul and body. Loving and fatherly has been his corection, wherby hee has divers times redused my wretched and deseitfull hart, w<sup>n</sup> nothing els would doe it. A constant inioyment of the means of grace, which way soever I have gone. Prays the L—, therefore, O my soul, and all y<sup>t</sup> is within me prayes His Holy Name. Prayes the Lord, O my soul, and forgett not all his benifits."

"June y<sup>e</sup> 28, 1649.

"My sonne Philip, having had his ysue stoped by my medson and doctor Myorns advise, hee



did imediatly fall very sike of a feavour, so soon as hee was returned to School—Beeing a very weak lean child, and the distemper very strong, I had no reason to look for his life but from y<sup>e</sup> hand of God; to him I sought by prayer June the 27, and from him I recieved the good gift of my sonnes recovery, June y<sup>e</sup> 28. The Lord help me still to keep in memory his wonderfull goodness to me in y<sup>s</sup> busness, espesially in y<sup>es</sup> 2 particulars, 1 God sent this mercy as an answer of prayer; 2<sup>ly</sup>, God spared his life, it beeing not begged absolutely, but only with this condition, as it might be for G—s glory, and to me a blessing flowing in Ch<sup>rs</sup> blood. Bless y<sup>e</sup> Lord, O my soul, for ever and ever, becaus hee only, becaus hee above all, is worthy to be prayسد."

"June y<sup>e</sup> 29.

"A fast kept in my hous for the Church of God. M<sup>r</sup> Longley and M<sup>r</sup> Jhons died."

"June y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>, 1649.

"I made my prayer solemnly against my own transgres<sup>n</sup>, and allso for the Church; some answer prs<sup>ly</sup> I recieved in my own hart. Also that night I heard of the Courage of the London Ministers, in keeping a fast on y<sup>e</sup> day it was formerly apointed—y<sup>e</sup> Lord be prayسد."

"An account of such remarkable mercys as I can call to mind sins I maryed S<sup>r</sup> William Waller.

"Aprill y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>, 1652.

"1<sup>t</sup>. I had much mercy in my mary-adg with him, he beeing y<sup>e</sup> anser of my prayer, he beeing a religious, prudent, and a loving husband.

"2<sup>ly</sup>, in that his children prouve soe hopefull, and doe improove daylly under my care, and that they are all alive, and doe inioy theyr healthes better than they did when they came to me, and doe grow.

"3<sup>ly</sup>. Its a great mercy my own children are alive, in health and hopefull. (One of y<sup>m</sup> sins dead, may y<sup>e</sup> Lord stay his hand.)

"4<sup>ly</sup>. the suport I had under all that terrible payn and weakness att S<sup>t</sup> Johnses.

"5<sup>ly</sup>. y<sup>t</sup> God gave me theyr a safe deliverans of a living child, which was born with all itt parts and limbs,—and a sonne,—y<sup>t</sup> I had such a comfortable childbed after it.

"6<sup>ly</sup>. That I have bin suported under all the payn and weakness I have had of my last child—in my labour—and in my childbed, notwithstanding the danger I was in.

"7<sup>ly</sup>. the health my husband inioyes, notwithstanding the many diseases he is subiect too—the great suport he has under his payn, his paytiens—and his mercyfull deliverans from that fitt of the stone, and from 3 more of the gout.

"8<sup>ly</sup>. the suply we have of means from time to time, the comfort we inioy in our constant convers one with another; the love of our servants, theyr health, the good sucesse of our affairs, and that degree of health we have had in our familly.

9<sup>ly</sup>. thos afflictions I have had, which the Lord has bin pleased to accompany with his grace—as I trust, he did my want of health, and the fitts which my last child dyed off—becaus the first has made me desirous to improove my health, for y<sup>e</sup> making my calling and election sure—and, in the later, God made me very willing God should dispose of me and mine as hee pleased.

"10<sup>ly</sup>. the great and strange deliverans I receaved in St. Martins Lane, w<sup>n</sup> I fell down from 1<sup>t</sup> steap to the lowest steap in my Lady Clotworthy's hous, with my head downward, putting out my shoulder, and yet receaved noe preiudise eyther to life or lim.

"11<sup>ly</sup>. The great preservation I had when I miscaried att Westminster, and in y<sup>e</sup> weaknes that folowed me to Osterly,—and espesially my last miscaradg at Osterly, w<sup>n</sup> I lay swoonding 11 houers."

"Inumerations of further mercys I have received sins I married S<sup>r</sup> William Waller.

"Upon the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, 1651, my husband

beeing in my bro<sup>r</sup>. Irby's hous, we having lived peasably in town most part of y<sup>e</sup> winter, theyr came too messengers from my Lord Protector, to serch y<sup>e</sup> hous, to seaze his papers, and to bring him in safe custody to Whithall, whither hee was caryed about 9 of the clock in the morning, and theyr atended all day, was exsamed by my Lord himself of many particulers, and sent home againe att night; which was a mercy quite above my hopes, and contrary to the expectation of all people, and a thing very unusuall with thos in power. The Lord receive the prays and glory of this his wonderfull goodnes, which he shewd so personally to me when my hart was very much afrayd, both in regard of what my husband had sufred soe long togeather, without any declared caus, and in regard of the infirmitys that his former imprisonment made him lyable too; also in regard of the great charge that imprisonment was like to be to him, and the hindrance y<sup>t</sup> would have folowed in his estate; therefore will I strive to trust in the Lord, and say, at what time my hart is afrayd, I will trust in the Lord.

"Upon the 5<sup>th</sup> of August in y<sup>e</sup> year 1659, beeing in Kent to drink the watters, for the health of my self, children, and divers of our family, Sir William was taken prisoner by Captaine Barington att two of the clock in the night, and caused to rise out of bed, and to ride 4 miles at



that time in the night, which might have bin a great preiudice to his life, or health att least; but the Lord did mercifully prevent any inconveniency, and made that imprisonment an ocaison of good, in y<sup>t</sup> we brok up hows, and did not long after continue in prison. Prays the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me prays his holly name; prays the Lord, O my soul, and forgett not all his benefits."

"I have since to acknowledge the continuance of thos mercys formerly mentioned; conserning my husband; conserning all his children; and conserning our suport. These I desire constantly to prays God for; becaus, from him both the mercys themselves, and the continuance of them dos proceed. Likewise the Lord has aded new mercys, in making me instrumentall to preserve the life and restore the health of the yongest child, who fell dangerously into a hye degree of the King's evell, and, by Gods blessing upon a medsin I gave her, was recovered.

"Allsoe the Lord was very grasioous to me, in preserving me all the while I went with child of my daughter Katherine Waller, who was, by the mercyfull asistance of the great God, born the 30<sup>th</sup> day of Agust 1657, about a quarter after 11 of the clock att night. The Lord help me, with all humble sorowfullness, to remember my own

exorbitant fear of my travayll, notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> former experienses of Gods goodnes in helping me at the like times; and, withall, to be mindfull of and joyfull inn the great goodnes of God, who suported me under and caryed me throu this travayll allsoe; and gave me a child—alive—perfect in its shape, and hopefull to continue with me. I desire likewise to acknowledg the great mercy of God, in suporting me under and through the many troubles that befell me in this childbed.

"Before I was brought to bed, my midwife, one that had bin long very carefull of me and loving to me, lay a fortnight in a dying condition in the hous, and dyed 2 dayes before I fell in travayll. Within 6 days after, my dear Cosen Elisabeath Hamond, an antient and a faythfull friend from my youth up—sickened—and about 8 days after dyed. And, within 2 dayes after, my dear child, Fred: Harcourt, sickened of the same diseas, and dyed about 8 days after that. And, some few houers after that, Docter Baytts sent to me by Docter Beavour, that hee suspected the prinsipall parts of my other, and now only sonne, to be eminently defective. And, within 2 dayes after that, the counsell at Whitehall threw out my husband's caus with scorn. Yet, I hope I can truly say, God has not only suported me under all this, but done me good by it. Praysed be his name."

"Sp<sup>l</sup>. mercys.—The L— allso has bin pleased to give me many grasio<sup>s</sup> experienses in my soul of his fatherly goodnes to me, in prayer, and in hearing and in communicating att his table. I have found him allways a God neer att hand, and not farr off, when my own wretched and deseitfull hart did not wickedly and grosly fayll in desiring his help. Soe that I may and must say thes 2 things from my own experience, 1<sup>t</sup> that if the hart be acording to rule prepared for ordinanses, and uprightly desirous to honor God, and receive good in the use of them; if their bee a treu indeavour to doe this, the soul dos recieve the benefit. My own soul has found a reallity and substans in them, beyond what is in all the world besides; ther is a fors in them, which I beleeve is the Spirits accompaning of them, to weaken lusts, though att other times very prevalent; and to strengthen fayth, to more of love to God and reioycing in God; to encouradg and comfort the hart, beeing never so much cast down; to suport the spirit under troubles, nay, to make them wellcome; and to take away immoderate fears, to which I am grevously inclined.

"On the other side, when the hart is carless, and churly in the performing of them, they then prove only an agravation of sinne and trouble; and one's wretched hart, by the instigation and help of the devill, is apt to think that ther is

really nothing in them. Therefore, O my soul, bee not too much amazed, though many in thes sad times doe use ordinanses frequently, and find noe benifit in them, but continue in scandalous sinns. Consider, therefore, thine own experienses in both the forementioned respects; and, as in respect of the former, thou art oblinded to prays and bles the great and glorious name of thy heavenly Father—soe, in regard of the later, beg eareastly God's asistans, that, from that evill, thou mayst learn to dread such a temper in thy own soul, and to lament it in others, that, when God gives ordinanses as a means of great good, they should be turned by our corrupt harts into ocaison of soe much evell."

"Temporall mercys.—The Lord did grasio<sup>s</sup>ly look upon me in my 2<sup>d</sup> choyce, 1<sup>t</sup> in helping me to chuse, upon mature consideration; 2<sup>nd</sup> in bestowing the mercys of y<sup>t</sup> condition upon me, when I was in such a condition as I needed y<sup>m</sup> most, (my children grown up, my estate still filled with doubt and other troubles—so y<sup>t</sup> in liklihood it could not, without much scarsity, have suplyed me and y<sup>m</sup> too; My mind so worn with publick and private troubles, that I begann apayrently to sink in my bodily health and strength), then did God give me a religous, wise, and faythfull, loving husband, and by him a hopefull, and likly



sonne, the bearing of which, (God grasiouſly ſupporting me under all my weakneſs, the time I went with child) was a great-means of my after health. The conſtant comforts of my condition, have bin and are very great; & I reſiſh them farr more becauſe, I hope I may ſay, they were from the hand of God's love; and they did therefore quiett and comfort at another rate then any comforts ariſing from any condition y<sup>t</sup> I was ever in before. I take y<sup>s</sup> for my ground of y<sup>t</sup> hope—I ſought to mary in God's way, I begged his bleſſing, and I hope I propounded his glory in what charge I undertook in y<sup>t</sup> macth, and, therefore, I think I may account what I enjoy as an answer of prayer.—God did ſupport me under much weak<sup>s</sup> whilst I went with child of my 2<sup>d</sup> boy, and eſpecially in that dangerous childbed I had—when want of ſleep, and ſome other diſtempers, frequently aſaulting me, did, for divers weeks, in that childbed in-danger my life.”

“1657, October.—The Lord has grasiouſly preſerved me whilst I was with child of my 3<sup>d</sup> child; and did beſtow it a thriving and hopefull child; and, though it pleaſed the Lord to afflict me and keep me in heavineſſe all that childbed, it was becauſe he ſaw great need in me; and, therefore, I doe eſteem the rodd in that caſe a ſeaſonable mercy, and doe hope I may ſay, that through

God's grace I found it was good for me that I was afflicted; for it made me deſirous more to preferre Gods glory, it made me ſtir up myſelf to meet God, to humble myſelf before him, and to learn by his chaſtiſing hand. A very great mercy I acknowledg to have received from God in my health; which has bin ſuch, that unleſſe in childbeds, or miſcaryings, I have bin able to attend upon ord<sup>s</sup>. conſtantly, though under ſome indiſpoſitions. This is the more to be taken notiſe on, becauſe the times have bin very ſikly for divers years.

“I prayſe God for the preſervation of my huſband in health in theſe ſikly times; and now, this later end of November, the Lord did viſit him with a fitt of the gout, which made me much afraid in regard of the bitter froſty weather; which did ſo hinder the operation of medſins, that though, through Gods great mercy, his extreame payn was abated, and his feaver, w<sup>ch</sup> the gout brought upon him, had left him; yet his feet ſwelled to a very great biggneſſe, and began to diſcolor ſo much, that I apprehended ſome danger of a gangren; but the Lord has mercifully ſupported him, and prevented all my fears heſerto; bleſſed be his holly Name for it.

“About the beginning of November 1658, little Moll Waller had a dangerous fitt of ſikneſſe, firſt a terrible feaver, and then a pluriſy; ſhe beeing

but yong and weak I was fearfull of her, but the Lord did very grasiouſly help; and, I bleſſ his Name, ſhe and all the reſt of them are now in good health.

"About this month likwiſe, we heard from our children beyond the ſeas, of a great deliverans that Will Waller had from beeing miſchiefed, by the goeing off of a peece in his arms, and breakng as it went off; bleſed be the Lord, who wacthes to doe us good, and to prevent evell, when we are not awayr of it.

"The Lord has likwiſe grasiouſly ſuported Philip Harcourt under his quartern ague, and has now wholly delivered him from it; bleſed for ever be his holly Name.

"Alſo in Jan: 58, the Lord was pleaſed to viſit me with an ague, I had but 3 fitts, but they were ſoe terrible to me, that in the laſt I expreſed great impaytience; which afterwards, upon conſideration, did ſoe trouble me, as that the fear of beeing in the like maner diſtempred, did make me apprehend the coming of another fitt, with ſuch dread, as did ade to my affliction; yet, notwithstanding all this fayling on my part, enough to have provoked the Lord to have layed his hand more heavily upon me, he was pleaſed to deliver me, even by his own hand; when y<sup>e</sup> doctor thought I ſhould have one terrible fitt more, I had not ſoe much as a grudging of it. Bleſſ the Lord, O my

ſoule, and all that is within me bleſſ his holy name. Bleſſ the Lord, O my ſoule, and forgett not all his benifits.—hens learn to truſt G— in y<sup>e</sup> like trouble."

"In February 1658, the Lord was pleaſed to viſit my huſband with many ſad diſtempers, as with an ague, w<sup>ch</sup> beeing joyned with the ſcurvy, and the remaynder of an ill fitt of the gout, did threatne much danger to his Life; but the Lord was a God neer att hand, and did deliver him from his ague after 4 fitts, and did grasiouſly at this time prevent all my fears.—Bleſed bee his holly name,—after his ague, whiſt he was very faynt with faſting and sweating, hee was threatned with a ſore fitt of the ſtone, of w<sup>ch</sup> I was greatly affrayd; but the Lord has hiſerto ſtayed his hand, ſoe that his extremity has neyther bin long nor great; O my ſoul, Labour for inlardgment in praying God; be not content to doe it in an ordinary maner—becauſ of the many and great mercys which the Lord beſtows upon thee continually.

"About the 8<sup>th</sup> of this inſtant, February, coming into my chamber haſtily to ſpeak with the Doctor about my huſband, a heavy great foulding ſcreen beeing putt up togeather fell upon me; it might have done me much hurt, but the Lord did grasiouſly prevent that, I had none att all, bleſed be his holly Name for it.



"Feb. 17.—I heard from Wattford, that my sister's child had one of the feet sett without great payn, and is in a hopefull way of cure; the Lord grant grace that the payrents and myself may never forget soe seasonable and presious a mercy."

"It has pleased the Lord about the beginning of Aprill to deliver me from any hurt, notwithstanding 2 great falls I had, the one in Breyntford town,—the other in my chamber where I lye—w<sup>h</sup> I consider the payn my mother had with such a chance, then I have caus to value it—for how little payn I have, and how much evill such a chance might bring. Consrning my husbands busnes, this last term in May it was like to goe very ill—the judges beeing on a suden strangly sett against him—but they became mild and kind againe without any apayrent reason. Blesed be God who can turn any hart when he pleases. O my soule, remember how often the Lord has delivered me from the evill I have feared,—and has spared me, notwithstanding my fears. As concerning my sister Irby, about this time, for 6 weeks togeather still I feared, and still the Lord sent comfortable tidings; blesed be his holy Name for it.

"The Lord's name be praysed that I have frequently heard comfortable tidings from our children beyond y<sup>e</sup> seas."

"Feb: y<sup>e</sup> 4. I had another grasiois experience concerning my sister, who having bin 5 weeks ill, and growing out of hart, and somewhat impaytient, I was much perplext with fear and grief for her; but last night she rested very much better then was lookt for, and was this day againe refreshed and comforted. Blesed be the Lord who is grasioisly pleased to stay his ruff wind in y<sup>e</sup> day of his east wind.

"All the last winter the Lord was very grasiois to my husband and self, in giving us a great measure of health, and our children, and family.

"Y<sup>e</sup> custome taken of my husband's estate in March by y<sup>e</sup> Rulers was taken off.

"I acownt it a great mercy likewise that the Lord has kept my husband from beeing byased, notwithstanding all the indeavours of malignants, or all the hopes that might have bin from court by his complyans.

"The Lord has bin very grasiois to me att the watters, which I humbly and thankfully acknowledged, in preserving me from all ill acsidents of which I was much afrayd, and in returning me in health and safty from that place. Whilst I was theyr, on the 6<sup>t</sup> of Agust, 1660, I was over taken by vayn and sinnefull thoughts, to which I' did at that time give to much way.

"It pleased the Lord, who is infinit in mercy,

soe to order it by his providens, that the heavy burden of exsise was taken off by the parlement and king from my husband y<sup>t</sup> day.

"O y<sup>t</sup> this sircumstans of y<sup>e</sup> time might soe heythen the mercy to me, as that it might shame me out of my sinne, and strengthen my resolution against it for the time to come; theyr allso I hope I may reckon that I received an anser of prayer.

"I desire likewise to acknowledg, that I have bin preserved in Kent, notwithstanding the doubtfull condition I was in myself, which was such, that I knew not what to pray for; yet to the Lord's will I did submitt myself; I wayted upon God and he has bin wonderfull grasio<sup>s</sup> to me,—so that neyther my own indisposition,—nor the abundans of phisick I took,—nor the terrible uneasy coach wayes theyr,—nor my jorny up,—nor my overthrow in coming up,—nor my fright then,—nor sins<sup>b</sup>, w<sup>n</sup> my man fell off the ladder, has hestertoo brought any such weaknes upon me as I have caus to aprehend; wherfere I will ingadg my heart to prays and serve the Lord as long as I live, for he is infinitly mercyfull and grasio<sup>s</sup>, and his mercy indures for ever and ever."

<sup>b</sup> Since.

"Some remarkable experienses of God's wonderfull mercy.

"Feb. 11, 1659.

"This day is by the whole Nay<sup>n</sup> to be regarded, and espesially by the Great City of London, who did this day receive a remarkable deliver<sup>s</sup> as ever they had before; for the remnant of the Longe Parlement sitting att Westminster, finding y<sup>t</sup> the City would not comply with them in theyr wicked wayes; having Generall Monck with his army obedient to them, and having the day before tryed theyr trust, by imploying y<sup>m</sup> in the City to imprison y<sup>e</sup> alder men, to dissolve the Comen Counsell, and to pull down and break down all theyr gates; did this day order him to goe into the City and to disarm the citizens, and to burn theyr charter and records, and to hang some of the chief of them, as is confidently afirmed, and to seize all theyr publick treasurys. No help did now apear on this side hea<sup>n</sup>. Ye Militia was not yet settled—Y<sup>e</sup> Lord Maior (Alder<sup>m</sup> Alen) was theyr enemy, and had obstructed them in y<sup>e</sup> busnes of theyr Militia and was ready to comply with those y<sup>t</sup> did intend theyr absolute ruine. Theyr enemys had a powerfull army at theyr command, and had given out theyr orders, and the Generall and Souldiers were gone up into the city to perform theyr commands, as was generally feared.



"Then was the time (though not till then) that our gracious God appeared glorious in theyr deliver<sup>s</sup>, by doeing that which all the power of the world could not doe, namely, by inclining the Generall's hart to the City; soe that when it was least lookt for, the City was preserved from the imenant danger they were in; and not only soe, but the Gener<sup>l</sup> declared that hee would joyn with the city for a free Parlement; w<sup>ch</sup> caused the greatest publick reioysing that ever was known in y<sup>e</sup> memory of man. O how fully did this appear to be the work of the Great God in whose hand is the hart of all men, and hee turnes them, as the rivers of watter, which way itt pleases Him. Surly y<sup>s</sup> work of mercy was soe done that it ought to be had in remembrans. Y<sup>e</sup> Lord help me to be mindfull of it, and thankfull for it, and to have my fayth much strenthened by it. To Him be glory for ever."

"Y<sup>e</sup> 19 May, 1659.

"I receaved from God a very great mercy, which I humbly begg of him that my sinnefull hart may never be ungratfull for it. Namely, the return of my only sonne Philip Harcourt from his travayll, in which complicated mercy theyr are thes things very considerable—1<sup>t</sup> hee is naturally very hasty, and yet was preserved from quarells, —2<sup>ly</sup>, he went over very sickly and weak,—for

y<sup>e</sup> recovery of his health; and I hope in the Lord that it is more confirmed then it was,—3<sup>ly</sup>, that hee was noe way catched by evell company,—nor his judgment any way changed that I can disearn,—nor I trust any way taken with the vanity and pomp of the Romish religion,—4<sup>ly</sup>, his preservation in all his travells by sea and land, notwithstanding my imoderate fear of him, which might have procured me the very sorow which I was soe apprehensive of. O bless the Lord my soule and forgett not all his benefits.—Surly the Lord has graciosly delivered me and my child, our souls from death, our eyes from tears, and our feet from fall. Theyrfore I ingadg in y<sup>e</sup> strenth of Christ, saying that I will walk before God in y<sup>e</sup> land of the Living. Amen."

"I account it a very great mercy to me that I was not overwhelmed with grief, and weaknes, and fear, when my husband was made a prisoner by Captayn Barington, the 5<sup>t</sup> of Agust, 1659. Beeing taken out of his bed att 2 o'clock att night, as if hee had bin a great offender,—and yet y<sup>e</sup> counsel layed nothing to his charge, but, after he had bin prisoner a fortnight, then they made him an ofender by tendering some promis to him, which, he refusing, was sent to the tower.

I acount it a very great mercy that neyther Sr George Booth, who they report is very fearfull,

nor any of the cavaleirs have acused my husband, to pleas thos now in power; for, if they had, how fals soever, it should 1<sup>t</sup> have bin believed, and 2<sup>ly</sup>, it should at least have justified his imprisonment.

"This is a wonderfull mercy."

"The Many mercys in our imprisonment and our release.

"Whilst we were prisoners in Kent, the trouble of that condition was sweetened by the great kindness of many theyr, and, when we were in the Tower, we found great kindnes from the warder; which was a great leasoning of our trouble; and the more to be taken notis on, because it is a rare thing, as I perceive by the relation of what other Gentilmen sufered from theyr keepers, to find any amongst them that were not sever, crose, and covetous, to the great preiudice of theyr prisoners.—We found it quite contrary, although we were uter strangers, and therfore are bound wholly to atribute it to the over rulling hand of God, that we should be directed att 10 of the clock att night, (when we had noe time to look about us, or to chuse, or inquire what might have bin best for us), to the only man's hous in the Tower which was best for us. Blesed be the Lord.

"2<sup>ly</sup>, it was a great comfort and mercy to us,

that the caus of my husband's imprisonment was owned and approved by the people of God, notwithstanding the scorns and indeavours of his enemys; who first made him a prisoner without any apeating ocaision, and 2<sup>ly</sup> made themselves sport with his trouble; saying, hee chose to be att the Tower that hee might retire; whereas, our charge was much greater theyr, then it would have bin att another place.—The frequent and kind visits of Godly people ministers and others was another great comfort to us, the Lord be prayسد for it. The Leasons which I hope we have in some measure learned theyr, I acknowledg to be the greatest mercy of all, as self denyall; a moderat use of creature comforts; compassion to other suferers; epesially prisoners; an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty; and a quiett dependance on God for deliver<sup>s</sup> in his own time, and way,—though theyr was noe liklyhood of any deliverans from man.

"The mersies of our delivrances are soe many and great, that I am not able to recount them as I ought. 1<sup>t</sup> the times full of sadd confusions in the naytion, and att the time espesially of an oposition in Monck to thos in power, which made them unwilling to releas any.—The maner,—which was by a way cleerly Legall, and soe the more satisfactory to my husband, but in that the more offensive to thos in power; y<sup>e</sup> Judge was not



terified,—the Legall proseedng was not interrupted; although they that had forsedly broken in upon parliments, and did take notis of the proseedng, and expressed great radg against it, by utering many threatning speeches; yet the Lord did, by his power, soe restrayn and over rule them, that they did not putt forth the force they had in this matter, nor interrupt our liberty. Blessed be the Lord for ever and ever, who has stayed his ruff wind, in the day of his east wind; and has, by his own outstreached arm, restrayned the radg of the adversary, soe that the men of might were not able to find theyr hands. The Lord give me grace constantly to remember this manifould mercy, and to walk sutably to it; by adoring—and loving God above all,—by walking in the wayes of his commandements all the dayes of my life;—by a quiett and confident dependans upon God for the future; by loving the world, wher soe much wickednes and sorow is, the less; and by loving heaven and heavenly th<sup>s</sup>, w<sup>r</sup> hollynes and hapiness is, the better.—Amen. Amen.”

“From October y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>.

“Concerning my dear sister, I doe acknowledg it a great mercy, that, notwithstanding her naturall temper, w<sup>ch</sup> is hasty, and the melancoly of her diseas, both which make her unapt to bear her distemper with y<sup>t</sup> paytience and quiettnes that

were to be wished; yet the Lord is wonderfully grasious to her, and, not only to her, but to me,—who am neerly conserved in, and affected with, her condition; Lord make me for ever mindfull of this wonderfull condesention to poor sinners,—that my hart may be more drawn to thee by y<sup>e</sup> Cords of thy Love.

“October y<sup>e</sup> 13. heserto the Lord has helped that my sister's payn, though it have threatened her and kept me in fear, yet it has not bin so radging, nor so continuall upon her, as in former fitts.—Blesed be y<sup>e</sup> Lord, espesialy for y<sup>t</sup> the Lord has helped me, at what time I was afrayd concerning her, to trust in him and to call upon him; and hee has severall times mercyfully prevented my fears, therfore will I prays y<sup>e</sup> Lord as long as I live, and labour to rest on him and to seek to him in all my distress.”

“October y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>. I receaved a very great mercy concerning my hus<sup>d</sup>, who, beeing ill of his eyes, had a mind to take pills for to purge his head, and made me write for them when it was late, and accordingly took them at night, which made him so ill that I greatly feared his life; but for ever blessed be the Lord, who restrayned the working of y<sup>e</sup> pills, and brought out y<sup>e</sup> iresypelus, and has suported him all this while in bed, and has prevented any ill accidient heserto, soe y<sup>t</sup> hee

is pretty well; the Lord grant that I may remember this and be thankfull, y<sup>t</sup> I may labour to be servisable all my time to y<sup>e</sup> Lord and his glory.

"Saturday the 27 of October, 1660. The Lord has given me a grasio<sup>s</sup> answer of prayer, touching my sister's extreamity; the Lord be prayed for ever for his wonderfull mercy, who gives a poor sinnefull creature leave to boast of him, and is pleased to answer my hopes—Lord acording to thes experienses help me to wayt upon thee hereafter.

"On the 29<sup>th</sup> of October the Lord has bestowed on me another grasio<sup>s</sup> experience of his never faylling goodnes to me; in preventing a sad fitt of payn to my poor sister, when all sercumstances did seem to threatn; beeing very ill when she went to bed, and yet she lay quiet all night; blesed for ever be his holly name; the Lord increas my fayth by thes experienses."

"Feb. 1661. I doe acknowledg the Lord bestowed many mercys upon me, in and consarning the maryadg<sup>r</sup> of my sonne; that hee has bin preserved in health of late, having bin very sikly formerly; and has bin preserved alive soe long till he is grown to man's estate; y<sup>t</sup> he did not resolutely fix upon some unworthy person, vayn, or poor, or of ill condition—y<sup>t</sup> my mind, beeing

<sup>r</sup> Sir Philip Harcourt married the daughter of Sir William Waller.

in some respects very avers, was over rulled, and quietted by the goodnes of God; and y<sup>t</sup> I have had soe much incoradgment consarning her sins, more than I had before; that y<sup>r</sup> is soe litle unkindnes between S<sup>r</sup> William and I in y<sup>e</sup> disputes about such a busnes. Blesed be the Lord; from him I receave all, to him be prays and glory for all."

"March y<sup>e</sup> fift. I did receave a great dell of mercy from the Lord in regard of that terrible fall I had in my daughter Harcourts chamber,—when the stoole I lent on, first fayld me, and then fell with great violence against me, and gave me a very great blow crose my navell, which in some respects might have prooved very preiudisall to me, if the Goodnes of the Lord my God had not prevented.—the Lord help me to remember his goodness, and to be thankfull all the dayes of my life for it.

"March 7<sup>th</sup>. I came very late from London, and was much in fear, but I bless y<sup>e</sup> Lord hee preserved us from any harm.

"Aprill y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>t</sup> 1661. The Lord was grasio<sup>s</sup>ly pleased to prevent me from all harm that might have befalln me by the slipp I had at my daughter Harcourt's door;—the more notis I have caus to take of it as a mercy, by reason of my unwellessness, which makes me in great hazard upon every such ocaison; theyrfore I will bless and prays God for my preservation."



"Acknowledgments of mercys.

"On the 19 of May, 1661, it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to afflict S<sup>r</sup> William with a very violent fitt of the stone; it begane towards 4 or 5 a clock at night, and soe continued till about 3 in the morning; and then it pleased the Lord wonderfully to abate his payn, and to give him divers houers sleep before hee voyded the stone; which, afterward, came away the next morning, with very little payn.—The consideration of my husband's adg, and the nature of that distemper, and y<sup>t</sup> it was in the night, when he could have very little help, it dos wonderfully heythen this mercy, and ingadg my hart to bless God for it.—The Lord help me to keep in mind his wonderfull mercy, and to incoradg my hart theyrby to be faythfull and servisable.

"On the 15 day and y<sup>e</sup> 18 day allso of this month, the Lord was very grasious to me, in delivering me from all thos fears I had about S<sup>r</sup> William's estate and my own; the Good Lord be praysed for it."

"Some observations concerning the present misery of this naytion. July y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>, 1681.

"*Concerning outward things.*—all our estates ary Lyable to the will of thos who have made themselves our governours, without our consent; taxses are sett in many places by the souldiers,

who have the command of the garisons, and are themselves to be maintained by them. If they be not payed, quartering many souldiers is the next step, and after that plundering.

"*Concerning the servants of God*—they are under the heaviest reproach that can be imagined, by thos in atority, and all that joyn with them on the one hand, and by all malignants and Profane ungodly spirits on the other hand; soe that, even many known godly ministers, are not only turned out of theyr livings, but caryed to prisons by great Numbers, both in City and Contry; and are aspersed amongst the People as if they were traytors, and visious, prevaricating men. Nay, they are questioned upon theyr lives publickly, as traytors against thos whose government and New lawes they never consented toe, nor dare not in consciens consent to; least, whilst they pleas Men, they be found sinners against God, in reference to his declared word and will.

"Upon this score very many have lost theyr estates, libertys, and Lives. To heythen<sup>a</sup> them, if they keep<sup>b</sup> a day for any thing, they obtane theyr desire; if they make an apeal, its answered with a great victory, as in Scotland. Theyr pretenses are holly, and thereby very many are deluded; becaus they speak well and prosper ex-

<sup>a</sup> To raise them in estimation.

<sup>b</sup> Set apart a day for intercession.

ceedingly: But the poor servants of God have long mett and wept and prayed for redress; and yet all theyr desires and hopes are Crossed, and frustrate; till the 29<sup>t</sup> of June, att w<sup>ch</sup> time ther was a fast kept att Aldermanbury, wher M<sup>r</sup>. Love beeing before the Court was very earnestly prayed for; all looked he should be condemned, but y<sup>e</sup> Court had not power to doe it then, but defered till Fryday, when in another day of prayer hee was remembred; and then also God sufred them not to doe it, nor never sins. The Lord also has admirably held up his spirit, so y<sup>t</sup> my hope is the Lord is about to answer y<sup>e</sup> prayers of his people, then all will goe well.

"The Anthient known laws of the kingdome are plucked up by the roots, as y<sup>e</sup> government by monarchy, and all that depends upon that in the Administration of the laws; the removall of one of the 2 houses of Parliment, namly, the hous of Peers; and taking away the freedom of the hous of Commons; haling out many members to prison without soe much as any particular acuation of them; barring many more from entering into the hous to do theyr dutys, to which they were called by theyr severall countrys, without sugesting any thing against them; this done, not by the command of the hous upon any debate, but by souldiers, under the controul of them who neyther had power from God or men to doe any

such thing, nor was any trust at that time soe much as pretended to be in them for that purpose; they making themselves the sole Lords of the naytion, to debate and enact lawes, and to take away the life and estate of theyr felow subjects, by a new form of law that was never formerly heard of.

*"Concerning religion.*

"The mag<sup>r</sup> tenants<sup>e</sup> of the Chriestian religion, which are believed and reverensed by all Chriestian Churches, so as that they are not to be disputed, are now daylly not only contrevverted but denied; the Godly and sinsere ministers who hould to theyr prinseples decry<sup>d</sup>, as beeing factious and Antechrestien; and, in theyr stead, yong ileterate bould people, who are perverted and mistaken themselves, are brought in by thos in atority to preach in theyr congregations; theyrby endangering the souls of theyr people.

"Y<sup>e</sup> government of y<sup>e</sup> Church is alltogeather unsettled; the former government by bishops having bin dissolved, and that of Presbitery, which was owned and established by the Parlement, is now discountenansed and spoken against as antechrestian, and noe other eyther propounded or discovered to the people; but only a universal toleration is exceedingly and generally cryed up."

<sup>e</sup> Major tenets.



Collins says, in his Peerage, published 1768,—

“Sir Philip, eldest son and heir of Sir Simon Harcourt, received the honour of Knighthood at Whitehall, on June 5, 1660; and was elected Knight for Oxfordshire, to the Parliament which met on March 21, 1680-1, at the capital of that county. He died in April, 1688, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt. He had two wives, 1<sup>st</sup>, Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller, of Osterley Park in Middlesex, before mentioned, by Lady Anne, 2<sup>nd</sup> daughter of Thomas Finch, Earl of Winchilsea; and, 2<sup>dly</sup>, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Lee, of Ankerwyke in Buckinghamshire. By his first Lady (who died on August 23, 1664, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt), he had Simon, afterwards Baron and Viscount Harcourt: and by his second he was father of three sons, and four daughters, viz. Philip; John, who died in Sept. 1677; Lee, who died in February, 1680; Isabella, who died in March, 1688; Mary, who died in 1745, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt, as her deceased brothers and sisters had been; Elizabeth, married to Richard, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Simon Harcourt, of Pendly, before mentioned; and Anne, who was wedded to Thomas Powell of Pembrokehire, and, departing this life in 1742, was interred at Stanton Harcourt.

“The aforesaid Philip, eldest son to Sir Philip Harcourt, by his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, Elizabeth Lee, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Timothy Woodroffe; and by her had three sons, and two daughters, viz., Philip, who married Sarah, daughter of Henry Hall, of Hutton Hall, in Essex, and died without issue; Lee Harcourt, who also died without issue; John Harcourt, who espoused Anne, daughter of — Parker, Esq.; Elizabeth; and Mary.”

Sir Philip, as will have been gathered from his mother's journal, was a delicate child; he married, firstly, the daughter of his mother's second husband, and with her he resided at Stanton Harcourt. The family estates, when he succeeded to them, were very much impaired in value, and they do not appear to have recovered themselves greatly under his management.

The only son of his first marriage, the future Lord Chancellor, became the resuscitator of the family fortunes; and was the ancestor of the present possessor of the family estates. The only son by his second marriage, who survived him, came to an

unfortunate ending, and all communication between the elder and junior branches of the family appears to have ceased.

Mr. Lee, the father of Sir Philip's second wife, was a merchant in London; he purchased Ankerwyke, in Buckinghamshire, which he left to his daughter's son. The settlements exacted by Mr. Lee at the time of his daughter's marriage, appear to have been very unfavourable to the fortunes of Sir Philip's elder son, the future Chancellor. Besides an ample jointure, in addition to her own fortune, the second Lady Harcourt was endowed with the possession of Stanton Harcourt for her life. She did not choose to live there, and suffered the buildings and furniture to fall into decay. Her life was a very prolonged one; and, when her stepson succeeded to his inheritance, he found the house quite uninhabitable.

I have appended an inventory taken in the year 1688, on Sir Philip's death, of the furniture in the house of Stanton Harcourt; as a specimen of what furniture was con-

sidered to be necessary in a country house, 200 years ago.

The two following letters from Sir Philip's aunt, Catherine Irby, will give some insight into the state of his affairs.

Catherine Irby was daughter of William, Lord Paget, and sister of Sir Philip Harcourt's mother; she was married to Sir Anthony Irby, of Boston in Lincolnshire.

*"For Sir Philip Harcourt at  
Stanton Harcourt.*

"this 17<sup>th</sup> of December,  
"1672.

"DEAR NEFEW,

"Mr. Gilbert is now coming downe to you, and can fully acquaint you, how your affaires stand heer; which I think are bad enough; but as your condition is, of two evils, you should chouse the least; for if your debts be not paid, that will assuredly cut out your estate, and poor Simon will be undon eather way; for owld Mr. Lees termes are unreasonable hard: yet if it ware me, I would doe all he requires, and write to the owld man, and caresse and court him, and if it ware possible get into his favor, that you may not



loose the hopes of futor gaines; for he is owld, and cannot live long; provided the writtings may never come into his son George's hands, but that the mother may keep them, and then, tis to be hoped, healpe to provide for her daughters children; that poor Symon may not be ruined with a great joynture out of your estate, and so much money to pay out of the small remainder: but I am a foole to give my advice since tis so little followed; but my affection, and harty desire for your good, makes me; I cannot be silent, though I resolved to write noe more, since you choose rather to give over all at once, then to be pinched to death by peece meals: but I am sure I have bin faine thes thirty years to deny my selfe, and drain my expences, resolving to content my selfe with a little; or els I had in halfe this time bin blowne up, and had the hapines to give over all at once, and my selfe and children, bin more pinched, in the conclusion; to have had no other comfort, than 'alasse, good gentlewoman, I pity her;' which words would neither feed nor clothe one, but one may beg for all that, or dye in a jayle.

"Tis thought fit by your friends heer, that you should write to my brother Hickes, for he hath some interest in M<sup>r</sup>. Lee; and he tould him, he would refer all matters to him between ye: and if you would upon oath give in truly your debts,

he would indeavor to see them paid; and I would be sure to set downe five thousand pounds; that so, noe nest ege might be left behind, which will bite like a serpent, and quickly increase: but I have said too much, therefore with my respects and service to your Lady and selfe, this paper if of noe other use, may serve you when you goe to my cousen John's house; and in spite of fate, I shall ever remain,

"your truly affectionat aunt  
"to my power: K. I."

*"For Sir Philip Harcourt at  
Stanton Harcourt in  
Oxfordshire.*

"Leave this w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>re</sup> Sheen  
a glover under y<sup>e</sup> Beare  
Inne in Oxon.

"This Monday the 21<sup>st</sup> of July,  
1674:

"DEAR NEFEW,

"I returne my Lady, and your selfe, many harty thanks for your kind invitation of me to Stanton, and know noe company, or place where I should more willingly spend my time in, then ther; but the summer is far gon now, and your affaires not

yet composed with Mr. Lee, nor God knows when they will be, so long as these little circumstances are stood upon; which in my poor judgment, and the thoughts of all other your friends that love you, are not worthy contending for, especially as things stand with you at present; owld Mr. Lee seems to me to be very willing to agree, and saith you shall have 2 or 3 trustees for the annuity if you please; only he desires and still insists upon it, that his son John receive the money and dispose of it, with the consent and advice of the rest of the trustees; which I confess I think is reasonable enough, if ther be not too much will in the case; which I cannot healp, though am greaved to see: but not to shew my dulnes in saying thinges over again, I think you understand not one another, therefore Mr. Lee was wishing you would come up for a weeke, and make an end of all, and seale writings: and ware I in your sted, I should not doubt, but to play my game so, as might be greatly for my advantage.

"I hope you are satisfied that I truly love you, and wish as well to you, in every kind, as to my own son, therefore must take the liberty to speake plainly to you; your cariedge in this afaire, between you and Mr. Lee, in my thoughts, and others that possibly will not tell you so (whatever they thinke), is both silly and ungodly: simple not

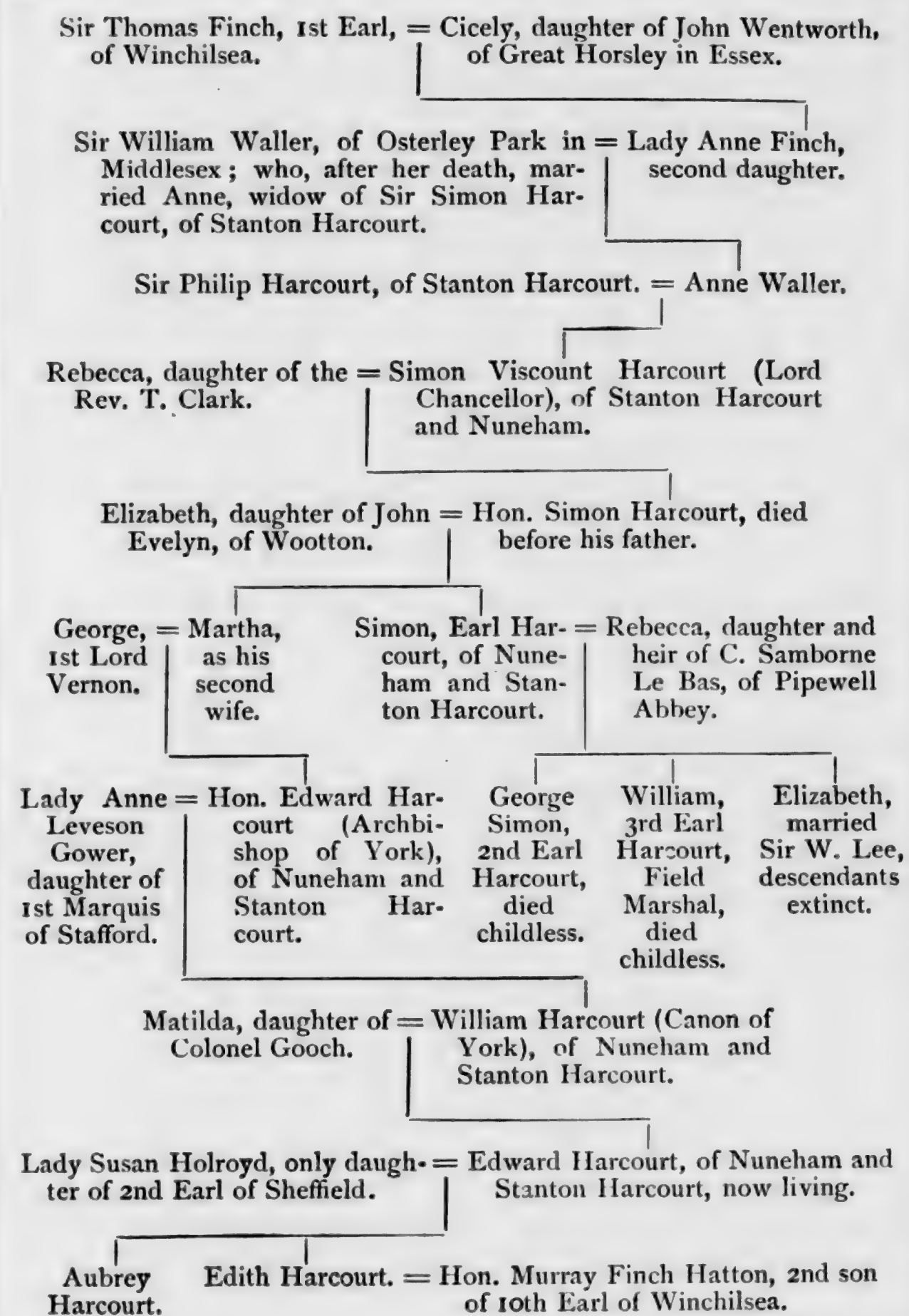
to consult your owne interest, when so fare a game lyes before you; which will be hazzarded for nothing but will, and stomake: and ungodly, in not paying that respect to a father in law, which God and nations require; for sartainly the world will conclude you cannot truly love your wife, when you thus dispise her parents, and give them such scornful and reproachfull words; which they shall never heer from me, though I doubt they have heard too much of it already: I am not capable of serving you in this particular, because the whole management of it is against my liking and judgment; ware it mine, and all the consern I have in the world, I would freely leave it to owld Mr. Lee, and let him name and put in whom he pleased: as that I conceive would ingage him most to doe that which is honest and just, and be kind to you when he saw you trusted him: but you have better advisers than I; and I hear Mr. Masters hath carried down the writings to you: my son was with me this day at Mr. Lee's, and will, I suppose, give you an account of our discourse: my sarvice to my Lady and your selfe: I pray God direct you for the best, which is the harty wish of

"Your truly affectionat friend to my power,

"KATHE: JRBY:"



The following table, which gives a list of Sir Philip Harcourt's descendants, shews how the Harcourts and Finchs have become a second time connected, in the ninth generation on the female, and in the eleventh generation on the male side.



"A TRUE and pefect Inventory of the Goods and Chattells belonging to S<sup>r</sup> Philip Harcourt, late of Stanton Harcourt in the Countie of Oxford, Knight, dec<sup>d</sup>, whereof hee was possessed of, and which did belong unto him at the time of his death, in and about his house at Stanton Harcourt, and the lands thereunto belonging.

*Imprimis, in the store chamber.*

	£	s.	d.
Two bedsteads and five curtaine rods . . .	00	16	00
One wainscott presse . . . . .	01	00	00
Two Children's Chaires . . . . .	00	04	00
One p'cell of Dutch Matt . . . . .	00	03	00
One great Chest. . . . .	00	03	00
One p'cell of glasses . . . . .	00	03	00
Two block stands . . . . .	00	02	06
A p'cell of pictures . . . . .	00	02	06
Two hatchments . . . . .	00	10	00
One New fashion Bee Hive . . . . .	00	01	00
Two Sconces and fourteen Trenchers . . .	00	03	00
One p'cell of odd lumber . . . . .	00	01	00
Two Trunks and a frame . . . . .	00	06	00
	03	15	00

SIR PHILIP HARCOURT.

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*In the servants' Garrett.*

	£	s.	d.
One Joyn'd bedsted and Curtaines . . .	00	08	00
Two green Ruggs and two blanketts Counterpane . . . . .	00	12	06
One feather bed, two flock bolsters . . .	01	10	00
One Wainscott presse, one cupboard . . .	00	10	00
One Table, Three Chaires, one Couch . . .	00	05	00
Two Andirons . . . . .	00	01	06
Lumber . . . . .	00	00	06
	03	07	6

*In the Men's Garrett.*

One bedsted and Curtaines . . . . .	00	02	00
Two Rugs, one blankett . . . . .	00	03	00
One feather bed, two boulders . . . . .	01	15	00
One paire of sheets . . . . .	00	07	00
Two Lanthorns . . . . .	00	01	06
Two old Chares . . . . .	00	01	00
	02	09	6

*In the Maid's Garrett.*

One bedsted and Teuster . . . . .	00	02	06
Two Cover lids, one blankett . . . . .	00	06	00
One paire of sheets . . . . .	00	07	00
One feather bed, one flock bed . . . . .	01	00	00
Three old Chaires, one Table . . . . .	00	04	06
One old bedsted . . . . .	00	01	00
One feather bolster, one pillow . . . . .	00	05	00
	02	06	00



*In W<sup>m</sup> Enston's Chamber.*

	£	s.	d.
One bedsted and Counterpane . . . .	00	02	00
One Coverlid, one blanket . . . .	00	02	06
One featherbed, two bolsters, one pillow . . . .	01	07	00
One paire of sheets . . . . .	00	05	00
One Table, one presse, one old chaire . . . .	00	04	06
	02	01	00

*In the Green Chamber.*

One bedsted, Curtaines, and counterpane . . . .	02	00	00
Two blankets . . . . .	00	03	06
One feather bed, two bolsters, one pillow . . . .	02	00	00
One paire of sheets . . . . .	00	08	00
Three Chaires, Two stooles, and Couch . . . .	00	15	00
One close stoole and pann . . . . .	00	05	00
One Table and Carpett . . . . .	00	03	00
Fire shovell, Tongs, and Andirons . . . . .	00	05	00
One press . . . . .	00	02	00
	06	01	06

*In the Red Chamber.*

One bedsted, Curtains, and counter pain . . . .	02	00	00
One Rugg and two blanketts . . . . .	00	17	00
One fether bedd, two boulsters . . . . .	02	10	00
One pallet bec'ted . . . . .	00	03	06
One feather bed, bouster, and pillow . . . .	02	10	00
Three Chaires, Three stooles, and Couch . . . .	00	09	00
One Table and Carpet . . . . .	00	02	00
Andiron, Tongs, and bellows . . . . .	00	02	06
One Cradle, one bed, pillow, and Quilt . . . .	00	07	00
Hangings and Rods . . . . .	00	10	00

## £ s. d.

One Iron back in the Chimney . . . . .	00	03	00
One Table, one Carpett, one Chest drawers . . . .	00	04	06
	09	18	06

*In the uppermost Tower Chamber.*

Two Tables . . . . .	00	12	00
Two Stands and bottle stands . . . . .	00	08	00
Six Cain Chaires . . . . .	01	15	00
Fire shovell, tongs, doggs, and bellows . . . .	00	03	06
Pictures, diall, and standish . . . . .	00	06	00
Tindor box, snuffers, and pann . . . . .	00	02	00
prospective glass . . . . .	00	05	00
One stool, skin, and deske . . . . .	00	03	06
	03	15	00

*In the next Tower Chamber.*

A bedsted, Tester, and Rods . . . . .	00	05	00
A Chair, and Close stool . . . . .	00	01	06
	00	06	06

*In the Tower Closet.*

A bedsted, white Curtaines, and Counterpain . . . .	01	00	00
A Quilt and a bolster . . . . .	00	08	00
Callico hangings . . . . .	00	10	00
Two Chaires, one stoole . . . . .	00	05	00
Andirons, and glass case . . . . .	00	04	00
A parcell of pictures . . . . .	00	02	00
A Table and Carpet . . . . .	00	03	00
	02	12	00

*In the Queen's Chamber.*

	£	s.	d.
A bedsted, Curtaines, & Counterpain . . . . .	01	10	00
Two blanketts . . . . .	00	04	00
A feather bed and bolster . . . . .	01	05	00
A Table, Cupboard, Carpett, and cloath . . . . .	00	06	00
A great Chaire, and stoole . . . . .	00	02	00
	03	07	00

*In the Balcony Chamber.*

A bedsted and Curtaines . . . . .	05	10	00
A Rugg and blanketts . . . . .	01	00	00
A feather bed, bolster, two pillowes, and quilt	04	10	00
Tapestry hangings, window Curtaines, and			
Rods . . . . .	06	00	00
Eight serge Chaires . . . . .	01	04	00
A silke Quilt . . . . .	02	10	00
A squab and a Cushion . . . . .	01	00	00
A Carpet, Table, and looking glass . . . . .	01	00	00
Brass Andirons, fireshovell, tongs, doggs,			
bellowells . . . . .	00	10	00
	23	04	00

*In the Dining Roome.*

Two Cloath Carpetts . . . . .	01	15	00
Tapestry hangings, window curtaines, and			
Rods . . . . .	12	00	00
Twenty red Cloath Chaires . . . . .	03	10	00
Brass Andirons, fireshovell, and tongs . . . . .	00	10	00
	17	15	00

*In the Red and white Roome.*

	£	s.	d.
A bedsted, wrought Curtaines, and Coun-			
terpain . . . . .	04	00	00
A Rugg and three blanketts . . . . .	01	06	00
A feather bedd, bolster, pillow, and Quilt . . . . .	04	10	00
four Chaires, Table Carpett, and looking glass	01	00	00
hangings, window Curtaines, rods, and Close			
stoole, &c. . . . .	02	00	00
fireshovell, Tongs, and doggs . . . . .	00	04	06
	013	00	06

*In the stairehead Chamber.*

A bedsted and Curtaines . . . . .	00	08	00
A featherbed, bolster, and blanketts . . . . .	01	10	00
A cupboard and two Chaires . . . . .	00	03	06
	02	01	06

*In Madam Lee's Roome.*

A bedsted and wrought Curtaines . . . . .	10	00	00
A featherbed, bolster, and pillow . . . . .	04	00	00
A Satten Quilt, and two blanketts . . . . .	03	00	00
Tapestry hangings, White Curtaines, and Rods	04	10	00
four Chaires, two stooles, and Couch . . . . .	02	10	00
A Table and silke Carpett . . . . .	00	03	00
brass andiron, fireshovell, and Tongs . . . . .	00	10	00
	24	13	00

*In the two little Roomes within Maddam Lee's Roome.*

A bedsted and Curtaines . . . . .	00	12	00
A Table, Cupboard, and Cloth . . . . .	00	06	00



	£	s.	d.
Two Chaires, two stooles . . . .	00	02	06
Tapestry hangings . . . . .	01	05	00
hangings, and Window Curtaines and Rods	00	16	00
A bedstead, two cushions, and Counterpain	00	10	00
A Table, Carpet, and a great Chaire . .	00	03	06
	03	15	00

*In the Passage.*

A Skreen with six leaves . . . . .	00	10	00
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*In the Dressing Roome.*

A bedstead and Curtaines . . . . .	00	12	00
Counterpain and three blanketts . . .	01	10	00
feather bolster, and Quilt . . . . .	03	10	00
A paire of sheets . . . . .	00	05	00
Hangings, window Curtaines and rods .	00	07	00
A screen . . . . .	00	12	00
Two Tables, two stands . . . . .	00	03	06
Two glass Cases, dressing box, and stool .	00	14	00
Fire shovell, tongs, doggs, and warming pann . . . . .	00	06	00
A Cabinet, and Close stool . . . . .	00	12	00
A paire of pistolls, Two Guns, Two swords	02	00	00
A pewter Stand . . . . .	00	15	00
Three Chaires . . . . .	00	05	00
	11	11	06

*In the closet within the dressing room.*

A bedsted and curtaines . . . . .	00	12	00
A Rugg and three blanketts . . . . .	00	14	00

	£	s.	d.
A feather bed, bolster, and Quilt . . .	03	00	00
A paire of sheets . . . . .	00	07	00
Tapestry hangings . . . . .	00	15	00
Glass case and Stand . . . . .	00	01	06
Two Chaires and two Stooles . . . . .	00	02	06
A parcell of wooden things . . . . .	00	03	00
Seaven dozen of glass bottles . . . . .	00	14	00
A parcell of glasses and a parcell of earthen- ware . . . . .	00	12	00
A pestle and mortar, and glasse Churne .	00	06	06
	07	07	06

*In the Garrett over the Dressing Roome.*

A grate, and bellowes, and Chest . . .	00	07	00
Lumber . . . . .	00	05	00
Two fire skreens . . . . .	00	01	06
	00	13	06

*In the Nursery.*

Two bedsteds, Curtaines, and rallings .	02	00	00
A Coverlid, a Rugg, and a blankett . .	00	04	06
Two fether beds, two fether boulsters, two flock bolsters . . . . .	03	10	00
A Table and Carpet, a Canopy and Cur- taine . . . . .	00	04	00
A Chaire and a stool, doggs, and iron barr .	00	03	00
	06	01	06

*In my Lady's Chamber.*

	£	s.	d.
A bedsted, Curtaines, and flock Quilt .	10	00	00
A feather bed, boulder, four pillows, a Quilt . . . . .	05	00	00
A Callico Quilt, and four blanketts .	01	13	00
Tapestry window Curtaines, and Rod .	08	00	00
Two looking glasses . . . . .	02	00	00
Eight Chaires and one Squab . . . . .	01	00	00
A Scrutore and two Stands . . . . .	03	00	00
fire shovell, bellows, tongs, doggs, and iron bars . . . . .	00	04	00
Two Tables, Glass case, and close stoole .	00	16	00
Nine Camlet Cushions . . . . .	00	13	06
Green serge hangings, and Curtain Rods .	01	10	00
Two Chaires, Two Stands, one Table Stand	00	05	00
A Table and Carpetts . . . . .	00	03	00
A Clock . . . . .	00	04	00
	34	08	06

*In the little Closset in my Lady's Chamber.*

Hangings, window Curtains, and Rods .	00	15	00
Two Stands, a Table Stand, and glasse case	00	05	00
A Case of drawers and one Chaire . . . . .	00	08	00
	01	08	00

*In the Parlor in the Porter's Lodge.*

Hangings, window Curtains, and Rods .	00	17	00
Nine Turkey worke chaires . . . . .	01	02	06

	£	s.	d.
A Table, a Turkey worke Carpett . . . . .	00	10	00
A paire of tongs and doggs . . . . .	00	02	00
	02	11	06

*In the Chamber over the Parlor.*

A bedsted, Curtains, and Counterpain .	01	00	00
A feather bed, bolster, pillow, and three blanketts . . . . .	01	15	00
Hangings, window Curtains, and Rods .	01	00	00
A Table and Carpett, Three Chaires, two stooles . . . . .	00	12	00
doggs, Tongs, and bellows . . . . .	00	02	06
	04	09	06

*In the sad Culler<sup>a</sup> room.*

A bedstead, Curtains, and Counterpain .	01	00	00
Hangings, window Curtains, and Rods .	01	00	00
	02	00	00

*In the Cookes Chamber.*

A bedsted, Table, and Cupboard . . . . .	00	07	00
Three old Chaires, and old flock bed . . . . .	00	04	00
	00	11	00

*In the Coachman's Chamber.*

A bedsted, Cupboard, and two boards .	00	08	00
A flock bed, bolster, and two Coverlids .	00	08	00
Two old chaires, and Lumber . . . . .	00	10	00
	01	06	00

<sup>a</sup> Dark coloured.



*In the Great Parlor.*

	£	s.	d.
One great Table, one Spanish Table, two cloth Carpetts, one bayes Carpett . . . . .	01	00	00
Twelve pictures <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	05	00	00
Eighteen chaires, two long Cushions, one Squab . . . . .	02	10	00
One paire of brasse Andirons, firehovell, tongs, and grate . . . . .	00	15	00
	09	05	00

*In the withdrawing Roome.*

One Table, one sticht Carpett, one bayes Carpett . . . . .	00	10	00
fourteen Irish sticht Chaires, a squab, two Irish Cushions . . . . .	02	10	00
one looking glasse, two gilt stands . . . . .	01	00	00
brasse Andirons, fire shovell, and tongs . . . . .	00	08	00
	04	08	00

*In the Chappell.*

five long Cushions, six small Cushions . . . . .	01	10	00
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*In the great Hall.*

Three Tables, one forme . . . . .	00	12	00
four Turkey worke chaires . . . . .	00	07	00
Two Turkey worke Carpetts, and leather Carpett . . . . .	00	10	00
one Clocke and Case, and Lader . . . . .	02	00	00
one fender . . . . .	00	01	00
	03	10	00

<sup>b</sup> Painted, by Velasquez, by Marc Gerard, &c.*In the little Parlor.*

	£	s.	d.
Three Spanish Tables, two Turkey Carpetts . . . . .	01	12	00
Thirteen Turkey worke Chaires . . . . .	02	00	00
four Turkey worke Cushions . . . . .	00	06	00
firehovell tongs, doggs, bellows, iron barr . . . . .	00	03	00
	04	01	00

*In the still House.*

five hogsheds, two barrells . . . . .	00	10	00
six small Runnetts, five stands . . . . .	00	08	00
six dousen bottles . . . . .	00	12	00
A dresser, Table, Cupboard, and other Lumber . . . . .	00	03	04
	01	13	04

*In the servant Hall.*

A Table . . . . .	00	05	00
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*In the bear Seller.*

five hogsheds, one kilderkin, and other lumber . . . . .	00	10	00
a paire of Tables and Chest board . . . . .	00	04	00
	00	14	00

*In the Larder.*

Two stills, one Limbeck head . . . . .	01	00	00
A great iron dripping pann, tinned . . . . .	00	07	00
A Doe cover, Three sives, Three Tubbs, and other lumber . . . . .	00	03	00
	01	10	00

*In the little House between the Kitchen and Larder.*

	£	s.	d.
An Iron for plates and lumber . . . . .	00	03	00

*In the Dayrye Kitchen and two little roomes within.*

One Table, two formes . . . . .	00	04	00
Jack and waite, and dripping pann . . . . .	00	04	06
doggs, firehovell and tongs, bellows, fender . . . . .	00	03	00
Two leather chaires, foure woodden chaires . . . . .	00	03	00
A salt box, gridiron, two paire hangers, one paire of potthookes. . . . .	00	03	00
five smoothing irons, a paire of small iron Racks, one grate iron Rack, and old iron one Dousen and halfe of Trenchers, and Lumber . . . . .	00	05	00
	00	01	06
	01	04	00

*In the Darie house.*

Eight Milk Covers, Two little Churnes, a paire of Milk Tankards, six Cheese salts, six follows, one barrell Churne . . . . .	00	18	00
Earthen ware, and a parcell of Lumber, Two leather Jacks . . . . .	00	02	06
Three milk bucketts, cheese Tubb, and Tongs . . . . .	00	02	00
	01	02	06

*In the Brewhouse.*

one furnace . . . . .	00	15	00
one Mash fatt . . . . .	00	10	00
fourteen Tubbs . . . . .	00	07	00

	£	s.	d.
fourteen vessells of severall sortes . . . . .	00	07	00
A scoupe, a Tappuss, shovell, and Tongs . . . . .	00	01	06
A Malt mill, and other Lumber . . . . .	00	05	00
	02	05	06

*In the Wash House.*

A Washing Tub, table, forme, and Iron shovell . . . . .	00	03	00
A furnace . . . . .	00	08	00
	00	11	00

*In the Malt House.*

A screen, and a bin, and other Lumber . . . . .	00	08	00
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*In the great Kitchen.*

twenty six pewter dishes at seaven pence per pound, weight one hundred, three quarters, and six pounds. . . . .	05	17	10
Three dousen and eleaven plates, weighing fifty pounds, at seaven pence per pound . . . . .	01	09	02
Two pewter flagons, six Basons, foure stands, two great salts, weighing thirty five pounds . . . . .	00	14	07
five broad pewter plates, one old dish, four Chamber potts, weighing thirty five pounds . . . . .	00	14	07
Six pewter Candlesticks, one Cullender, one pepper box, six sawcers, one Chamber pott, weighing twenty one pounds . . . . .	00	08	09
four Close stoole panns, two Chamber potts,			



	£	s.	d.
two flagon lids, one plate, one stand, weighing twenty foure pounds . . . . .	00	10	00
Three brasse Kettles, one sauce pann, weigh- ing fifty six pounds . . . . .	01	08	00
One great brass pann, a stewing pann and Cover, one great Chafing dish, foure brasse sticks, one old cover, three Ladles, a pestle and Morter, fifty pounds . . . . .	01	05	00
One Coper Cistern and fountain, wey <sup>s</sup> fif- teen pounds . . . . .	00	15	00
A large bell mettle pott, weighing fifty six pounds . . . . .	01	03	04
Six brasse skilletts, one skimmer, a skid, one warming pan . . . . .	00	08	00
Two old brasse potts, waying forty six pounds . . . . .	00	19	02
One great boyler, waying fifty-two pounds . . . . .	01	00	00
One iron Candle stick, two tinn potts, one old sconce, two tin flower boxes, one Tin funnell, two tinn Covers, one Candlestick, one Chafeing dish, five spoones . . . . .	00	02	00
Two large iron Racks, one long iron barr, six spitts, nine barrs to the grate, two cheeks belonging to the grate, three iron frames, one iron hanger . . . . .	00	09	04
Two old Chests, two weeles, one forke, one woodden Rack for plates, one old Tub, and other Lumber . . . . .	00	03	06
	17	08	03

*The Lining.*

	£	s.	d.
Three paire of dowlas sheets . . . . .	01	11	00
Three dimaty sheets . . . . .	00	15	00
Eleaven paire of course sheets . . . . .	02	15	00
one paire of old Holland sheets . . . . .	00	06	00
ffoure Callico Curtains . . . . .	00	04	00
ffoure Course dresser, six course Napkins . . . . .	00	04	00
Two dozen of diap. napkins . . . . .	00	08	00
Two old diaper Tables clothes, Three side- board Clothes . . . . .	00	07	00
Seaven Scotch Cloth pillow Covers . . . . .	00	05	10
Six Scotch Cloth side board Clothes . . . . .	00	05	10
Tenn Towells . . . . .	00	04	00
Two laced sideboard Clothes . . . . .	00	05	00
one paire of large flaxen sheets . . . . .	00	15	00
foure paire of Holland sheets . . . . .	03	00	00
one old Damask Table Cloth, and side- board Cloth . . . . .	00	10	00
Three damaske table cloths, and sideboard Clothes . . . . .	02	00	00
Three dozen of damask napkins . . . . .	01	05	00
One dozen of diaper napkins . . . . .	00	04	00
One dozen of diaper napkins . . . . .	00	04	00
Nine towells and foure sideboard Clothes . . . . .	00	08	00
foure damask towells and one diaper towell . . . . .	00	07	00
Tenn Holland pillow beers . . . . .	00	10	00
Lineing for a bed, and two od napkins . . . . .	00	08	00
	17	01	08

*In the Garden.*

	£	s.	d.
four bell glasses and twenty one other glasses . . . . .	00	08	00
Three stocks of bees . . . . .	00	15	00
	01	03	00

The totall sume is £269 05 09

These goods praised by us our names  
under written,—

*Signed,* ADRIAN ROBERTS,  
BEN: WILLIAMS.

Six horses . . . . .	46	00	00
one Gelding . . . . .	15	00	00
one Gelding . . . . .	02	10	00
one Colt . . . . .	03	00	00
one Milking horse . . . . .	00	10	00
Twenty one Cowes at three pounds per peece . . . . .	63	00	00
One Bull . . . . .	02	10	00
six piggs . . . . .	04	00	00
One hundred and nine sheep of all sorts .	47	00	00
Twelve load of hay . . . . .	16	00	00
Seaven quarters of wheate . . . . .	07	00	00
twelve Bushells of Barley . . . . .	01	06	00
six sheep racks, thirty Hurdles . . . . .	00	13	00
plowes and Harrowes . . . . .	01	10	00
Three Oxe yoaks and Chaine, a double weeple, and two Cutting knives . . . . .	02	00	00

Two Rowles, and two old Chests in the Stable . . . . .	01	05	00
Harness of all sorts for the Horses . . . . .	05	00	00
Bridles, Saddles, pannells, and Bells . . . . .	01	05	00
ffother in the Oate barne . . . . .	01	00	00
ffirewood of all sorts about the house and backside . . . . .	12	00	00
Timber of all sorts about the house . . . . .	10	00	00
Straw, and Laths . . . . .	00	18	00
Six Cow Cratches . . . . .	01	05	00
ffann and Scives, two Bushells, Rakes, prongs, spades, shovells, dung pick . . . . .	01	10	00
All the dung in the yard . . . . .	05	00	00
Stones in the yard . . . . .	00	10	00
Barrowes about the house . . . . .	00	05	00
Two Cart Lines . . . . .	00	08	00
One Grind stone, one iron barr, sawes, iron wedges, a mat hooke, grubbing axe, hatchett, and axe . . . . .	01	04	00
Hammers, pinchers, dugers, Chissells, pitch markes . . . . .	00	05	00
Carts and Waggon . . . . .	10	00	00
Wheat Stadle and Stones . . . . .	01	10	00
Tenn Sacks . . . . .	00	10	00
Timber Cut out of all sorts, with other Lumber in the Timber loft . . . . .	02	10	00
ffoure Rowles in the garden . . . . .	01	10	00
All the Poultry about the house . . . . .	00	15	00
Old iron and Lumber . . . . .	00	15	00
	27	04	00



£ s. d.

Coach and Calleish and Cushions belonging  
to the Coach . . . . .

*Corne upon the ground of all sort.*

Nine Acres of Wheate . . . . . 18 00 00  
 forty two Acres of Barley . . . . . 84 00 00  
 fiteene Acres of Oates . . . . . 22 10 00  
124 10 00

totall of both the sumes 395 14 00

Apprized by us,—

*Signed,* WILLIAM TARBOOTE,  
W<sup>m</sup>. BUNCE.

The Testator's Bookes, Lute, Vialls and  
Globes appraised at . . . . . 30 00 00

by us, HENRY CORNISH,  
THOMAS GILBERT.

The Testator's Wearing Apparell . . . 05 00 00

*All the Plate at Wigg-Sale and Stanton.*

A sugar box, a cup and Cover, foure plates,  
two porrengers, six salts, five Tumblers,  
and Eighteen spoones, weight two hundred  
thirty eight ounces, at five shillings two-  
pence . . . . . 61 09 08

A paire of Candlesticks, two flaggons, three  
Tankards, a great salt, a Chafeing dish, a  
Tobacco box, and a set of Tasters, weigt  
two hundred ninety foure ounces, at five  
shillings one penny . . . . . 74 14 05

A bason, a salver, An Ewer, a Candlestick,  
a ladle, a forke, all Spanish Plate, and a  
square sugar box, weight one hundred  
ninety three ounces, at *foure shillings tenn*  
pence, abated out of the plate, by agree-  
ment, three shillings two pence. . . 46 12 10

*Appraised by Jno. Sutton.*

for all arrears of Rent at Stanton, and for  
money due for wood formerly sold . . 150 16 02  
 For Jewells, Rings, watches, and Gold  
chaine, appraised by order of Court . 95 18 00  
464 11 01

J<sup>n</sup>° MARLOW } Appraisors.  
ROBERT ABBIS }

deducted for the plate . . . . . 00 03 02  
464 07 11

£ s. d.  
 Totall 1129 07 8

“Dame Elizabeth Harcourt, widdow, doth hereby  
declare that severall of the goods before men-  
tioned in this Inventory are over-valued, shee  
having been forced to sell some of them for less

than they were appraised, soe that she doth not  
now charge herselfe with them, but be willing  
to charge herselfe with so much as shee shall  
make of the same goods when sold.

ELIZ. HARCOURT.

19<sup>o</sup> *July*, 1688.

ELIZABETHA HARCOURT,

Jurat coram me

RI: RAINES.

In p'esentia

ROBBI PEIRSON. No<sup>ery</sup> Pub<sup>l</sup>ci.

*Exam<sup>d</sup>.* Signed. THOS. WELLAM, Reg<sup>is</sup> dep<sup>tus</sup>.

## PEDIGREE

OF THE

## HARCOURT FAMILY,

BY

JOSEPH EDMONDSON,

MOWBRAY HERALD EXTRAORDINARY:

CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT DATE.



*The Names of the Heads of the Family  
are printed in large type.*

BERNARD, a Nobleman, of the Blood Royal of Saxony, but being born in Denmark, was surnamed the Dane. Chief Councillor, and second in command to Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, Minister to Duke William Longa-spatha, guardian to his son Richard II., Duke of Normandy, and Regent of the Dutchy, during his minority. He obtained the Lordships of Harcourt, Cailleville, and Beauficel, in reward for his services, Anno Dom. 876. He married . . . . de Sprote, a Lady of the Royal Family of Burgundy.

Their only son and heir was

TORF, surnamed the Rich ; he added to his possessions Torville, Torcy, Torny, and Pontautou ; he married Etemberga, daughter of Launcelot de Briquebec, a Nobleman of Danish extraction.

TOUROUDE, or Turulph, first son, Lord of Pontau-de-mer, Torville, Torcy, Pontautou, and Bourgtouroude. Joint-guardian and Governor with his Brother, to William, Duke of Normandy, during his minority. He married Wena, by some called

Duceline, sister of Gunnora, wife of Richard II., Duke of Normandy. From this Touroude, or Turulph, the Beaumonts, Earls of Leicester, Walerans, Earls of Warwick, &c., derived their descents.

TURCHETIL, second son, Lord of Turqueville, Turqueraye, &c., joint Guardian and Preceptor with his Brother, to William, Duke of Normandy, during his minority, and basely murdered for his attachment to him. He married Adeline de Montfort, sister of Toustain, Lord of Montfort, sur Risle.

William de Torville, third son.

ANCHETIL, first son of Turchetil, took the name of HARCOURT. He married Eve de Boessey, Lady of Boessey le Chastel.

Walter de Turqueville, second son.

Lesseline, married William, Earl of Eu, Exmes, and Montreuil.

ERRAUD, or ANGUERRAUD DE HARCOURT, first son of Anchetil, Commander of the Archers of Val de Ruel, in the descent made upon England by Will: the Conqueror, after whose coronation he returned into Normandy. He married Emma d'Estouteville.

ROBERT DE HARCOURT, second son, sirnamed the Strong, built the Castle of Harcourt, and came to England with Will: the Conqueror. He married Colede d'Argouges.

John de Harcourt, third son.

Arnold de Harcourt, fourth son, sent for out of Normandy, by Will: the Conqueror, 1068, to oppose the Invasion of England by the Danes, in an engagement with whom he was slain.

Gervase de Harcourt, fifth son.

Ivo de Harcourt, sixth son.

Renauld de Harcourt, seventh son.

Agnes, married M. de Formeville.

WILLIAM DE HARCOURT, first son of Robert, took the part of King Henry I. in his dispute with his Brother Robert. Commanded the troops which defeated Waleran, Earl of Moullent, in the Battle near Bourgtouroude, 1123; and had in reward for his Services, large Possessions in England. He married Hue D'Amboise.

Richard de Harcourt, second son, founder of the Commandery of St. Stephen at Reneville, became a Knight Templar, and Grand Prior of France; buried at St. Stephen's, at Reneville.

Philip de Harcourt, third son, Dean of Lincoln, Archdeacon of York, nominated to the Bishopric of Salisbury, and appointed Bishop of Bayeux. Obiit, 1163; buried at Bayeux.



Henry Harcourt, fourth son.

Baldwin Harcourt, fifth son.

Erraud Harcourt, sixth son.

Rollo de Harcourt, seventh son, settled in England; & married Boesia, sister and co-heir of William, son of Pain Pevesell, Lord of Brunne, & Standard Bearer to Rob<sup>t</sup> Curtois in the Holy Land. They had an only child, Albreda, who married Sir William Tursbut. Com: Ebor:

ROBERT DE HARCOURT, first son of William de Harcourt, Baron of Harcourt, Elbœuf, la Saussay, and Beaumesnel, Poligny, Boessey le Chastel, and Reneville; ancestor of John de Harcourt, Viscount of Chatellerant, Baron of Elbœuf, Brione, d'Arscot, Mezieres, l'Islebone, Gravenshon, &c., in whose favour the Barony of Harcourt was by King Philip de Valois erected into a Comté, in March, 1338, and from whom descended the Harcourts, Counts of Harcourt, and Aumalle, and the Marquisses of Montmorency, 1578; as also Peter de Harcourt, Baron of Beuvron, Beausson, &c., in recompence of whose services the Baronies of la Motte, Mery, Cleville, and Vareville were by letters mandatory, 1593, erected into a Marquisate, called la Motte Harcourt.

From this Peter descend Henry, Marshal of France, for whom the Marquisates of Thury, & la Motte Harcourt, were united, and erected into

the Dukedom of Harcourt, 1700, and made a Peerdom of France, 1709.

Robert de Harcourt was also ancestor to the Harcourts, Barons Bonestable and Montgomery (extinct), and of the Harcourts, present Barons d'Ollonde. Robert de Harcourt married Joane, daughter of Robert, Earl of Meullent.

IVO DE HARCOURT, second son of William de Harcourt, succeeded to his father's possessions in England.

Simon de Harcourt, third son, Obiit sine prole.

Adeliza, daughter and co-heir of Osbert de Arden of Kingsbury, com. Warwick.

Peretta, married John, Lord of Helenvillier in France.

Beatrix, married Robert Bassett.

ROBERT DE HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Ivo de Harcourt, was sheriff of Warwick & Leicester, 1199, 1201, 1202, settled at Staunton, county of Oxon, jure uxoris,—Obiit 1202. He married Isabel, only daughter and heir of Richard de Camville. She brought with her the Lordship of Stanton, from that time called Stanton Harcourt. She was descended from—

Gerrard de Camville, Lord of Lilbourne, near Creek, county Northampton, who married, and had issue:—

Richard de Camville, Founder of Combee Abbey, county Warwick: who married and had issue:—

Gerrard de Camville, first son, who married Nichola, daughter and co-heir of Richard de Haya.  
Walter de Camville, second son.

RICHARD DE CAMVILLE, third son, who married Milicent, cousin of Queen Adeliza or Adelia, daughter of Godfrey 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Brabant, & second wife of King Henry 1<sup>st</sup>. This Queen gave to her in Marriage the Lordship of Staunton, county Oxon, which was afterwards confirmed to her and her heirs by King Stephen, & King Henry II., and their only daughter, Isabel, married ROBERT DE HARCOURT.

William de Camville, fourth son, Lord of Clifton Camville, county Oxon, married Albreda, daughter of Geoffrey de Marmion.

Lucy de Harcourt, daughter of Ivo de Harcourt, married Daunley.

John de Harcourt, second son.

WILLIAM DE HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Robert de Harcourt, called the Englishman, to distinguish him from others of the same name.

He was one of those who adhered to King John, against Lewis, Dauphin of France, and the Rebellious Barons, 1216, and was with Sayer de

Quincy, Earl of Winchester, and others, at the siege of Damietta in the Holy Land, 1218; Governor of Tamworth Castle, 1219; he married Alice, first daughter and co-heir of Thomas Noel, she was married by appointment of King John, and brought with her the Lordships of Ellenhall, Seighford, Bridgeford, &c., county Stafford, and Grandborough, county Warwick, &c. Her descent was from Noelius, who came to England with King William the Conqueror, and obtained the manors of Ellenhall, &c., county Stafford; he married Celestria, and had Robert Fitz Noel, first son, Founder of the Priory of Ronton, county Stafford, and Richard Noel, second son; Robert Fitz Noel married Alice, and had, Thomas Noel, Lord of Ellenhal, Ronton, &c., Philip Noel, second son, from whom the Earls of Gainsborough.

Several other sons.

Thomas Noel married Margaret, sister of Guy le Strange, of Knocking, county of Salop, whose daughter Alice married WILLIAM DE HARCOURT.

Oliver de Harcourt, second son of Robert de Harcourt, joined the party of Lewis the Dauphin, and was taken prisoner at the Battle of Lincoln, 1217.

John de Harcourt, third son, seated at Roledge, county Leicester, married Hawis, daughter of Sir William Burdet, K<sup>t</sup>.

Sir Robert de Harcourt, fourth son, married



Dionysia, daughter and co-heir of Henry Pipard, of Lapworth, county Warwick.

Alice de Harcourt, married first, John de Limesi; secondly, Walleran de Newburg, Earl of Warwick.

SIR RICHARD DE HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of William de Harcourt, Lord of Stanton Harcourt, Ellenhall, &c. Obiit 1258. He married Arabella, daughter of Sayer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, by Margaret, his wife, sister and co-heir of Robert Fitz-Parnel, Earl of Leicester. She brought with her the Manors of Bosworth, Elstow, or Aileston, Charnwood, &c: Com: Leicester.

Sir Henry de Harcourt, second son, knighted 1278: obiit 1293: married Emma, daughter and heir of William Maunsel, of Erdington, county Warwick, afterwards married Edward Pipe, and they had, Margaret, sole daughter and heir, married, first, John Pipe, son of the above-mentioned Edward Pipe, and secondly, John de Saundersted. Helen married Hugh Bigot, Justicier of England.

SIR WILLIAM DE HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Richard de Harcourt, adhered to the Rebellious Barons: obiit 1278: he married (1<sup>st</sup>) Alice, daughter of Alan la Zouche: he married 2<sup>ndly</sup>, Hillaria, daughter of Henry, Lord Hastings, and they had:

Sayer de Harcourt, second son, joined the Earl of Leicester against Henry III. He was taken prisoner in the battle of Eversham, 1266. Imprisoned, and disseised of his Lands, & dyed the same year.

Maud, married Sir Giles Peneston, K<sup>t</sup>.

By his first marriage, Sir William had Margery, married John Cantelupe, Obiit sine prole; and Arabella, married Sir Fulke Pembrugge, Ob: 1279.

By his second marriage,

RICHARD DE HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), only son, procured a grant of the Fairs and Markets of Bosworth, Com: Leicester, 1293; He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beke, of Eresby, Com: Lincoln.

SIR JOHN HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Richard de Harcourt, knighted 1306, Ob: 1330: married, 1<sup>stly</sup>, Ellen, daughter of Eudo la Zouche, of Mellesentre; 2<sup>ndly</sup>, Alice, daughter of Peter Corbet, of Caus Castle, Com: Salop.

Nicholas Harcourt, second son, Rector of Sheppy, Com: Leicest:

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), only son and heir of Sir John Harcourt, Ob: 6 June, 1349. He married Jane, daughter of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor; she afterwards married Ralph de Ferrers. Ob: 19 Aug. 1369.

SIR RICHARD HARCOURT, first son of Sir William; Obiit. vita patris.; married Joane, daughter and heir of William Shareshull, Lord Chief Justice of England.

SIR THOMAS HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), second son of Sir William, Knighted 1366: Knight of the shire for the county of Oxon, 1376: Obiit 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1417.

Married Maud, daughter of Robert, Lord Grey of Rotherfield, and widow of Sir John Botetort, Lord Botetort: Obiit 30 Jan., 1391: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir of Sir Richard Harcourt, married Thomas Astley, of Nelston, county Leicester, second son of Thomas, Lord Astley.

THOMAS HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Thomas; obiit 3 June, 1460: buried at Stanton Harcourt, County Oxon; having married Joane, daughter of Sir Robert Francis.

Sir Richard Harcourt, second son.

Joane, mar. Thomas Erdington, of Erdington, county Warwick.

Catherine.

Isabel.

SIR ROBERT HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Thomas Harcourt, Sheriff of Leicester and Warwick, 1445: K<sup>t</sup> of the Garter, 1463:

Commissioner for the Treaty of Peace between England and Lewis the French king, 1467: obiit 14 Nov., 1471. Buried at Stanton Harcourt: having married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byron, of Clayton, county Lancaster; buried at Stanton Harcourt.

SIR RICHARD HARCOURT, second son of Thomas Harcourt: Obiit 1 Oct., 1487. Married (1<sup>st</sup>) Edith, daughter and heir of Thomas St. Clare; (2<sup>nd</sup>) Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Lewknor, K<sup>t</sup>; (3<sup>rd</sup>) Catharine, daughter of . . . & widow of Sir Miles Stapleton, K<sup>t</sup>; Ob. 13 Oct. 1489.

John Harcourt, third son.

William Harcourt, fourth son, steward to George Duke of Clarence, married . . . daughter of . . . Buried at Aston, leaving a sole daughter, Isabel, married William Moseley, of Moseley, Com: Staff:

George Harcourt, fifth son, dyed young.

Alice, dyed young.

Isabel, dyed young.

JOHN HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Robert Harcourt, K.G. Ob. 26 June, 1485: married Anne, daughter of Sir John Norris, K<sup>t</sup>.

Robert Harcourt, second son.

Thomas Harcourt, third son.

George Harcourt fourth son.

All dyed without issue.



SIR ROBERT HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), only son & heir of John Harcourt, Standard Bearer to king Henry VII. at the Battle of Bosworth, made Knight of the Bath, 1495, and Banneret, 1497: Ob . . . , bur. at Stanton Harcourt, having married Anne, daughter of Thomas Lymeric.

JOHN HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), only son of Sir Robert Harcourt, K.B. Obiit sine prole.

Elizabeth, married Robert Gainsford, of Hampton, Com: Oxon:

Lettice, married, first, Humphrey Peshall; secondly, Thomas Nevil.

Catherine, married Thomas Stoner.

Ellen, married Sir Richard Beckeringham.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HARCOURT, only son of Sir Richard Harcourt by his first wife, Edith St. Clere, obiit 1474: having married Joane, daughter and heir of Sir Miles Stapleton, K<sup>t</sup>.

Anne, married first, Henry Fienes, Lord Say & Sele; second, John, son of Simon Montfort.

John Harcourt, only son of Sir Richard Harcourt by the second wife, married Margaret, daughter of William Bray, of Lembridge, county Hereford.

Isabel, married Sir William Besillys.

William Harcourt, only son of Sir Richard, by the third wife.

RICHARD HARCOURT, first son of Sir Christopher Harcourt, dyed unmarried.

SIR SIMON HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), second son, obiit 16 Jan. 1547; bur. at Stanton Harcourt; having married, 1<sup>stly</sup>, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Darrel, of Scotney, county Salop; 2<sup>ndly</sup>, Elizabeth, daughter of . . . and widow of Sir Richard York, K<sup>t</sup>.

Miles Harcourt, third son.

SIR JOHN HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Simon Harcourt, Ob. 19 Feb. 1565; buried at Stanton Harcourt; having married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Barentyne of Haselyn, county Oxon, K<sup>t</sup>.

Edmond Harcourt, second son.

Florence, married Sir John Cotesmere, K<sup>t</sup>.

SIR SIMON HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir John Harcourt, Knighted by King Henry VIII. Sheriff of Oxon & Berks, Obiit 27 July, 1577. Bur. at Stanton Harcourt; having married, 1<sup>stly</sup>, Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Aston, of Tixhall, county Stafford, K<sup>t</sup>; 2<sup>ndly</sup>, Grace, daughter of Humphrey Fitz-Herbert of Upsal, county Hereford, and widow of Will: Robinson, and had Wilgiforta, who married William Layeton; 3<sup>rdly</sup>, Jane, daughter of Sir W<sup>m</sup> Spencer, of Wormleighton, county Warwick, and widow of Sir Richard Bruges, K<sup>t</sup>.

Robert Harcourt, second son, married Elizabeth, daughter of . . . & widow of . . . Robyns, Obiit 1582; bur. at Chevsey, county Stafford.

Michael Harcourt, third son; married daughter & heir of . . . Tilney.

Edward Harcourt, fourth son; married daughter of . . .

Walter Harcourt, fifth son.

Henry Harcourt, sixth son.

Winifred, married Anthony de Greenway.

Joane, married . . . Clark.

Catherine, married John Herle of Stanton Harcourt, county Oxon.

Ursula, married . . . Guisnes, of Sussex.

Anne, married first, John Knevet; secondly, Will: Bowyer.

Susan.

Elizabeth.

Mary.

SIR WALTER HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Simon Harcourt, Knighted by the Earl of Essex, at Roüen, ob: . . .; bur. at Stanton Harcourt; having married Dorothy, daughter of William Robinson, of Drayton Bassett, Com: Stafford.

John Harcourt, second son, married Mary, daughter of Walter Jones, of Whitney, Com: Oxon: and widow of Bryan de Cogges. They had one son, Essex Harcourt.

Robert Harcourt, third son. Obiit sine prole.

Edward Harcourt, fourth son, married Anne, daughter of Robert Calyer, of Darleston, Com: Staff:

William Harcourt, fifth son, married Catherine, daughter of . . . Smith.

Jane, married John Grey, of Envil, County of Stafford.

Elizabeth, married Richard Chamberlain, of Ashley, County of Warwick.

Frances.

Jane.

ROBERT HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Walter Harcourt, was the most considerable adventurer with Sir Walter Raleigh, in his voyage Wiassero, Guyana, &c.; ob: 20 May, 1631. He married, as his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Fitz Herbert of Norbury, County of Derby; by her he had no children; he married secondly, Frances, daughter of Sir Geffrey Vere, youngest son of John, Earl of Oxford.

Michael Harcourt, second son, Captain of a ship under Sir Walter Raleigh.

Grace, died young, 13 June, 1583, & buried at Ronton.

Jane, married William Essex, of Lamborne.

Elizabeth, Maid of Honor to Anne, Queen of King James the first.

SIR SIMON HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt),



first son of Robert Harcourt, Knighted 26 June, 1627; Governor of the Castle of Dublin, 1642; Slain ex parte Regis, at Siege of Carrick Main Castle, 26 March following. He married Anne, daughter of William Lord Paget, who afterwards married Sir William Waller of Osterley Park.

Francis Harcourt, second son, dyed unmarried.

Vere Harcourt, third son, D.D., Archdeacon of Nottingham, and Rector of Plumtre, 1660; Ob: 1683; having married Lucy, daughter of Roger Thornton of Snailswell, County Cantab:

Elizabeth dyed young.

Jane, married Henry Wroughton, Esq.

Dorothy, married Henry Chetwynd of Highwood, Com: Staff., Esq.

Margaret, born 1607; dyed the same year; buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Simon Harcourt, of Pendley, Com: Hert: Esq., first son of Archdeacon Vere Harcourt; Ob: 30 March, 1724; buried at Aldbury, Hert:; having married Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Sir Richard Anderson of Pendley, and of Elizabeth his wife. Sister & co-heir of Viscount Hewet of Ireland; Ob. 29 March, 1694; bur. at Aldbury.

One son of Archdeacon Harcourt, and two daughters, who dyed unmarried.

Henry Harcourt, first son of Simon Harcourt, and grandson of Archdeacon Harcourt, seated at Pendley, ob. 9 Nov. 1741, bur. at Aldbury;

having married Frances, sole daughter and heir of Nathaniel Bard, Esq., & of his wife Persiana, daughter & sole heir of Henry Bard, Earl of Belmont in Ireland, ob. 1764.

Richard Harcourt, second son, married as his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Harcourt, K<sup>t</sup>., of Stanton Harcourt. They had Richard Harcourt of Wigsell, Com. Sussex, who married Phebe, daughter of Sir Charles Palmer of Dorney Court, Com. Bucks, Bart., & Ann, married Sir Charles Palmer of Dorney Court, Bart. This Richard had Phebe, mar. Anthony Sawyer, Esq., & Elizabeth.

Richard Harcourt, after the death of his first wife Elizabeth, married . . . . daughter of . . . Banister, & had two daughters, Elizabeth & Jane.

Henry Harcourt and Frances Bard had,

A first son, Richard Bard Harcourt, married to Rachel, daughter of Alfred Nesbit, Esq.

John Harcourt, second son, ob: 14 August, 1748.

Henry Harcourt, third son, Rector of Warbleton & Crowhurst, in Sussex.

Elizabeth.

Ernestina, Sophia, Charlotte.

Louisa, Sophia, Charlotte.

Melusina, Sophia, Charlotte.

Anne.

Perusiana.

Caroline.

Sophia.

The two latter died infants.

Richard Bard Harcourt had,

Henry Harcourt of Pendley, and

Sophia, who married Amadée, Marquise de Harcourt in France, who had,

William, who surrendered his French titles & possessions, and became William Harcourt, Esq., of St. Leonard's, near Windsor, and died leaving 3 daughters, but no son.

George, the present Marquise d'Harcourt, in France,

And Mary.

SIR PHILIP HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt), first son of Sir Simon Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, was Knighted 5 June, 1660: ob. April, 1688, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt; having married, first, Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller of Osterley Park, Com. Middlesex, K<sup>t</sup>., by Anne, second daughter of Sir Thomas Finch, Earl of Winchilsea; ob. 23 Aug., 1664; buried at Stanton Harcourt: secondly, Elizabeth, daughter & heir of John Lee, of Ankerwyke, Com. Bucks, Esq.

Frederick Harcourt, second son, obiit sine prole.

By his second wife, Sir Philip had,

Philip, first son by second marriage, married

Elizabeth, daughter & heir of Timothy Woodroffe, Esq.

John Harcourt, second son, ob. Sep. 1677: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Lee, third son, ob. Feb: 1680: buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Isabella, Ob. March, 1688: buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Mary, Ob: 1745: buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Elizabeth, married Richard, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Simon Harcourt of Pendley.

Ann, married Thomas Powell of Pembrokeshire Esq.: ob. 1742; buried at Stanton Harcourt.

Philip of Ankerwyke, Esq., first son of the above Philip, obiit sine prole; having married Sarah, daughter of Henry Hall, of Hutton Hall, Com. Essex, Esq.

Lee Harcourt, second son, Obiit sine prole.

John Harcourt, third son, married Ann, daughter of . . . Parker, Esq.

Elizabeth.

.. Mary.

SIMON HARCOURT, Viscount Harcourt (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), only son of Sir Philip Harcourt by his first wife, was knighted and made Solicitor-General, 1 June, 1702; Attorney-General, 23 April, 1707, which he resigned 12 Feb: 1708. Again Attorney-General, 18 Sep<sup>r</sup>,



and constituted Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 18, and Privy Coun. 19 Oct. 1710. Created Baron Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, Com. Oxon. by Pat., 3 Sep<sup>t</sup>., 10. Q. Ann, 1711. Declared Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, 7 April, 1712. Created Viscount Harcourt, 11 Sep., 8 Geo. I., 1712. Ob. 29 July, 1727, bur. at Stanton Harcourt. He married, as his first wife, Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. Thos: Clark; as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Spencer, com. Derby, Esq., and widow of Richard Anderson, Esq., Son of Richard Anderson of Pendley, Obiit sine prole, 16 June, 1724; bur. at Stanton Harcourt. His third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Vernon of Twickenham Park, Com. Middlesex, and widow of Sir John Walter of Sarsden, Com. Oxon., Bart. Obiit sine prole, July, 1748; bur. at Sarsden.

HON: SIMON HARCOURT, only surviving son of Simon Viscount Harcourt, dyed at Paris, Vita Patris, 1720: bur. at Stanton Harcourt. Having married Elizabeth, dau. of John Evelyn, Esq., and sister of Sir John Evelyn of Wootton, Com. Surr., Bart.: Ob. 6 April, 1760: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Philip, dyed an infant.

Walter, dyed an infant.

Ann, married John Barlow of Slebeck, Com. Pembroke, Esq.

Arabella, married Herbert Aubrey, of Cley Hanger, Com. Heref., Esq.

SIMON HARCOURT, Earl of Harcourt (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), only son, succeeded his grandfather as Viscount Harcourt, &c: 29 July, 1727: appointed Lord of the Bed-chamber in May, 1735, to K. Geo. II.: created Viscount Harcourt of Nuneham Courtenay, and Earl Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, Com. Oxon., by Pat., 1 Decem., 23 Geo. II., 1749: Governor to Geo. III. when Prince of Wales: Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court Meclenburg Strelitz, 1761: Master of the Horse to Her Majesty Q. Charlotte, 1 Aug., 1761: Lord Chamberlin of Her Majesty's household, 21 April, 1763, and Privy Coun. Afterwards Ambassador in Paris, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He died 1777, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt; having married Rebecca, dau. & heir of Charles Samborne Le Bas of Pipwell Abbey, Com. Northamp.: ob. 16 Jan., 1765: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Elizabeth, dyed unmarried, 28 Sep., 1765: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Ann, dyed an infant.

MARTHA HARCOURT, married, as his second

wife, George Venables Vernon, Lord Vernon, of Sudbury, Com. Derby.

Mary, dyed an infant.

GEORGE SIMON HARCOURT, Earl of Harcourt (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), Viscount Nuneham, first son of Simon, Earl Harcourt, Master of the horse to King George the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Born Aug. 1, 1736: obiit sine prole, 1809; bur. at Stanton Harcourt, having married his first cousin, Hon. Elizabeth Vernon, Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, dau. of George Lord Vernon, by Martha, Sister of Simon, Earl Harcourt: ob. sine prole 1826: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

HON: WILLIAM HARCOURT, Earl of Harcourt (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), second son, a Field Marshall, born 20 March, 1743; succeeded his brother, as third Earl Harcourt, 1809, and obiit sine prole, 1830; bur. at Stanton; having married Mary, dau. of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. W. Danby, Com: York. Ob. 1832: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Elizabeth, born 18 Jan. 1739: married Sir William Lee, of Hartwell, com: Bucks, Bart.: their descendants are extinct.

Ann, dyed an infant, Aug. 1746: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

HON: EDWARD HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), Archbishop of York, son of HON. MARTHA HARCOURT, by her mar-

riage, as his second wife, with George, 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Vernon: married Lady Ann Leveson Gower, dau. of 1<sup>st</sup> Marquis of Stafford, sister of 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Sutherland. Born 1756: ob. 1847: bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

GEORGE GRANVILLE HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), first son of Archbishop Harcourt, Member of Parliament for the County of Oxford: born 1786: ob. 1861; bur. at Stanton Harcourt; having married Lady Elizabeth Bingham, daughter of the Earl of Lucan, who died 1836, (leaving an only daughter, Lavinia, Countess of Abingdon): bur. at Stanton Harcourt. He married 2<sup>dly</sup>, Frances Braham, Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, by whom he had no children.

Edward, 2<sup>nd</sup> son: born 1787, died young; bur. in the cathedral of Ch. Ch., Oxford.

Leveson, 3<sup>rd</sup> son, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Chancellor of the Church of York: born 1788: obiit sine prole, 1860: bur. at Stanton Harcourt; having married Hon. Caroline Peachy, daughter & heir of John Lord Selsey.

WILLIAM HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), 4<sup>th</sup> son, Canon of York, F.R.S. born 1789: obiit 1871; bur. at Nuneham: having married Matilda Mary, dau. of Colonel Gooch,



son of Sir Thomas Gooch, of Benacre Hall, Com: Suffolk, Bart.

Frederick Edward, 5<sup>th</sup> son, an Admiral, born 1790: married Marcia, dau. of Admiral Tollemach.

Henry, 6<sup>th</sup> son, a Colonel in the Guards, born 1791: obiit 1853; having married Lady Frances Harley, daughter of the Earl of Oxford.

Granville, 7<sup>th</sup> son, Chancellor of the Province of York, Member of Parliament for Retford: born 1792; married, 1<sup>stly</sup>, Frances, daughter and heir of Anthony Eyre, of Grove Park, Com: Notts: Esq.; 2<sup>ndly</sup>, the Hon: Pyne Jessy Brand, daughter of Henry Otway, 22<sup>nd</sup> Lord Dacre, and widow of John Henry Cotterell, Esq.

Octavius, 8<sup>th</sup> son, an Admiral, born 1793: obiit 1863: having married Anne, daughter of William Gater, Esq., and widow of William Danby of Swinton Park, Com: York, Esq.

Caroline, born 1795; obiit May, 1815; bur. at Stanton Harcourt.

Anne, born 1796: obiit 1860.

Charles, 9<sup>th</sup> son, Canon of Carlisle; born 1798: obiit 1870: bur. at Carlisle.

Louisa, born 1799; died an infant.

Francis, 10<sup>th</sup> son, a Colonel in the Guards: Equerry to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, Member of Parliament for the Isle of Wight: born 1801; married Lady Catherine, daughter of the Last Earl of Liverpool.

Egerton, 11<sup>th</sup> son, born 1803: Registrar of the Province of York, and Barrister-at Law: married Laura, daughter of Sir William Milner, of Nun-appleton, Com: York, Bart.

Louisa Augusta, born 1804; married Sir John Johnstone, of Hackness Hall, Com: York, Bart.: obiit 1863.

Georgiana, born 1807; married General George Malcolm.

EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT (of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham), first son of William Harcourt, Canon of York, Colonel of the Cinque Ports Artillery, Member of Parliament for the County of Oxford, D.L. Com: Oxon: High Sheriff, 1875; J.P. Berks, Oxon: Sussex: born 26 June, 1825; married 26 June, 1849, Lady Susan Harriet Holroyd, only daughter of George, second Earl of Sheffield.

Matilda Maria Louisa, born 1826; obiit 1839.

Sir William George Granville Harcourt, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Canon Harcourt, Solicitor-General, Queen's Counsel, Professor of International Law in the University of Cambridge, Member of Parliament for the City of Oxford; born 1827; married first, Maria Thérèse, daughter of Thomas Lister, Esq., and Lady Theresa Villiers; secondly, Elizabeth Motley, widow of J. Ives, Esq.

Emily Julia, born 1829.

Cecilia Caroline, born 1831; married Admiral E. Rice.

Selina Anne, born 1833; married Sir Warwick Morshead, Bart:

Mary Annabella, born 1835; married George De-la-Poer Beresford, Esq., Member of Parliament for Armagh.

Aubrey Harcourt, only son of EDWARD WILLIAM and Lady Susan Harcourt; J. P. Berks, Oxon: born 16 August, 1852.

Edith, only daughter of EDWARD WILLIAM, and Lady Susan Harcourt; born 16 Oct: 1853; married 27 Oct: 1875, the Hon: Murray Finch Hatton, of Haverholme Priory, Lincolnshire, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of the 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Winchilsea.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

#### CORRIGENDA.

P. 37, l. 7, *for* "Dayrell" *read* "Darrell."

61, l. 3, *for* "Phillip" *read* "Philip."

77, l. 15, *for* "Dayrell" *read* "Darrell."

78, l. 7, ditto.

83, foot-note, *for* "Tenth" *read* "Ninth."

112, l. 29, that he was killed "on the spot" is a mistake.

114, last line, *for* "1702" *read* "1713."





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THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT,

OF STANTON HARCOURT, AND NUNEHAM COURTENAY,  
IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, ESQUIRE.

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## PREFACE.

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IF public opinion had been challenged by the publication of these Papers, no one is more aware than the Editor of the just criticism to which they might have been subjected, both in respect to their prolixity and to the trifling details which they contain.

It is very possible that, in his desire to conserve, the Editor has gone beyond his mark, and has passed much unworthy matter through the Press.

Better so, however, than that anything of interest should be lost; and the Editor does not feel that he owes any apology to the reader, who holds a complete remedy in his own hands.



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MEMOIR  
OF  
LORD CHANCELLOR  
HARCOURT.



### The Harcourt Papers.

SIMON HARCOURT was the only son of Sir Philip Harcourt, by Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller and of Lady Anne Finch. He was born at Stanton Harcourt in 1660, the year of the restoration of Charles the Second; he was educated privately, and sent at the age of fifteen to Pembroke College, Oxford.

The choice of the college was probably determined by the recommendation of Edmund Hall, who belonged to that foundation, and was a great friend of Sir Philip Harcourt's. Hall preached a funeral sermon, and made a funeral oration over the grave of Anne, Lady Harcourt (Simon Harcourt's mother), who was buried at Stanton Harcourt in August, 1664. The sermon and oration were printed amongst Hall's works.

Whilst at Oxford, Simon Harcourt devoted himself diligently to Classical studies.

The registers of Oxford, however, afford no evidence of his having graduated there; and the only notice given of him in the University books, is, that in 1702, when attending Queen Anne to Oxford as Solicitor-General, he was re-admitted of Christ Church, and created a D.C.L., being described as *Nuper Coll. Pembrok.*

He was aware of the difficulty his father found in defraying his expenses at the University; and after residing a short time at Oxford, he removed to the Inner Temple, where he applied himself assiduously to the study of Law.

We read in the "Nonconformist Memorial," vol. ii. p. 11 :—

"Godshill (in the Isle of Wight), Vicar, Mr. Thomas Clark. He was one of the ministers that preached the lecture at Newport. Soon after he was ejected his wife died, and left him only one daughter, who was entertained in the families where he was chaplain. He lived in that capacity with Sir Anthony Irby ten years. Upon his there becoming acquainted with Sir Philip Harcourt,

Lady<sup>a</sup> Irby's nephew, who came often to visit her, he was so extremely pleased with Mr. Clark's conversation, that with great importunity he prevailed with him to leave Sir Anthony and live with him. He then (in 1675) carried his daughter down with him to Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire; and soon after he came hither, Sir Philip's only son, Simon Harcourt, Esq. (afterwards Lord Harcourt), clandestinely married her: after which Mr. Clark removed out of the family, and went to Portsmouth, where he spent the remainder of his days."

Simon Harcourt was at this time barely twenty years of age. The alliance could not long be concealed; and on its discovery, he left Stanton Harcourt, never to return to it as a permanent residence.

He settled himself at Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire, where his eldest son was born in 1681<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> She was daughter of the fourth Lord Paget, and sister of Sir Philip's mother.

<sup>b</sup> The parish register at Chipping-Norton shews the following entries, "Baptized 1681, Philip, son of Simon Harcourt, Esq. : Baptized Jan. 1683, Anne, daughter of Simon Harcourt, Esq. : Baptized Oct. 9, 1684, Simon, son of Simon Harcourt, Esq. : Baptized Oct. 1, 1685, Arabella, daughter of Simon Harcourt, Esq. : Baptized Sept. 23, 1686, Walter, son of Simon Harcourt,



In the year 1688 Sir Philip died. His son, Simon, on succeeding to the paternal estates, found them curtailed to the verge of ruin. His great-grandfather had dissipated a vast property in chimerical pursuits; his grandfather had fallen in battle, fighting against the armies of the Parliament, almost the first victim to the civil wars; and his father, declining to recognise the authority of Cromwell, had suffered the loss of almost all his possessions.

The restoration of Charles the Second had brought no benefit to Sir Philip, and he remained amongst those whose self-sacrifice at the shrine of loyalty was left to seek such consolation as may be found in a clear conscience. In addition to all this, Sir Philip had given his family-mansion and its furniture in dower to his second wife for her life. Simon, therefore, found himself in the position of having to commence life for him-

Esq. : Buried Jan. 17, 1683, Philip, son of Simon Harcourt, Esq. : Buried May 16, 1687, Rebeco (sic), the wife of Simon Harcot (sic), Esq."

self; and he bravely set to work to face his difficulties.

He was at this time twenty-eight years of age; a widower, with a family of young children. His disposition was, however, sanguine and courageous, and his comely presence and genial manners, combined with his very great natural gifts, secured his success in life. His rise in his profession was rapid. His first piece of preferment was the Recordship of Abingdon<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> In the year 1695, a little-known office was conferred upon him by Lord Abingdon. The deed of appointment is here inserted as a matter of curiosity. It is headed, "A warr<sup>t</sup> to Empower Simon Harcourt Esq., to be Clerke of the Iter to my Lord Abingdon, Cheife Justice in Eyre on the South side Trent.

"James Lord Norreys, Baron of Rycott, Earle of Abingdon, Cheife Justice & Justice in Eyre of all his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Forrests, Parks, & Warrens on the South side Trent.

"To all to whome these presents shall come greeting,—

"Whereas his sacred Ma<sup>ty</sup> King William the third by his Letters patents under the great seale of England, bearing date att Westminster on the nine and twentieth day of Novemb. 1693, in the fifth yeare of their Ma<sup>ties</sup> Reigne, hath given and granted unto mee, James, Earle of Abingdon, the office of Cheife Justice, and Justice Itinerant of all his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Forrests, Chaces, Parkes, and Warrens, on the south side of Trent, and Keeper of the Beasts of all the said Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, together with all Fees, Regards, Profitts, Comoditys, Priviledges, Jurisdiccions, Authoritys, Preheminences, Advantages, and Emoluments, due, accustomed;

Simon Harcourt was deeply imbued with the politics of his ancestors, and he looked with little favour upon what he called the "usurpation of the Dutch Stadtholder." He was, however, also fully alive to the follies of James the Second, and perceived that it would be useless to endeavour to stem the

or belonging, or before that time with the said office had, used or employed, with power to hear and determine all causes of Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, and to ordeine, make & constitute all manner of offices in the aforesaid Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, to the said office of Cheife Justice & Justice Itinerant belonging or in anywise appertaining, in as large and ample manner and forme, as any other person or persons heretofore having or enjoying y<sup>e</sup> said office of right, have used or perceived the same, to have, hold & exercise the said offices by myselfe or by my sufficient deputy or deputies, (during their Ma<sup>ty</sup> pleasure) as in, and by, the said letters patents more fully amongst other things, it doth, and may appeare. Know ye, therefore, that the said Earle of Abingdon reposing especiall trust & confidence in Simon Harcourt, Esq., have made, constituted, and appointed, & by these presents do make, constitute, and appoint the said Simon Harcourt, Esq., Clerke of the Iter of all and every of the said Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, on this side Trent. Southward to have & hold, exercise and enjoy y<sup>e</sup> said office of Clerke of the Iter to y<sup>e</sup> said Simon Harcourt, Esq., by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies, together w<sup>th</sup> all & singular the Fees, proffitts, Comodities, & Priviledges, to the said office belonging, or with the same heretofore used or enjoyed (during my will and pleasure). Given under my hand and seal this twenty-ninth day of October, in the seventh yeare of y<sup>e</sup> Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King William the third, anno dom. 1695.

"ABINGDON."

torrent of disgust which those follies had let loose.

With these views he declined a seat in the Convention Parliament, which sat without any royal summons; but when the reaction set in, he offered himself as a candidate for Abingdon, and was returned as member for that borough. His maiden speech was made on the 9th of April, 1690, when he was barely thirty years of age.

The question related to recognising the new king; his words, as given by the reports of Parliament, were these:—

"I have ever thought the monarchy hereditary; and, by this, what becomes of your entail? I am not satisfied that the acts of the Convention of 1660 were binding, till confirmed by a Parliament summoned by a lawful king."

On the 26th of April, in the same year, Simon Harcourt opposed the Abjuration Bill, in these words:—

"You have already the oath of allegiance; and if that is equivocated, what security have you



in an oath of abjuration? I often hear that we have a powerful enemy abroad, and that there is necessity to unite at home. This will endanger fomenting and increasing jealousies. I will discharge my conscience, however I may be mistaken. Such an unprecedented oath will give occasion to think there is some radical defect in the Government, which is to be so supported by such extraordinary expedients. You will gain no ground by it; you will make enemies. I hope there will be no reflection upon me as against the Government because I am against this Bill."

It is a matter of history that the Bill was passed.

On the 28th of April, still in the same year, Simon Harcourt spoke against the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, as follows:—

"As we are sent here to preserve the liberties of England, so there is no greater security for them than this Act; and I think I have acquitted my trust very ill if I give it up. You struggled many years for it: you obtained it in times which we are taught to look back upon as oppressive; and we are now to be deprived of it. Suspending it thus, on every frivolous pretence, amounts to a repeal. At this particular time, now we have

an army of foreigners in our bowels, we should rather increase our liberties than diminish them."

In 1696, Simon Harcourt refused to sign the voluntary association for the defence of King William's person. How it was that he escaped the vengeance of Lord Chancellor Somers on the occasion, does not very clearly appear.

We next find him opposing the Bill for the attainder of Sir John Fenwick, in the following speech:—

"This general charge of treason seems a great hardship. There is nothing by which so many have been unjustly taken off, as such vague allegations in indictments; and the grievance was justly considered so great, that in your Bill lately passed for regulating trials for high treason, you have provided that the overt acts shall be specifically laid, with time, place, and circumstances. This is a Bill to deprive an individual of the benefit of a general law, which you will allow to be necessary for the protection of innocence. This is called a trial, and we are said to be the judges. I know no trial for treason but what is confirmed by MAGNA CHARTA—*per judicium*

*parium*, by a jury, which is every Englishman's birthright, and is always esteemed one of our darling privileges; but if it be a trial, it is a pretty strange one, where the person who stands upon his trial hath a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved.

"I cannot tell under what character to consider ourselves, whether we are judges or jury-men: I never before heard of a judge, I am sure, nor of a jurymen, but he was always upon oath: I never heard of a judge but had power to save the innocent as well as condemn the guilty. Have we this power? If you were satisfied of the innocence of the accused, you must remand him to Newgate to be subject to another trial, if his prosecutors so please.

"Again, if I am a judge in this case, ought I not to be governed by the rules of evidence which are the rules of law; and the very foundation of the Bill is that by the rules of evidence and of law he cannot be lawfully convicted. It is said we have a discretion; but my Lord Chief Justice Coke says, 'a judge's discretion is *discernere per legem*;' and on another occasion, that 'a judge is to be guided by the straight line of law, and not by the crooked cord of discretion.' The practice of Westminster Hall is talked of with some disdain, as if there they only look for reason in what is the rule: but let me tell you,

there the rule is laid down because it is reason—reason approved by long experience; and therefore it is a rule.

"To tell me the Government is in danger, and that the fate of England and of Europe depends upon this Bill, is certainly rather offered to amuse than to convince. Although I have no acquaintance of Sir John Fenwick, from the account I receive of him he cannot, from his capacity, be very formidable to any government. At any rate he is your prisoner, and you have the power of detaining him as long as you please in close custody. God forbid we should live under a government which cannot subsist without taking away the life of an unfortunate gentleman contrary to the rules of law! You say you are of opinion he is guilty, and that is enough. If the opinion of those who condemn will justify the condemnation, let us no longer call the verdicts against Cornish, Sydney, and Russell, murders by a perversion of the rules of law in violation of the principles of justice."

In the year 1701, Simon Harcourt took a prominent part in the impeachment of Lord Somers for the "partition treaties," as they were called, which made England a party to the transference of important Spanish possessions to the French Crown.



It was a curious example of the inconsistency of the times, that Somers, who had drawn up the "Declaration of Rights," and was a chief organizer of the Revolution, should allow himself to become a passive instrument of the King (whom that Revolution had introduced) for performing an act, which, as apart from its policy, was clearly unconstitutional. To Simon Harcourt's management of the impeachment its success in the Commons appears to have been mainly due. The extremities, however, to which the lower house seemed prepared to proceed, had the effect of rendering the Upper House cautious, and the impeachment was ultimately dropped.

In "Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," published 1798, the following reference is made to this trial :—

"Walpole's high veneration for the character of Somers, and his zealous attachment to his party, naturally induced him to oppose the motion for his impeachment. Being young and inexperienced at that period, he gave only a silent

vote; but he made a judicious remark, which proved his sagacity. It was, that the zeal of the warmest friends is oftentimes more hurtful to the person whose cause they espouse, than the bitterest accusations of the most inveterate opponents.

"The defence spoken by Somers in the House of Commons was so able and perspicuous, and made so deep an impression, as induced Walpole to be of opinion that if the question had been immediately put, the prosecution would have been withdrawn. But the accusers of Lord Somers, foreseeing this event, made such inconsistent observations, and used such intemperate expressions, as provoked his friends to reply.

"According to the account of this debate given by Walpole, Harcourt began with extremely fallacious, but as plausible remarks as the subject could admit. Cowper's indignation moved him to reply, which occasioned the prolongation of the debate; at the end of which, what had been significantly and fully urged by Somers, was in a great measure forgotten."

The death of James the Second, which was followed immediately by the proclamation of his son by Louis XIV., and by threats of a French invasion, brought the party to which Simon Harcourt belonged

into great disfavour, and for the moment arrested his advancement; but the death of William III., and the accession of Anne, gave another turn to the wheel; and on the 2nd of June, 1702, Simon Harcourt was made Solicitor-General in succession to Sir John Hawles, and knighted. In August of the same year he accompanied Queen Anne to Oxford; he was made a Doctor of Civil Laws on the 27th of that month, and received an ovation of applause on the occasion.

In Queen Anne's first Parliament there is little doubt that Sir Simon had the Great Seal within his reach, had it been prudent for him to stretch out his hand for it; but his fortunes were not sufficiently secured to make him independent of his profession, or to enable him to exchange the certainty of his practice for the uncertainty of office.

He continued Solicitor-General for five years, under Marlborough and Godolphin.

In the year 1702, we find Simon Harcourt supporting the Bill in Parliament against occasional conformity: he said,—

"If a national Church be necessary, which the Lords did not venture to deny, the only effectual way to preserve it is by keeping the civil power in the hands of those whose practice and principles are conformable to it."

In 1703, the celebrated Daniel de Foe issued a pamphlet, called "The shortest way with the Dissenters." The object of the publication was to bring into ridicule the extreme views of the most advanced High Churchmen, and with such exquisite talent and humour was the subject handled, that both sides were at first deceived; of course, both parties were equally enraged when the veil was removed.

"'Tis in vain," said De Foe, "to trifle with this matter. We can never enjoy a settled, uninterrupted union in this nation, till the spirit of Whiggism, faction, and schism, is melted down like the old money. Here is the opportunity to secure the Church, and to destroy her enemies. I do not prescribe fire and faggot, but, '*delenda est Carthago*.' They are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace and serve God. The light foolish handling of them by fines is



their glory and advantage. If the *gallows* instead of the *compter*, and the *galleys* instead of the *finer*, were the reward of going to a conventicle, there would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of martyrdom is over. They that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, will go to forty churches rather than be hanged."

A prosecution was ordered, and the law officers of the Crown were the instruments. De Foe was tried at the Old Bailey, having given himself up to rescue his printer and publisher from jail.

The difficulty in the case was to prove publication; it is said that promises were held out to induce the Author to make admissions of Authorship, and that these promises were forgotten when they had served their purpose. If this were true, it is certain that Sir Simon's straightforward character cleared him from suspicion of complicity in the fraud. At best, the job must have been a disagreeable one.

The sentence passed upon De Foe was that he should

"pay a fine of 200 marks, be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure, stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years."

This harsh sentence had no power to quench De Foe's fire, and "Robinson Crusoe," and the "Plague of London," stand as a lasting rebuke upon his persecutors.

When the prisoner was placed in the pillory, the mob pelted him with rose leaves, and hung garlands about the instrument of torture. An effusion which the spirited and persecuted wit had composed, entitled "A Hymn to the Pillory," was published and sold by thousands, and the Government took little by their proceedings.

The trial of Tutchin for libel in 1704 was the next great law-case in which we find Sir Simon engaged; but, by his advice, the prosecution was dropped. At a later period Tutchin was guilty of another libel, for which he was lynched by the people.

In the year 1705 a general election occurred, which placed the Whigs in a ma-

jority. Sir Simon Harcourt was again elected for Abingdon; but Mr. John Hucks, the Whig candidate, whom he had beaten by a large majority, presented a petition against his return. Sir Simon, according to the custom which then prevailed, argued his own case at the bar of the House of Commons; he spoke thus:—

“Whatever the determination of this House may be, I know, and all impartial men will believe, that I am entitled to sit as a representative for Abingdon in this parliament. The just construction of the Charter, as it has been understood and acted upon for 150 years, deprives my competitor of a shadow of a right; and, even upon his construction of it, I have still a majority of votes. He himself, at the close of the poll, declared that he had not offered himself with any hope of success; and it was not till he had seen that his party had fared better in other places, that he thought of petitioning.

“But what a mean and contemptible notion must he entertain of this House. He must suppose that you are to be awed by the word of command which he thinks may be given to expel me, and to substitute himself in my place against the will of the electors, and after his own con-

fession that he was fairly defeated. If it should indeed be declared that I am not duly elected, I shall leave this House, feeling deep compassion for the unfortunate friends who stay behind me, for they must be destined to make a constant but ineffectual struggle against fraud and folly.

“Whoever suggested this petition, believing there is such a parliament, must be the most abandoned wretch in the world, who has long quitted all notions of right and wrong, all sense of truth and justice, all regard for honour and conscience. But I trust it will be found he makes a most calumnious estimate of a British House of Commons.

“The Petition charges me personally with many indirect practices; but not an attempt has been made to prove any part of these charges, and all who know me, know they must be false. As to the indirect practices of my agents—I had no agents. Till the morning of the election I knew of no opposition, and I had made no preparation for a contest. I had every reason to believe that my former services in six parliaments had met with the approbation of the great bulk of my constituents, and that they were willing again to confide to me the high trust of representing them. The electors of Abingdon were not influenced by the solicitations, menaces, and promises used



against me; and I trust their example will be imitated by the members of this House, who are expected to be patterns of purity, independence, and honour."

Sir Simon was unseated by a party vote.

He was afterwards elected for Bossiney, and we find him, on the question of privilege concerning the Aylesbury election, arguing in the House of Commons against actions brought in violation of the privileges of both Houses. His words were as follow :—

"*Principiis obsta*; never let your disease grow to such a head as to put on you the necessity of complaining of a judgment of the Lords, but rather check it in its infancy. If an action should be brought against the Speaker or the Serjeant-at-arms for obeying your commands, ought we to sit still here to see what they will do in the Courts below, and afterwards wait for the event in the House of Lords by writ of error? The law of parliament is above the judges of the Common Law; it is *alieni fori*. If you will induce any person to go into Westminster Hall and to bring an action to question your rights, a jury may find a verdict that you have no such rights, and judgment shall be given accordingly. Does

not this submit your proceedings to the examination and censure of inferior Courts, and may it not soon confine you to such privileges as the other House of Parliament may be pleased to accord to you?"

On the 5th day of April, 1706, Sir Simon Harcourt was made a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Oxford, and the parchment appointing him to that office, signed by the Duke of Marlborough, is preserved at Nuneham<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> As the fact of John Duke of Marlborough's having been Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire has been doubted, I give the document in extenso :—

"John Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Baron Churchill of Aymouth and Sandridge, one of her Maties most honorable privy Councill, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Master Generall of the Ordnance, Captaine Generall of her Maties Land forces, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Oxon, and Lord high Steward of Woodstock &c<sup>a</sup>. To Sir Simon Harcourt Kn<sup>t</sup> Greeting :—

"Whereas the Queen's most Excellent Matie according to an act of Parliament for ordering the forces in the severall Countys of this Kingdome, hath by Commission under the great Seale of England nominated and appointed me her Lieutenant for and in the said County of Oxon, and for and in the Cittys, Burroughs, Corporated and Priviledg'd places, and other places whatsoever, within the same County and the libertyes and precincts thereof, to exercise and performe all and every thing and things which to such lieutenants any ways belongs to be done, acted or performed by force of the same Act, and, whereas, by the said Act of Parliament, the said respective Lieutenants have power and

At this time he also acted as Chairman of the Oxfordshire Quarter Sessions. He appears occasionally to have introduced politics into his charges to the grand jury. We find, for instance, the following note :—

“How much happier are we, gentlemen, than our neighbours, who groan under insupportable miseries even to the last degree of slavery, while we live in ease and hospitality, and eat the fruit of our own vine.

“As, gentlemen, we are blessed with such good laws, so we are under the most auspicious reign

authority to present to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> the names of such persons as they shall think fitt to be Deputy Lieutenants, and, upon her Ma<sup>ties</sup> approbation, to give them deputations accordingly, By Virtue of the Act of Parliament and Commission aforesaid, by and with her Ma<sup>ties</sup> approbation, I doe hereby nominate, appoint, constitute and depute you, the said Sir Simon Harcourt, to be one of my deputy Lieutenants for and in the said County of Oxon, and for and in the Cityes, Burroughs, Libertyes, Corporated and Priviledged places, and other places whatsoever within the same County, and the liberties and precincts thereof, to Act, doe, execute and performe the aforesaid office of deputy Lieutenant, to the intent that you and such number of you soe by me deputed, as by the said Act of Parliament is in that behalfe directed, shall and may execute and perform all and every the Powers and Authorityes contained in the said Act of Parliament, which by the deputy Lieutenants, by vertue of the said Act, may or ought to be executed and performed, according to the true intent and meaning of the same. Given under my hand and seale, this fifth day of Aprill—1706, In the Fifth year of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> Reigne

“MARLBOROUGH.”

of the best of Queens (whom God long preserve!) —a Queen who will impartially put them in execution,—a Queen who is a zealous professor of the religion of the Church of England as established by law, and will always be a promoter of its honour and interest, and a Queen who wishes from the very bottom of her breast there were no separatists from it in her kingdom.”

On the 25th of April, 1707, Sir Simon Harcourt was made Attorney-General, and he framed and passed through Parliament the Bill for the Union with Scotland: Burnet says of it :—

“It passed through the House of Commons before those who intended to oppose it had recovered themselves out of the surprise under which the form it was drawn in had put them.”

His speeches in Parliament at this time appear to have been lost, as was often the case in those days of imperfect reporting.

On the 12th of February, 1708, Simon Harcourt performed the unprecedented act of resigning the Attorney-Generalship; he found that the administration was become



uncongenial to his views, and retired from it, along with Harley and St. John.

In the year 1709, Sir Simon was retained as Counsel for Dr. Sacheverell.

This celebrated trial was instituted by the Whigs, in consequence of a sermon preached by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark; it was preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 5th of November, 1709, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London. Sacheverell's text was taken from 2 Cor. xi. 26, "In perils among false brethren;" and he was supposed to have therein levelled, implied, if not direct censures against the late Revolution, which he was known to have detested.

It is always difficult to enter into the feelings which have actuated persons who lived under conditions totally different to our own. This difficulty often leads to a misapprehension of history; and certainly, on the surface, nothing can appear more

incommensurate than the weak effusions of Sacheverell, to the importance with which they were artificially invested.

It has to be considered, however, that this was a period at which the dampest fuel burnt with inflammable celerity; and it needed not the clever satires of Daniel de Foe to lash the public mind into a ferment. The flame that burns the fiercest is generally the soonest exhausted; and doubtless Sacheverell's rocket would soon have come down like a stick, if it had not been unadvisedly revived by a public prosecution; the result of which was, not merely to raise the Doctor into popularity, but to exhibit to the Queen the weak hold which his prosecutors had upon public favour,—a knowledge which she did not fail speedily to utilise.

In the meantime, the trial had had the effect of exhibiting an accordance, or perhaps rather a compromise, in the views of Whigs and Tories, respecting the principles of the late Revolution; and a modified doctrine of

resistance, together with a general doctrine of toleration, were thenceforth received as a common basis of action by both sides.

To Sir Simon Harcourt was allotted the chief and most difficult part of the defence, namely, to acquit the defendant of having condemned the Revolution and the lawfulness of resistance. The line he took, was to assert that justifiable resistance must always be the exception, not the rule; that there had been no *constitutional* resistance at the Revolution, which he speaks of with respect; that his client had understood resistance in these senses; and had fulfilled the part of a minister of the Gospel in pressing a general duty of obedience, which is clearly laid down for their guidance; whereas, the exceptional cases in which resistance becomes lawful, is nowhere laid down, and would therefore be a dangerous subject for the clergy to handle.

Again, he argued that no one could be punished for the unexpressed opinions of his heart; and, lastly, he maintained that Sach-

everell had made use of no words which were not justified both by high precedent, and also by the letter of the law itself.

I have placed in an appendix Sir Simon Harcourt's speech *in extenso*, as well as the remarks made upon the trial by Coxe, in his "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole;" by Hallam in his "Constitutional History of England," 1827; by Lord Mahon in his "History of England," 4th edition; and by Professor Smyth in his "Lectures on Modern History," 2nd volume; whence, those who are minded to read them, can draw their own conclusions.

Lord Campbell has remarked respecting this trial,—

"When this most preposterous and ill-fated prosecution came to a hearing in Westminster Hall, the chief part assigned to Harcourt was to answer the first article, charging the defendant with having, in his sermon at St. Paul's, traduced the Revolution, and denied the lawfulness of resistance.

"The ground of defence, taken very ably, and, I think, very satisfactorily, was that both the



Church of England and the municipal law of the country inculcate obedience to the civil magistrate, and that cases of justifiable resistance are exceptions to the rule, which are implied, and cannot possibly be anticipated or defined."

Lord Campbell goes on to say,—

"Just as Harcourt concluded his address, it was publicly announced that he had been returned to Parliament for the Borough of Cardigan. The Whigs asserted that he was privately in possession of the intelligence while he was inveighing against the impeachment; but they did not venture to bring forward any charge against him for breach of privilege: when he took his seat in the House of Commons, he was loudly cheered by the Tories, and there were clear indications of their speedy triumph."

The feeling now ran very high against the Whigs, and changes were soon made in various quarters; on the 18th of September, Sir James Montague, who was one of the Counsel against Sacheverell, was called upon to resign the office of Attorney-General, and Sir Simon Harcourt was reinstated in his place. Boyer, in the first volume of his "Polit. State," says:—

"The custody of the Great Seal, as Lord Keeper, was now privately offered to Sir Simon Harcourt; who, besides his eminent adherence to the Church party on many other occasions, had exerted his parts, in a very distinguished manner, in the defence of Sacheverell.

"But he declined that trust for the present; and in the meantime contented himself with the place of Attorney-General, which he formerly discharged with great reputation. He appeared the first time in that quality at the Council held on the 21st of September, at which time the Earl of Rochester, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John, were sworn of that most honourable assembly."

The fact is, that Simon Harcourt would gladly have taken a little more time to recruit his fortunes in the practice of his profession; and, with this end, he elected to be made Attorney-General; Lord Cowper, however, under existing circumstances, declined to retain the Great Seal; and Sir Simon, not willing to see another put over his head, no longer refused the offers of the Government. In the meantime, whilst he was making up his mind, the Great

Seal was put into commission for three weeks.

In the papers of the Crown Office, the following notice appears :—

"19<sup>th</sup> October, 1710. The Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Gr<sup>t</sup> Seal of Gr<sup>t</sup> Britain having delivered the Great Seal to the Queen on Wednesday the 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1710, her Ma<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to deliver the same to Sir Simon Harcourt, Knt., her Att.-Gen., on the day following at Hampton Court, with the title of Ld. Keeper of the Grt. Seal of G. B.; who on Monday the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the same October, being the 1<sup>st</sup> time of his sitting in Westm. Hall, was accompanied to the Chancery Court by the Earl of Rochester, Ld. President of the Council, the Duke of Ormonde, Ld. Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earls of Scarsdale, Anglesey, and Overy, the Lord Hyde, and several other persons, and in their presence did then and there take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the oath of the Ld. Keeper of the Grt. Seal of Gt. Britain, the Ma<sup>r</sup> of the Rolls holding the book, and the Clerk of the Crown reading the oaths; after which the Lords departed, and left the Lord Keeper in the said Court."

It was at this time that Sir Simon's for-

mer client, Sacheverell, presented him with a handsome silver salver; this salver is still preserved at Nuneham, and is engraved with the following inscription :—

"Viro Honoratissimo,  
universi juris oraculo,  
Ecclesiæ et regni præsidio et ornamento,  
SIMONI HARCOURT, Equiti Aurato,  
Magnæ Britannæ sigilli magni custodi,  
et Serenissimæ Reginæ à Secretioribus Consiliis,  
ob causam meam coram supremo senatu,  
In Aulâ Westmonasteriensi,  
Nervosâ cum facundiâ et subactâ legum scientiâ  
Benignè et constanter defensam;  
ob priscam Ecclesiæ doctrinam,  
Inviolandam legum vim,  
Piam subditorum Fidem,  
Et Sacrosancta Majestatis jura  
Contra nefarios perduellium impetus  
Feliciter vindicata;  
Votivum hoc munusculum  
Perpetuæ gratitudinis pignus,  
D. D. D.  
Devinctissimus cliens  
HENRICUS SACHEVEREL, S.T.P.  
anno salutis MDCCX."

The present was accompanied by the annexed letter, which, in common with the



greater part of the other papers and letters in this volume, forms a part of the Nuneham Manuscripts.

"MY LORD,—This being the happy day when under God's providence, by your kind and generous assistance, I was delivered out of the power and malice of my inveterate enemies; I can't but reflect on the great mercie I receiv'd without the highest sense of gratitude to my great benefactor and advocate, in acknowledgement whereof I humbly beg your Lordship's acceptance of this small memorial I have presumed to send you, with all the good prayers and wishes which can proceed from an heart full of those unspeakable favours which you have been pleased to conferr on, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's ever obliged servant,  
"H. SACHEVERELL."

Queen Anne, whose natural aversion to the Whigs was increased by her growing aversion to the Duchess of Marlborough, took no pains to disguise her preference for her Tory advisers. Sir Simon was welcomed to her councils with the highest expressions of regard.

He had up to this time been in the receipt

of a handsome professional income; and he had employed such parts of it as were not expended in the exercise of a large and generous hospitality, in the re-purchase of his alienated family estates.

During the year 1710, he became possessed of the estate of Nuneham Courtenay, and from time to time resided in the small manor-house which in those days existed there. On one occasion, whilst resident at Nuneham, he was summoned suddenly on business to London; and as the business was urgent, he commenced his journey on a Sunday.

The anecdote is thus recorded in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxv. p. 467:—

"I have heard that Lord Chancellor Harcourt, travelling on a Sunday through Abingdon in time of divine service, was stopped by the constables, by whom an humble apology was made to his Lordship for doing what they understood to be their duty; in consequence of which, his Lordship ordered his coach to the church door, and joined in the public worship till the conclusion of it. The anecdote does honour to his Lordship's com-

pliance, as well as to the vigilance of the officers who were guarding the observance of this day."

His visits to Nuneham, however, were only occasional. His chief place of abode was Cokethorpe, where he had built himself a house in the neighbourhood of Stanton Harcourt. The dining-room at Cokethorpe was adorned by some oak-panelling, presented to him by Queen Anne, who paid him a state visit there when it was put up.

Having been made Lord Keeper on the 18th of October, Sir Simon was on the following day made a privy councillor; we read in the London Gazette,—

"Her Majesty was pleased to deliver the Great Seal to Sir Simon Harcourt, Knt., who was there-upon sworn one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain; and he accordingly took his place at the Board.

"Hampton Court, October 19, 1710."

In this year Sir Simon was again elected member for Abingdon at the general election; but it was decided that the holder of

the Great Seal, although a Commoner, was incompetent to be a representative of the people.

During the ensuing session, he consequently sat in the House of Lords, although he was not made a Peer till the year following. The inconvenience of this arrangement became evident, when it fell to the duty of the Lord Keeper to present certain Peers to the Queen; Lord Rochester maintained that Peers could only be presented by a Peer; but Lord Cowper pointed out that the Lord Keeper, Commoner though he was, took precedence of all Peers.

In his hybrid position he was called upon, on the 28th of November, 1710, to be the mouth-piece of the Lords, in conveying a vote of thanks to Lord Peterborough for his conduct of the war in Spain. Lord Keeper Harcourt's speech is recorded as follows:—

"My Lord Peterborough, I am commanded by my Lords to return their thanks to your Lordship for your many eminent and faithful services



to your Queen and country during your command in Spain.

"My Lord, the thanks of this illustrious assembly is an honour which has been rarely paid to any subject; but never, after a stricter inquiry into the nature of any service, upon a more mature deliberation, or with greater justice, than at this time to your Lordship. Such is your Lordship's known generosity, and truly noble temper, that I assure myself the present I am now offering to your Lordship is more acceptable, as it comes pure and unmixed, and is unattended with any other reward which your Lordship might justly think would be an alloy to it.

"My Lord, had more days been allowed me than I have had minutes, to call to mind the wonderful and amazing success which perpetually attended your Lordship in Spain, (the effect of your Lordship's personal bravery and conduct,) I would not attempt to enumerate your particular services, since I should offend your Lordship by the mention of such as I could recollect, and give a just occasion of offence to this House by my involuntary omission of the far greater part of them. Had your Lordship's wise councils, particularly your advice at Valencia, been pursued in the following campaign, the fatal battle of Almanza, and our greatest misfortunes which have since happened in Spain, had been pre-

vented, and the design upon Toulon might have happily succeeded. I shall detain your Lordship no longer, than, in obedience to the order I have received, to return your Lordship, as I do, the thanks of the House, for your eminent and remarkable services to your Queen and country during your command in Spain."

At this time the unpopularity of the Whigs had reached a climax, and Harley's schemes were at length successful in obtaining the dismissal of the ministry. His efforts, however, to gain Walpole were unavailing.

It is noteworthy that, seven years later, when Simon Harcourt succeeded in stopping the impeachment of Harley, he should have been brought into those relations with Walpole which ended in a close coalition. On the 29th of May, 1711, Harley, having been created Earl of Oxford, received the staff of Lord High Treasurer, and was sworn into the office.

He was accosted by the Lord Keeper as follows:—

"My Lord Oxford,—the Queen, who does everything with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof

of it in the honours she has lately conferred upon you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications.

"My Lord, the title which you now bear, could not have been so justly placed on any other of her Majesty's subjects. Some of that ancient blood which fills your veins, is derived from the Veres; and you have shewed yourself as ready to sacrifice it for your country, and as fearless of danger on the most trying occasions, as ever any of that brave and loyal house were.

"Nor is that title less suited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief seats of learning; for even your enemies, my Lord, (if any such there still are), must own that the love of letters, and the encouragement of those who excel in them, is one distinguishing part of your character.

"My Lord, the high station of Lord Treasurer of Great Britain, to which her Majesty has called you, is the just reward of your eminent services. You have been the great instrument of restoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy pressure and ignominy of an immense debt, under which it languished; and you are now entrusted with the power of securing us from a relapse into the same ill state out of which you have rescued us. This great office, my Lord, is every way worthy of you, particularly on account of those many difficulties, with which the faithful

discharge of it must be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like yours to master them. The only difficulty which even you, my Lord, may find almost insuperable, is how to deserve better of the Crown and kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it."

On the 3rd of September, 1711, Sir Simon Harcourt was advanced to the Peerage by the style and title of Baron Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in the county of Oxford.

The preamble of the patent of his creation<sup>e</sup> runs thus:—

<sup>e</sup> The original Latin is as follows:—

"Jus Regium nobis a Deo commissum nulla in re lubentius exercemus, quam cum debita Virtuti elargiamur Præmia, Virosque tum suis, tum majorum suorum meritis insignes, omni, quo pars est, honoris genere augeamus. Hos inter elucet Prædilectus et perquam Fidelis Conciliarius noster, Simon Harcourt, Miles, Magni Sigilli nostri Custos. Longa illum decorat Proavorum Series a Normannicis usque temporibus et peramplis Fortunis, et omni Laude Bellica florentium, quorum unus, ob rem strenue sub Edwardi Quarti vexillis gestam, periscelide Equestri donatus est; alter, contra Perduelles Hibernicos pro Carolo Regum optimo fortiter dimicans, Anglorum primus occubuit; Nec in ea Gente quisquam repertus est, cujus non esset spectata semper erga Patriam Charitas, erga Principem Fides: His ille ortus Majoribus, Rei quidem Familiaris hæreditatem Furore Civili imminutam, Gloriæ integram accepit: Quam Virtute Militari partam, Ingenii sui, et Eloquentiæ vi auxit togatus. Ita enim variam, illi multiplicemque esse dicendi facultatem intelleximus, ut, an tractandis pro Tribunali causis, an habendis ad Senatum Concionibus, aptior accederet, dubitent multi, uno ore omnes fateantur, eum et Juris-



"There is nothing wherein we more willingly exercise that Royal authority which God has entrusted us with, than by rewarding true merit and virtue, and advancing to all suitable dignity men who have merited such of us, and whose ancestors have been remarkably famous in their generation; among these, there is none more con-

consultorum disertissimum esse, et Disertorum jurisconsultissimum. Suae hoc oratoriae Laudi domesticas adjunxit Virtutes, Magnanimitatem et Fidem: Quarum Robore suffultus, in tuendo quod suscepit officio, contemnendisque periculis, constanter perseveravit: et Amicitiae jura, sive in rebus secundis, sive in adversis, sancte coluit. Quem itaque tantis animi dotibus instructum, sibi *Clientium* nemo non exoptavit Patronum, eum nos Negotiis nostris, Forumque spectant haud temere admovimus Procuratorem; cum ad Attornati nostri munus, quod cum dignitate, quoad licuit, semel sustinuerat, altera vice accersivimus; eum tandem cum magno illius Ingenio minora esse haec omnia sentiremus, in ipso Forensius Honorum apice collocavimus, aequi, bonique Cognitorem et Interpretem summum. Pergit de nobis, ac de bonis omnibus praeclearius adhuc mereri; et hanc ipsam Provinciam, caeteris, quas gessit, quanto splendidior est, tanto impensius ornare: Litium multitudinem indies minuit, Judiciorum moras reserat, et, ut petitorum cuique constet quam minimo honestae contentionis felix exitus, egregie cavet. Quae quidem cum nobis summopere sint grata, ipsi honorifica, Reique Publicae salutaria, Praemiis uberius remuneranda censemus. Ne itaque in amplissimorum Judicum Consessu suffragii expers sit Justitiae Vindex integerrimus, ne in Eloquentium concilio sit elinguis, sentiendi, dicendique Author gravissimus, Procerum ordini continuo adscribatur, eidemque splendoris non nihil afferat, a quo, multum et ipse, et ipsius posteri haurient. Quae autem *Harcourtiano* Nomine ac Patrimonio Sexcentos jam annos amplius inclarescit sedes, eadem, titulo etiam quem nunc impertimus, honestetur, in omne aevum (si annuerit Deus) duraturo. Sciatis, &c."

spicuous than our well-beloved and very faithful Counsellor, Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, Keeper of our Great Seal, a gentleman recommended to us by a long descent of progenitors of very ample fortunes, and renowned for their warlike actions ever since the Norman times; one of whom, for his bravery signalized under the standard of Edward IV., was made Knight of the Garter; another, fighting courageously against the Irish rebels, in the cause of his Royal master King Charles, the best of Princes, who was the first Englishman that fell a sacrifice to their fury.

"Nor is there one of all that race, descended from such noble ancestors, who has not been eminent for his love of his country, and loyalty to his Prince. He suffered indeed in his paternal inheritance, which was diminished by the fury of the civil wars; but not in his glory, which being acquired by the military valour of his ancestors, he, as a lawyer, has advanced by the force of his wit and eloquence; for we have understood that his faculty in speaking is so full of variety, that many doubt whether he is fitter to manage causes in the lower court, or to speak before a full Parliament; but it is unanimously confessed by all, that among the Lawyers he is the most eloquent orator, and among the orators the most able lawyer.

"To this praise of his eloquence he has added

those domestic virtues, magnanimity and fidelity, supported by which, he has resolutely persevered in maintaining the cause he had undertaken, and in despising danger; and has kept the engagement of friendship, whether in prosperity or adversity, sacred and inviolable; whom therefore, furnished with such great endowments of mind, all clients have wished to defend their causes, not without reason we preferred to be one of our counsel at law, whom we a second time called to be our Attorney-General, which office he had once before sustained with honour, as far as it was thought convenient; whom lastly, since we perceived that all these things were inferior to the largeness of his capacity, we have advanced to the highest pitch of forensical dignity, and made him supreme judge in our court of equity.

"He still continues to deserve higher of us, and of all good men; and is so much a brighter ornament to his province, as it is more honorable than the rest he has gone through. He daily despatches the multitude of suits in chancery, he removes the obstacles which delay judgment in that court, and takes special care that the successful issue of an honest cause should cost every plaintiff as little as may be. Which things, as they are very grateful to us, honorable to himself, and beneficial to the Commonwealth, we think them deserving of higher reward.

"Therefore, that the most upright asserter of justice may not be without a vote in the most supreme court, that he who can think and speak so excellently well should not be silent in an assembly of the eloquent, we grant him a place among the Peers, that he may add some splendor to that order from which he and his posterity will derive so much; and we desire that the place which is known at this time, and has borne for above 600 years the name, and been the patrimony of the family Harcourt, be honored by that title which we now confer, and will continue, if God permit, from generation to generation.—Now know ye," &c.

On the 7th of April of the year 1713, the London Gazette contained the following paragraph:—

"This day the Right Hon. Simon Lord Harcourt, Baron of Stanton Harcourt, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain, having, by her Majesty's Command, delivered to her Majesty in Council the Great Seal of Great Britain, her Majesty was graciously pleased immediately to restore it to him again, with the title of Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, whereupon his Lordship took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also the oath of Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain."



It is allowed on all hands that the corruption of the times did not touch Lord Harcourt; and he was never suspected of trafficking in the sale of offices in the Chancellor's gift.

Unfortunately for the credit of England, this was an exception to the general state of affairs; and it was not till after the impeachment of Chancellor Macclesfield, Lord Harcourt's successor, that forensic fame soared above the breath of scandal. Yet, although the integrity of Lord Harcourt was beyond reproach, there were those who thought that politics and society filched from the law some of those attentions which she had a right to expect from her Chancellor.

Lord Campbell says of him,—

"His experience, combined with his reading and his admirable manner, enabled him to occupy his new seat with ease and dignity,"

and his administration of justice appears to have given general satisfaction.

According to the custom of the times,

a congratulatory poem<sup>f</sup> was addressed to the new Chancellor; it was entitled,—

"A Poem on the occasion of the promotion of the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper Harcourt, to be Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the 7th of April, 1713.

"Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem  
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant;  
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet."—*Virg.*

"Et quid facundia posset

Tum patuit."—*Ov.*

"Ille deæ donis, et tanto lætus honore."—*Virg.*

"Quid facit interea qui nil nisi prælia noscit."—*Ov.*

So far the mottoes, and now for a few lines of the poem,—

"Th' enraptured muse to a glad nation sings,  
First the great race from which our Harcourt springs,  
Noble his blood, and ancient his descent,  
E'er since to Norman yoke Britannia bent.

From such united hearts<sup>g</sup>, and hands and tongues,  
Well might we hope redress of all our wrongs.  
These, these are they who stemm'd th' impetuous tide  
Of factious boldness and rebellious pride.

<sup>f</sup> By Mr. H. Crispe.

<sup>g</sup> Referring to the Ministry of which he formed a part.

Thus when two lions from the forest roar,  
 And shake the neighbouring hills and distant shore,  
 Tigers and wolves, and all the beasts of prey,  
 Draw in their dastard tails and sneak away.  
 Thus when a brace of eagles, towering high,  
 Purge of rapacious fowls the darken'd sky,  
 The stork, the vulture, and the chattering daw,  
 Kites, buzzards, bitterns, hawks, and rooks withdraw.

Thou, Harcourt, o'er our laws art bid preside,  
 Most learn'd expounder, most unerring guide,  
 To thee the poor, to thee the friendless fly,  
 To thee the widow and the orphan cry;  
 Each suit a just and speedy judgement ends,  
 And cheap success the honest cause attends.

Thy title great without exchange of name,  
 Harcourt could only answer Harcourt's fame;  
 The noblest style and sweetest could be found,  
 All hearts retain it and all tongues resound.

Some loftier muse shall yet in deathless lays  
 Sing first our Anna's, next our Harcourt's praise;  
 Your matchless virtues will sure credit bring  
 To all the wonders poets e'er can sing;  
 Their names with yours, as prophet, I divine  
 In British annals shall for ever shine;  
 Perhaps, not quite forget this humble Muse of mine."

On the 20th of January 1713, Lord Har-

court received the following letter from Lord Bolingbroke:—

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship will receive here enclosed copys and extracts of such papers as have been transmitted hither by the Queen's Surveyor-General of Minorca, and of such other papers as I had her Majesty's directions in Council to send to your Lordship, relating to that Island.

"Your Lordship will be pleased to call to your assistance such persons as you shall think proper in order to consider these papers, and to propose to her Majesty such a form of civil government, being agreeable to the laws of England, as may be fittest to be established in Minorca. If your Lordship shall have occasion for any other papers, you will please to send for them; but I must inform you that I can't find, by the Earl of Dartmouth's books remaining in my office, that anything has been done concerning the settlement of a civil government, or the establishment of the Protestant religion in the said Island.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble and  
 "obedient servant,

"BOLINGBROKE."

When the treaty of Utrecht was nego-



ciated, Lord Harcourt on the side of the English, and the Duc de Harcourt on the side of the French, were actively engaged<sup>h</sup>.

Being thus brought into contact with each other, on the 9th of July, 1713, the Duc de Harcourt sent Lord Harcourt a present of four magnificent folio volumes of family history, now in the library at Nuneham; together with a genealogical paper, which I insert in the Appendix, as I do not know of its existence elsewhere. The present was made through the Chancellor's son, and was accompanied by the following letter:—

*"A Paris le 9 Juillet, 1713.*

"MONSIEUR,—Je reçois la lettre du 2de ce mois que vous me faites l'honneur de m'écrire, j'apprehende fort de n'estre plus ici lorsque vous reviendrés de vostre petit voyage, j'aurois fort souhaite d'avoir l'honneur de vous voir encore une fois avant celui que je vais faire ches moi, ou je vais passer deux mois, et je croi que vous ne ferés pas un long sejour à Paris quand vous y viendrés, j'aurai soin de vous adresser à Londres, les quatre volumes de nostre Genealogie avec un

<sup>h</sup> The latter certainly had the best of the business.

Extrait<sup>i</sup> separé que j'en ai retrouvé qui est fort court que je vous prirai de presenter à M. Le Grand Chancelier vostre père et de l'assurer en même tems de mes respects, lui demandant l'honneur de son amitié comme elle doit estre entre deux personnes d'une même maison, je vous demande aussi la votre et vous prie de me croire très parfaitement et pour toute ma vie.

"Monsieur,

"Vostre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

"LE M<sup>al</sup>. DUC DE HARCOURT.

"Ma femme et toute la famille vous fait ses très humble complimens."

In July, 1713, the widow of Sir Philip Harcourt died, and Lord Harcourt at length became possessed of his family residence at Stanton Harcourt, which had been alienated from him for twenty-five years, since his father's death.

His step-mother had allowed the house to go to ruin, and had parted with the furniture, so that Lord Harcourt felt very little temptation to leave Cokethorpe, where he was comfortably established, or to spend the large sum of money which would have

<sup>i</sup> This is the genealogical paper above referred to.

been required to render Stanton Harcourt a desirable residence.

Soon after the installation of the Chancellor, those dissensions commenced in the Cabinet, which sprang out of the jealousies that existed between Oxford and Bolingbroke.

The following letter, addressed to Lord Harcourt by Bolingbroke, may be cited as an instance of the feeling to which I allude:—

“Pray, my Lord, be punctual, and bring back with you a more sanguine disposition than you left Town with. At least, do not fancy that the Queen and all the rest of us are to be the slaves of him<sup>k</sup> who was raised by the favour of the former, and the friendship of the latter.”

The good offices of the Chancellor had often been instrumental in delaying the climax, which, sooner or later, was sure to arrive; but the failing health of the Queen early in the year 1714, hurried matters on by bringing into prominence the question

<sup>k</sup> Lord Oxford.

of the succession; and this was the point upon which the rival ministers chiefly differed. Lord Harcourt, sharing in Bolingbroke's views, espoused his cause, and instigated the Queen to answer an address from the Lords, praying her to issue a proclamation against the Pretender, in these words,—

“I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having one issued.”

The Chancellor was at this time much exercised by a counter-move of the Whigs; who called upon him, in his official capacity, to make out a writ, in pursuance of a patent passed in 1706, to summon the electoral Prince of Hanover to sit in the House of Lords, as Duke of Cambridge. Refusal was impossible; but sure measures were taken to prevent the arrival of the Prince.

On the 9th of July, 1714, the Chancellor prorogued Parliament by order of the Queen, and retired into the country; but on the



19th of the same month, he received the following letter from Bolingbroke, dated from Kensington :—

"MY LORD,—This messenger comes to you by the Queen's command. Her Majesty desires you to be in Town on Wednesday, as early as conveniently you can. Besides the Irish dispute, which some consideration must be had upon Thursday morning, there are too many other affairs of consequence now on foot to dispense with your Lordship's absence. I beg your Lordship's answer by the messenger, who has orders to return with all possible speed,

"And am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful and  
"obedient servant,  
"BOLINGBROKE."

On the 27th of July, 1714, Oxford was dismissed; the death of Anne, however, gave but a short triumph to Bolingbroke; he seemed to lack in the supreme moment either the promptitude or the courage, which gave the victory to his opponents. George the First was proclaimed by Somerset without a dissentient voice, and a Regency was

appointed to govern the kingdom till the arrival of the new King.

The Chancellor was, by virtue of his office, one of the Lords of Regency, and his first act was to administer the necessary oath to his brother Lord-Justices. The Heralds were then ordered to proclaim

"that the high and mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, is, by the death of Queen Anne of blessed memory, become our lawful and rightful liege Lord, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith."

The Lord-Justices at once reappointed Lord Harcourt Chancellor, in the name of the new King.

On the 5th of August, 1714, the Chancellor made a speech to both Houses of Parliament in the following terms :—

"My Lords and Gentlemen, it having pleased Almighty God to take to Himself our late Most Gracious Queen of blessed memory, we hope that nothing has been omitted which might contribute to the safety of these realms, and the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great

conjuncture. As these invaluable blessings have been secured to us by those Acts of Parliament which have settled the succession of the Crown in the most illustrious House of Hanover, we have regulated our proceedings by the rules therein prescribed.

"We are persuaded you will bring with you so hearty a disposition for his Majesty's service and the public good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in everything which may promote those great ends. My Lords and Gentlemen, we forbear laying before you anything which does not require your immediate consideration, not having received his Majesty's pleasure; we shall, therefore, only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity and firm adherence to our Sovereign's interest, as being the only means to continue among us our present happy tranquillity."

On the 13th of the same month, Lord Harcourt again addressed Parliament in his character of representative of the Lord-Justices, who were the temporary rulers of the country; and on the 21st of August he spoke as follows:—

"You may be assured that the unanimity, the cheerfulness, and the despatch with which you

have proceeded in granting these aids, will render them yet more acceptable to his Majesty, and you may depend upon our making a faithful report thereof to him."

There seems reason to think that the negotiations, of whatsoever sort they were, which Bolingbroke had entered upon with the exiled Stuart, had demonstrated the hopelessness of endeavouring to induce that Prince to harmonise his views with those of the majority of the people he was to be called upon to govern.

This impracticability of temper, though it in no way affected the opinions of his adherents respecting his right of succession, yet it doubtless influenced many, and probably Lord Harcourt amongst the number, in their judgment with regard to his personal fitness to rule. The effect of this was to produce a passive acquiescence, and a sort of negative adhesion to the *de facto* government.

It is not surprising that this lukewarm temper should have caused the new King



to treat Lord Harcourt with marked disapprobation; and he may perhaps have been esteemed fortunate in having escaped the impeachment which befel Bolingbroke and Oxford. His prudence and general popularity appear to have stood him in good stead, and he simply suffered deprivation of his office and his pension. The Great Seal was taken from him on the 21st of September, 1714, and his ex-Chancellor's pension was denied him.

He now retired to Cokethorpe, and spent his time in social and literary pursuits. He gathered round him all the *literati* of the day: Swift, Gay, Pope, Prior, Phillips, Arbuthnot, Parnell, were habitual frequenters of his table; and his only surviving son, who was an accomplished scholar, assisted him in the entertainment of his distinguished guests, and in the arrangement of his very competent library.

His library was still maintained at Stanton Harcourt, where he also fitted up some rooms for the accommodation of Pope and

Gay, who visited him there in the year 1718.

The following letter from Pope to the Duke of Buckingham, in answer to an epistle wherein the Duke inclosed a description of Buckingham House, describes the then condition of Stanton Harcourt, with a poet's licence. It gains, perhaps, in entertainment what it lacks in truth.

"I have been reading a description of Pliny's house, with an eye to yours; but finding they will bear no comparison, will try if it can be match'd by the large country-seat I inhabit at present, and see what figure it may make by the help of a florid description.

"You must expect nothing regular in my description, any more than in the house; the whole vast edifice is so disjointed, and the several parts of it so detach'd one from the other, and yet so joining again, one cannot tell how, that, in one of my poetical fits, I imagined it had been a village in Amphion's time, where the cottages having taken a country dance together, had been all out, and stood stone-still with amazement ever since.

"You must excuse me if I say nothing of the front; indeed, I don't know which it is.

A stranger would be grievously disappointed, who endeavour'd to get into the house the right way. One would reasonably expect after the entry through the porch to be let into the hall: alas, nothing less! you find yourself in the house of office.

"From the parlour you think to step into the drawing-room; but upon opening the iron-nail'd door, you are convinc'd by a flight of birds about your ears, and a cloud of dust in your eyes, that it is the Pigeon-house<sup>1</sup>.

"If you come into the Chapel, you find its altars, like those of the ancients, continually smoking; but it is with the steams of the adjoining kitchen.

"The great hall, within is high and spacious, flank'd on one side with a very long table, a true image of ancient hospitality: the walls are all over ornamented with monstrous horns of animals, about twenty broken pikes, ten or a dozen blunderbusses, and a rusty matchlock musquet or two, which we were informed had served in the Civil Wars. Here is one vast arch'd window, beautifully darken'd with divers scutcheons of painted glass: one shining pane in particular bears date 1286, which alone preserves the memory of a knight whose iron armour is long since perished with rust, and whose allabaster nose is moulder'd from

<sup>1</sup> This is all pure fiction.

his monument. The face of dame Eleanor in another piece, owes more to that single pane than to all the glass she ever consulted in her life.

"After this, who can say that glass is frail, when it is not half so frail as human beauty or glory! and yet I can't but sigh to think that the most authentic record of so ancient a family should lie at the mercy of every infant who flings a stone. In former days there have dined in this hall garter'd knights, and courtly dames, attended by ushers, servers, and seneschals; and yet it was but last night that an owl flew hither, and mistook it for a barn.

"This hall lets you (up and down), over a very high threshold, into the great parlour. Its contents are a broken-belly'd virginal, a couple of crippled velvet chairs, with two or three mill-dew'd pictures of mouldy ancestors, who look as dismally, as if they came fresh from hell with all their brimstone about them; these are carefully set at the farther corner, for the windows being everywhere broken, made it so convenient a place to dry poppies and mustard-seed, that the room is appropriated to that use.

"Next this parlour, as I said before, lies the pigeon-house, by the side of which runs an entry, which lets you on one hand and t'other into a bed-chamber, a buttery, and a small hole call'd the chaplain's study: then follow a brew-house, a little



green and gilt parlour, and the great stairs, under which is the dairy; a little farther, on the right the servants' hall, and by the side of it, up six steps, is the old lady's closet for her private devotions; which has a lattice into the hall, intended (as we imagine) that at the same time as she pray'd, she might have an eye on the men and maids.

"There are upon the ground-floor in all twenty-six apartments, among which I must not forget a chamber which has in it a large antiquity of timber, that seems to have been either a bedstead or a cyder-press. The kitchen is built in form of the Rotunda, being one vast vault to the top of the house, where one aperture serves to let out the smoke, and let in the light. By the blackness of the walls, the circular fires, vast cauldrons, yawning mouths of ovens and furnaces, you would think it either the forge of Vulcan, the cave of Polypheme, or the temple of Moloch. The horror of this place has made such an impression on the country people, that they believe the witches keep their Sabbath here, and that once a-year the Devil treats them with infernal venison, a roasted tiger stuffed with tenpenny nails.

"Above stairs we have a number of rooms: you never pass out of one into another, but by the ascent or descent of two or three stairs. Our best room is very long and low, of the exact propor-

tion of a band-box. In most of these rooms there are hangings of the finest work in the world, that is to say, those which Arachne spins from her own bowels. Were it not for this only furniture, there would be a miserable scene of naked walls, flaw'd ceilings, broken windows, and rusty locks.

"The roof is so decay'd, that after a favourable shower, we may expect a crop of mushrooms between the chinks of our floors. All the doors are as little and low as those to the cabbins of packet-boats. These rooms have for many years had no other inhabitants than certain rats, whose very age renders them worthy of this feat, for the very rats of this venerable house are grey: since these have not yet quitted it, we hope at least that this ancient mansion may not fall during the small remnant these poor animals have to live, who are now too infirm to remove to another. There is yet a small subsistence left them in the books of the library. We had never seen half what I have described, but for a starch'd grey-headed old steward, who is as much an antiquity as any in this place, and looks like an old family picture walk'd out of its frame.

"He entertain'd us as we pass'd from room to room with several relations of the family; but his observations were particularly curious when we came to the cellar: he inform'd us where stood the triple rows of butts of sack, and where

were ranged the bottles of tent, for toasts in a morning; he pointed to the stands that supported the iron-hooped hogsheads of strong beer; then stepping to a corner, he lugg'd out the tatter'd fragments of an unframed picture; 'This' (says he with tears) 'was poor Sir Thomas! once master of all this drink. He had two sons, poor young masters! who never arrived to the age of this beer; they both fell ill in this very room, and never went out on their own legs.'

"He could not pass by a heap of broken bottles without taking up a piece, to show us the arms of the family upon it. He then led us up the Tower by dark winding stone steps, which landed us into several little rooms one above another. One of these was nail'd up, and our guide whisper'd to us a secret, the occasion of it. A ghost is supposed to walk there, and some prying maids of the family report that they have seen a lady in a fardingale through the key-hole; but this matter is husht up, and the servants are forbid to talk of it.

"I must needs have tired you by this long description: but what engaged me in it, was a generous principle to preserve the memory of that which itself must soon fall into dust, nay, perhaps part of it, before this letter reaches your hands. Indeed, we owe this old house the same kind of gratitude that we do to an old friend,

who harbours us in his declining condition, nay, even in his last extremities. How fit is this retreat for uninterrupted study, where no one passing by can dream there is an inhabitant, and even those who would dine with us, dare not stay under our roof! Any one that sees it will own I could not have chosen a more likely place to convert the dead in. I had been mad, indeed, if I had left your Grace for any one but Homer. But when I return to the living, I shall have the sense to endeavour to converse with the best of them, and shall therefore as soon as possible tell you in person how much I am, &c. &c."

Gay the poet, who was staying at Stanton Harcourt at the same time as Pope, contributes his experiences in the following letter:—

"The only news that you can expect to have from me here is news from heaven; for I am quite out of the world, and there is scarce anything can reach me except the noise of thunder, which, undoubtedly, you have heard too. We have read in old authors of high towers levelled by it to the ground, while the humble valleys have escaped. The only thing that is proof against it is the laurel, which, however, I take to be no security to the brains of modern authors. But to let



you see that the contrary to this often happens, I must acquaint you, that the highest and most extravagant heap of towers in the universe, which is in this neighbourhood, stands still undefaced, while a cock of barley in our next field has been consumed to ashes. Would to God that this heap of barley had been all that had perished; for, unhappily, beneath this little shelter sat two much more constant lovers than ever were found in Romance, under the shade of a beech-tree. John Hewet was a well-set man, of about five and twenty; Sarah Drew might be rather called comely than beautiful, and was about the same age. They had passed through the various labours of the year together with the greatest satisfaction: if she milked, 'twas his morning and evening care to bring the cows to her hand. It was but last fair that he bought her a present of green silk for her straw hat, and the posy on her silver ring was of his choosing. Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; for scandal never affirmed that they had any other views than the lawful possession of each other in marriage.

"It was the very morning that they had obtained the consent of her parents, and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be made happy.

"Perhaps, in the intervals of their work, they were now talking of their wedding clothes, and

John was suiting several sorts of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, to choose her a hat for the wedding-day. While they were thus busied, (it was on the last of July, between two and three in the afternoon,) the clouds grew black, and such a storm of lightning and thunder ensued, that all the labourers made the best of their way to what shelter the trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frightened, and fell down in a swoon on a heap of barley. John, who never separated from her, sat down by her side, having raked together two or three heaps, the better to secure her from the storm.

"Immediately there was heard so loud a crack, as if heaven had split asunder. Every one was now solicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and called to one another throughout the field. No answer being returned to those who called to our lovers, they stepped to the place where they lay. They perceived the barley all in a smoke; and then spied this faithful pair, John with one arm about Sarah's neck, and the other held over her, as to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead and stiffened in this tender posture. Sarah's left eyebrow was singed, and there appeared a black spot on her breast; her lover was all over black, but not the least signs of life were found in either. Attended by their melancholy companions, they were conveyed

to the town, and the next day were interred in Stanton Harcourt churchyard.

"My Lord Harcourt, at Mr. Pope's and my request, has caused a stone to be placed over them, upon condition that we furnish an Epitaph: which is as follows:—

"When eastern lovers feed the funeral fire,  
On the same pile the faithful pair expire:  
Here pitying Heaven that virtue mutual found,  
And blasted both, that it might neither wound;  
Hearts so sincere th' Almighty saw well pleased,  
Sent His own lightning, and the victims seized."

"But my Lord is apprehensive the country people will not understand this; and Mr. Pope says he'll make one with something of Scripture in it, and with as little of poetry as Hopkins and Sternhold."

This Epitaph now exists on the outward south wall of the church:—

"Think not by rig'rous judgment seiz'd,  
A pair so faithful could expire;  
Victims so pure, Heav'n saw well pleas'd,  
And snatch'd them in celestial fire.  
Live well, and fear no sudden fate;  
When God calls virtue to the grave,  
Alike 'tis justice, soon or late,  
Mercy alike to kill or save.  
Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,  
And face the flash that melts the ball."

Lord Harcourt's library was at this time greatly enriched by a legacy from Lord Torrington, who left him all his books; he also received numerous presents, such as the "Maison d'Harcourt" given to him by the Marechal Duc de Harcourt, above alluded to; copies of the works of Pope, Prior, &c.; a fine edition of the Elzevirs; and, as an example of the value of books at the beginning of the eighteenth century, might be mentioned the "Tractatus Tractatum," in twenty-one volumes folio, which Lord Harcourt caused to be procured in Paris, and for which he paid eighty guineas, a considerable price in those days.

The following letter was written by the celebrated Dr. Mead, who procured this book:—

*"Ormond-st., July 25, 1723.*

"MY LORD,—I do myself this honour to acquaint your Lordship that of the books expected from France, the Tractatus Tractatum, and one of those that belong to the King of France's collection are come; the Tractatus is a fine copy, I have ordered my bookbinder to collate it very



carefully, and if it proves perfect, shall purchase it for four score guineas, which is the lowest price, and I believe not dear. The book belonging to the French King's collection I shall take, and your Lordship shall not pay for it 'till the other volumes are sent over, which I hope will be quickly. Our friend my Lord Bolingbroke was seized yesterday with a violent fit of his ague, and I expect will have another to-morrow, and no more. I have advised him to hasten his journey to Aix, and I believe he will set out in a few days after your Lordship's coming to Town; he desired me with his humble service to excuse his not writing by this post to your Lordship upon the account of his indisposition.

"I am always with greatest respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, most humble  
Servant,

"R. MEAD."

The Chancellor's library was transported to Nuneham by his grandson, and has since been very largely added to by subsequent possessors<sup>m</sup>.

During his retirement, a correspondence

<sup>m</sup> A magnificent folio vol. on the Horse, by Lafosse, was presented to Simon Earl Harcourt by the Chevalier de la Plegniere.

took place between Lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior. It is necessary to premise that Mr. Prior had been sent privately to Paris to treat for peace, and the French envoys afterwards met secretly in his house in London, on the same behest. These proceedings formed the basis of a charge of high treason, and occasioned his being kept in prison by the Whigs for two years when they succeeded to office.

The letter from Prior was dated, Paris, March 21st, 1715:

"MY LORD,—As I have been particularly concerned in a negociation at present so much questioned, and done my best in the execution of the commands of my superior; and as I have received advices alarming enough, I desire your advice particularly as to the point of my first coming into France with no other power than that of the Queen, with her own private *cachette*, if this were not in law a sufficient warrant for my acting. Pray give credit to what these gentlemen will say to you on my part.

"And believe me ever with great respect yours,

"M. PRIOR."

The following is the copy of his commission, which Prior sent to Lord Harcourt :—

“Commission donnée au Sieur Prior,  
Anne R.

“Le Sieur Prior est pleinement instruit et autorisé de communiquer à la France nos demandes préliminaires et de vous en rapporter la réponse”.

“Signé, A. R.”

Hallam has remarked :—

“Though it may seem an extraordinary position to take up, yet it is a true one, that in the reign of Charles II. the prerogative of the Crown swerved into fewer excesses than at any other time.

“William of Orange, on the contrary, practised such departures from sound constitutional usage, as left Parliament no controul over the executive administration; and, notably, in the affair of the partition treaties, William took the whole of those most important negotiations entirely into his own hands; thus substituting the single will of the Sovereign for the responsibility of those

▪ It is not of course to be supposed that Anne was acting by or for herself in this matter. The Queen's ardent desire for peace was made to serve the purpose of those who hoped to humble Marlborough. What is noteworthy is, that the Queen's private ordinance should have been considered a sufficient instrument in the transaction of affairs of such importance.

advisers who ought to be the constitutional guardians of the national safety.

“In the reign of Anne, under the Bill of Rights, the last great statute which restrains the power of the Crown, the vessel,” says Hallam, “seems riding in smooth water; the battle had been fought and gained.”

It is curious, therefore, to observe from the contents of the above letter, how a question is raised as to the legality of a public servant's acting in affairs of national importance, during the reign of Anne, under no warrant beyond the private instructions of the Sovereign; and it would have been more curious still to have seen Lord Harcourt's answer to the letter.

Lord Harcourt's seclusion lasted for three years; in the year 1717 Walpole, who was not then in office, assisted the former Chancellor with his advice<sup>o</sup>, when he was endeavouring to defeat the Government in

<sup>o</sup> The advice given was to raise a dispute between the Lords and Commons.



the matter of Lord Oxford's impeachment. This trial had drawn Lord Harcourt from his retirement, and the successful issue of his efforts to obtain an acquittal, bound him to Walpole by the ties of a mutual interest.

In 1718, Lord Harcourt made a speech in the House of Lords upon the Mutiny Bill, and thenceforth resumed his Parliamentary duties.

In April, 1720, Lord Harcourt received the following letter from Prior :—

"I have been, as my duty and inclination required, to pay my great respects to my ever-honoured Lord and Patron Harcourt; not finding your Lordship at home, I make bold to send you the inclosed 'case,' as it stands recommended to me by a judge and a dean from Ireland.

"They all think that my Lord Harcourt favouring their cause will be a manifest advantage to them, and I think so too. But what of that? may be their cause is not a good one, and then my Lord Harcourt will fling it into the fire: however, my Lord Harcourt has it, and 'liberavi animam meam;' though I do not understand the

law, I find one good thing in this case, that it gives me an opportunity of reporting to you my being ever, with great truth and respect,

"Your Lordship's obedient, humble servant,  
"M. PRIOR.

"Dear Dick desires to be jointly included.  
"Friday Morning, Westminster,  
"April, 1720."

In June, 1720, Lord Harcourt had the great misfortune to lose his only remaining son, of whom he was justly proud, and to whom he was most tenderly attached. The young man died in Paris, on his way back to England. He had long been in delicate health.

His body was brought home to be placed in the family vault at Stanton Harcourt. His epitaph, which was written by Pope, is thus characterised by Doctor Samuel Johnson :—

"This epitaph is principally remarkable for the artful introduction of the name, which is inserted with a peculiar felicity, to which chance must concur with genius, which no man can hope to

attain twice, and which cannot be copied but with servile imitation.

"I cannot but wish that, of this inscription, the two last lines had been omitted, as they take away from the energy what they do not add to the sense."

The lines, as they are engraved upon the marble in the Harcourt chapel, run thus :—

"To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art, draw near :  
If ever friend, if ever son was dear,  
Here lies the youth, who ne'er this friend denied,  
Or gave his father grief, but when he died.

"How vain is reason ! eloquence, how weak !  
If Pope must tell what Harcourt cannot speak ;  
Oh, let thy once-lov'd friend inscribe thy stone,  
And with a father's sorrows mix his own."

The following letter from Lord Harcourt to Mr. Pope, shews him to have been a nice critic ; and the line

"Harcourt stands dumb, and Pope is forced to speak" was at once altered by the poet.

Pope seems afterwards to have made further alterations ; as we find that the first stanza in his printed works varies from the

reading on the marble tablet. The printed version reads as follows :—

"To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art ! draw near :  
Here lies the Friend most lov'd, the Son most dear ;  
Who ne'er knew joy, but Friendship might divide,  
Or gave his Father grief, but when he died."

*" December 6th, 1722.*

"I cannot but suspect myself of being very unreasonable in begging you once more to review the inclos'd. Your friendship draws this trouble on you. I may freely own to you, that my tenderness makes me exceeding hard to be satisfied with anything which can be said on such an unhappy subject. I caus'd the Latin<sup>p</sup> Epitaph to be as often alter'd before I could approve of it.

"When once your Epitaph is set up, there can be no alteration of it, it will remain a perpetual monument of your friendship, and I assure myself you will so settle it, that it shall be worthy of you.

"I doubt whether the word 'deny'd,' in the third line, will justly admit of that construction

<sup>p</sup> This Latin epitaph is mentioned by Sir John Evelyn in his Diary ; he says he saw it on the tablet which was erected to Simon Harcourt, at the time he attended the Lord Chancellor's funeral, in the church at Stanton Harcourt. It is now nowhere to be found.



which it ought to bear—viz. renounced, deserted, &c.; 'deny'd' is capable, in my opinion, of having an ill sense put upon it, as too great uneasiness, or more good nature, than a wise man ought to have. I very well remember you told me you could scarce mend those two lines, and therefore I can scarce expect your forgiveness for my desiring you to reconsider them.

'Harcourt stands dumb, and Pope is forc'd to speak.'

I can't perfectly, at least without further discouraging you, reconcile myself to the first part of that line; and the word 'forc'd' (which was my own, and, I persuade myself, for that reason only submitted to by you), seems to carry too doubtful a construction for an Epitaph, which, as I apprehend, ought as easily to be understood as read. I shall acknowledge it as a very particular favour, if at your best leisure you will peruse the inclosed, and vary it, if you think it capable of being amended, and let me see you any morning next week.

"I am, &c."

A picture of this young man (he died at the age of thirty-seven) was painted in Paris by Le Belle, and presented by himself to Prior; it now hangs in the state-bedroom at Nuneham. The following letter relates to it:—

"MY LORD,—Having received my Lord Harley's commands to wait on your Lordship with a picture of your late dear son, Mr. Simon Harcourt, presented by him to Mr. Prior at Paris, and painted there by Monsieur Le Belle, I take leave this way, my Lord, to acquaint you therewith, and humbly pray that you will be pleased to signify to the bearer at what hour any morning I may pay my duty to your Lordship accordingly; having the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"ADRIAN DRIFT.

"Feb. 17, 1721."

The following letter was written to Lord Harcourt by Sir John Evelyn, who was brother to the Hon. Mrs. Harcourt, the Chancellor's daughter-in-law, and is dated,—

"Duke-street, Westminster,

"March 29, 1721.

"MY LORD,—Sir Thos. Cross and Mr. Lownds having last night sent to the High Bailiff their protest against the disorders of the election, did not appear to-day, notwithstanding which the Poll was carried on in the presence of the other

Candidates, and is adjourn'd to Monday, 'tis said her Grace of Marlborough, as she passed thro' the new Palace-yard to Lord Delaware's, cried out a Hutcheson, who I hear has carried it from Mr. Pultney at Hastings by one.

"I can't imagine what is doing in Surrey, neither the County election, nor so much as that of any Borough being over, though we have accounts of all those in the other countys adjoyning to London; and of several in the more remote, there being no advertisement yet of the day of the County election; to be sure it can't be so soon as next week, or even before Wednesday sennight, if what a relation of Mr. Walter told me this evening be true, that the County Court was the very day of the issuing the writts, and the Sheriff did not adjourn it in expectation of the Surrey writt.

"I was glad to see Sir John Stonehouse's name in the papers to-day, after hearing yesterday Mr. Gray had outpolled him the first day of the Election by 600.

"'Tis said the Duke of Hamilton, at the head of twenty-seven Scotch Peers, is resolved to oppose such as will not oblige themselves to be against any bill for settling the Peerage.

"My wife, who is just come home, desires her humble service to your Lordship, and says she hears a great man said last night, Sir Thomas

Cross and Mr. Lownds should petition; and that there is a report about town of Lord Rockingham's dying three hours before his son.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"J. EVELYN."

The following letter was from Sir Richard Levinge, an Irish judge, and shews how largely Lord Harcourt's advice was sought:—

*"Dublin, Jan. 16, 1722.*

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Mr. Thomas Acton, who is Chirographer of the Court of Common Pleas here, has a cause depending before your Lordship upon an appeale from the Chancery here, and has desired me to write to your Lordship. I was very unwilling to give your Lordship this trouble, and told him that if he had justice on his side, he might be assured of a full measure of it from your Lordship, and if that were wanting, nothing could supply the defect. But his being very importunate, and known to mee to be a very honest man, and a good officer in the Court in which I sitt, and it being the custome here with great dilligence to seek for letters from persons to such of the Lords as they have the honour to be known to, I hope your Lordship would not take it ill, if I took this opportunity



of expressing the great respect I have ever had for your Lordship, and desiring the favour of your Lordship to be present at the hearing of this gentleman's cause.

"I was in London from September was a twelvemonths to the January following, but was all the time laid up of the gout, and could not stir out of my lodgings till about a week before I came away: in that time I was twice at your Lordship's house to wait upon you, to testify my most sincere respect, and to preserve myself in your Lordship's memory; but had the misfortune not to find your Lordship at home. I hope your Lordship's servants did not wholly forget mee, and least that should happen I desired some of the Judges, and particularly Mr. Justice Tracey, to give my most humble service to your Lordship, and to acquaint you with the endeavours I used to take my leave of your Lordship before I left the kingdom. I also spoke to my Lord Ferrers to do me the same good office to your Lordship.

"Our session of Parliament here will be concluded in a day or two, and 'tis certain that none has passed so gently and smoothly since I knew Ireland. They have indeed according to their custome ranted in the House of Commons against the Councill Board here for altering the heads of bills which came from them, and in their testy humour have thrown out a most useful bill touch-

ing the Lanner's manufacture (which is the only thing that at this time brings any ready money into this kingdome) and two other bills, and have not been spareing of their scurvy language, and I am certain they would have proceeded to resolutions even against the authority of Poyning's Law, but were restrained purely by the respect they had to the Duke of Grafton, whose government they would not make uneasy; and I must needs say that I think hee is the most fortunate chief governor I ever saw, for all sorts of people love him, and for his sake only can be prevailed upon to waive their own excessive hatreds and animosities; and 'tis remarkable that tho' the greatest part of his ministers and instruments are utterly divided among themselves, and have preferred the gratifyeing their passions before his service, yet hee has had the art to succeed in every thing which he sought for, by the force of his own single discretion, assisted by a sweetness of temper that has been too powerfull for any opposition.

"I am, my very good Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obliged and most  
faithfull, humble servant,

"R<sup>ic</sup>. LEVINGE."

As the last letter sought Lord Harcourt's assistance in legal affairs, so the fol-

lowing epistle seeks his advice in literary matters :—

“MY LORD,—As I have been of late very ambitious of receiving your Lordship's advice in whatever I am about to publish, so I presume to send you this introduction to King William's reign, in hopes to obtain your opinion about it, when I shall wait upon your Lordship two or three days hence.

“Your very generous treatment at several times, leaves me no room to doubt of your pardon in this case, and likewise gives me hopes of further advice from your Lordship with relation to that Reign. In the mean time, I am proud of the opportunity of declaring my heartiest thanks to you for all your favours and kindnesses shown to

“Your Lordship's most obliged and most obedient servant,

“LAURENCE ECHARD.

“*London, April 7th, 1722.*”

The two following letters are purely matters of business; the one from the Duke of Chandos, the other from Lord Harcourt :—

“*Sept. 13, 1723.*

“MY LORD,—Your Lordship hath had the goodness to give yourself so much trouble in the

affair that was depending between Lord Harley and me relating to my lease of your ground in Cavendish Square, that I flatter myself you will not be displeased if I trespass so far upon your time as to acquaint you wee consented this morning to the articles, in the form they were drawn up by your Lordship's directions, and with the alterations you had been pleased to approve of: there is likewise an additional covenant endorst on the back, whereby my Lord and Lady agree to let me have the whole first part of the ground fronting the Square, viz. 320 foot wide, and 430 feet deep, upon my surrendering to them as much of the ground which lies North, as your Lordship and Lord Bingley shall judge to be a sufficient equivalent: you see, my Lord, I have presumed to draw a fresh trouble upon you, and for the pardon of this liberty wholly rely upon your Lordship's generosity, the good effects of which I have so frequently already experienced.

“As this enlargement of the house will render it too late in the season to begin building this year, I shall defer it till next spring, in the mean while I propose to be laying out for such materials as will be still wanting, and for the brickwork I shall very willingly make use of Mr. Prince; the good opinion your Lordship hath of him is a sufficient recommendation to me, and his having behaved himself so as to gain your protection



will alwaies entitle him to any good office I can render him.

"I hope it will not be long before we shall have the honour to see your Lordship in town, notwithstanding the encouragement this fine weather gives to continue in the country.

"I am with great respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,  
"CHANDOS."

"May 15, 1724.

"MR. MOORE,—I desire you very carefully to inspect all the work which has been done at my House<sup>a</sup> in Ca'ndish Sq<sup>r</sup>., and wherever you find anything so defective therein, as you shall conceive it fitt to be amended, order the respective persons concerned to amend their work as you shall think proper, and let each of them know that they are to observe your directions only as to any such amendm<sup>t</sup> of their work, or any such further work which remains yet to be done; and I desire you to appoint such persons as you shall think fitt, to finish the Hall Story as to y<sup>e</sup> wainscott, ceilings, and all other respects, and to contract with them for such prices as you shall think proper for having the work well done,

<sup>a</sup> Harcourt House, which still forms a part of the family estate, being leased at present to the Duke of Portland.

and from time to time to give me notice how you proceed.

"I am, your Friend,

"HARCOURT.

"To Mr. James Moore."

From Mr. T. Hervey:—

"Nov. 13<sup>th</sup>, 1725.

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship's complaisance ought to be better requited; but I thought the honour you did my verses this morning, lay'd me under a sort of obligation to do myself this; I have sent your Lordship copys of both the trifling things I wrote at Bath, concluding that the person who mentioned the former to you may have exposed me farther.

"Nothing less than your Lordship's great goodness and partiality to me can make you think they deserve the character your Lordship heard of them; but I so much depend on them, that I shall make no apologys for giving you this trouble.

"T. HERVEY.

"AN HUMBLE WISH.

"I ask not wit, nor beauty do I crave,  
Nor wealth, nor pompous titles wish to have;  
But, since 'tis doomed through all degrees of life,  
Whether a daughter, sister, or a wife,

That females should the stronger males obey,  
And yield implicit to their Lordly sway :  
Since this, alas ! is every woman's fate,  
Give me a mind to suit my slavish state."

"THE ANSWER.

"Nature, perversely, to thy wish has given  
The choicest blessings of indulgent Heaven.  
Equivocating fair, you ask not wit !  
You ask not beauty ! neither is it fit ;  
Your mind were slavish did you love excess,  
For misers only want what they possess."

"EPITAPH FOR MISS A. JENNENS.

"Intomb'd here lyes sweet smiling Nann,  
Ravished by death e'er touch'd by man ;  
Near her the faithfull youth interr'd,  
Who death with her to life preferr'd :  
In him his utmost power behold,  
Who, lay'd by her, can be so cold."

In this place may properly be inserted  
a series of letters from Alexander Pope,  
the poet, to Lord Harcourt. Their inti-  
macy has already been alluded to.

There are two good pictures of Pope at  
Nuneham, one by Richardson, which has  
been engraved, and forms the frontispiece  
of an early edition of Pope's works ; and

another by Sir Godfrey Kneller, a very  
excellent and characteristic picture, in per-  
fect condition. This picture is alluded to  
in one of the letters which follow. The  
servility of the style of some of these letters  
is very little in accordance with the modern  
notions of self-respect :—

"Twittenham, December 19th, 1721.

"MY LORD,—I know I need not give your  
Lordship any thanks, or, if I should attempt it,  
before the thanks would reach you I should find  
the obligation doubled. I have sent Dr. Parnel's  
book for the Duke, and think it happy that  
I cannot go with it, since your Lordship will by  
that means be my orator, an advantage so great,  
that I think it would be my wisest way never  
once to come near you whilst you are doing me  
service, friendship, and honour. Believe me, my  
Lord, (what you cannot but believe me), with the  
sincerest respect and fidelity,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. POPE."

"Twittenham, Feb. 20, 1722<sup>r</sup>.

"MY LORD,—It is really the height of respect  
to you that I do not write oftener : for every day

<sup>r</sup> Note by Lord Harcourt, "answered Feb. 21."



That females should the stronger males obey,  
And yield implicit to their Lordly sway :  
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"Your most obedient servant,

"A. POPE."

"Twittenham, Feb. 20, 1722<sup>1</sup>.

"MY LORD,—It is really the height of respect to you that I do not write oftener : for every day

<sup>1</sup> Note by Lord Harcourt, "answered Feb. 21."

since I saw your Lordship, I have had much difficulty to refrain from telling you what you need not be told, the warm sense I ever must have of the obligations of every kind you have layd, and daily are laying, upon me. I could almost forget all respect and distance, and use the phrase to you which I used to Mr. Harcourt, (friendship), and never say (obligations) more.

"The advice your Lordship gave me, has not been the single reason of my stay here in the country, for God and nature have given me another, in my poor mother's illness, which has been dangerous, though she now seems to recover; I think my melancholy office of attending her in this last decline of life, is much like that of watching over a taper that is expiring; and even when it burns a little while brighter than ordinary, is but the nearer going out; and such indeed are the very best intervals of life, when so nigh its end.

"I have lately been struck with a thought upon which, as upon all others, I would be determined by your Lordship's advice. In case I am under any displeasure of my Governours (however innocently), I should be uneasy to be obliged, in the affair of Homer, by any who dislike me: neither do I believe you would have me.

"Your Lordship, I very well know, has defended me to many, with that weight and suc-

cess which attends whatever defence is made by you; with my Lord Carteret I have had myself an opportunity of *eclaircissement*, but I have a particular inclination (if you judge it not unfitting) to write a word in the most respectful terms to my Lord Chancellor, proposing to resign my design on the *Odysses* to Tickell, in deference to his judgement, and at the same time take occasion to vindicate myself from the notion of being a partyman, to him who is more absolutely a stranger to me, than any man (I believe) in the government. I've drawn up such a letter, which I'll consult you upon, when I've the pleasure to see your Lordship next: It will at least make you smile, if it be good for nothing else. I fancy in general, my appearing cool in the matter, and taking upon me a kind of dignity while I am abused and slandered, will have no ill effect in promoting it. My mother is not so ill, but she will always remember her services to your family.

"I am ever, my Lord,

"Your most faithfull servant,

"A. POPE."

"*Twit'nam, April 7th, 1722.*

"MY LORD,—You will too naturally allow the misfortune of want of sight to be a very great one, but I assure your Lordship I never more found it so, than when I met your coach and



family on the road to the country, without knowing who you were, till you was past call. I was going to London with the very design of claiming a most obliging promise, that yourself and family would lose one day upon me at Twit'nam. How dissatisfied I return'd to my mother (whom I had filled with the same hope) at night.

"I am uncertain whether your Lordship sees the town again this season. If you do, I wish you would reflect, among the many kind and the many good things you do, how greatly you might please and reward a man who desires no greater satisfaction than the honour of your company, and no greater bribe than the continuance of your friendly opinion. Be pleased to accept my most sincere wishes for your happiness, which includes that of a whole race that I am obliged to.

"I am, with the truest respect and acknowledgement, my Lord,

"Your most obliged, most faithfull,  
humble servant,

"A. POPE."

"To the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Viscount Harcourt,  
at Cockthorp, near Witney, Oxon."

"Tuesday, July 17, 1722.

"MY LORD,—Hearing by Mr. Vernon of your Lordship's return to Town, and of the favourable mention your Lordship made of me, and my little

workes at Twickenham, I earnestly beg you will now be so good to compleat my vanities, by giving us the honour of your company one day, whichsoever can be best spared from your better affaires. A word to me from Mr. Rock, will secure your Lordship from being starved that day, while there are chickens at Brentford, and mutton at Twitnam.

"I am, with the sincerest respect,

"Your Lordship's most faithfull, obliged servant,  
"A. POPE."

"Saturday, 8 a'clock, Nov. 24, 1722.

"MY LORD,—I was to see the Bishop<sup>a</sup> at his Grate to-day, where I had a proof of what I before knew, and once took the liberty to mention to your Lordship, his dependance on your personal friendship for him. He desired me to acquaint your Lordship, that he designs to trouble you with a line or two, by the hands of my Lord Carlisle, which he hopes no accident will hinder your receiving to-morrow.

"I know your Lordship's humanity so well, that I'm sure you'll be pleased if you can do any good-natured office; and, were I myself in misfortune, I should think I could feel but half its weight while I had the happiness to have you a friend to me in it. I hope I need not tell you

<sup>a</sup> Probably Bishop Atterbury.

I cannot sleep till I have mended the epitaph, the subject of which I shall never forget: tho' I ought not to put you in mind of a point so tender, but that 'tis necessary you should think of his partiality to me, to make you continue yours, to him who is with the greatest respect and obligation,

"My Lord,

"Your most faithfull, most obedient,  
humble servant,

"A. POPE.

"On Monday I shall in person come to beg your pardon for this scroll."

"*Munday, 9 a'clock, May 5, 1723.*

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship gave me a hint, in relation to what I was to say before the Lords, and to the proper manner of answering, which I thought would be of great service to me, as well as extreamly obliging in your Lordship. I shall certainly to the best of my memory observe it.

"But I have chanc't to drop a paper in which I had set it down, and where I had entered another memorandum to ask you about, which makes me wish I had found an opportunity this day, or early to-morrow, to talk further to your Lordship hereon. I resolve to take an opportunity of declaring (even upon oath) how different I am from what a reputed Papist is. I could

almost wish I were asked if I am not a Papist? Would it be proper, in such case, to reply, that I don't perfectly know the import of the word, and would not answer anything that might, for ought I know, be prejudicial to me, during the bill against such, which is depending. But that, *if to be a Papist be to profess and hold many such tenets of faith as are ascribed to Papists, I am not a Papist. And if to be a Papist, be to hold any that are averse to, or destructive of, the present government, King, or Constitution; I am no Papist.* I very much wish I had your Lordship's opinion a little more at large, since probably I may not be called upon this day or to-morrow. I know your humanity and particular kindness to me, and therefore will add no more, but that I am, what it is impossible for me not to be, highly sensible of it, and entirely

"Your Lordship's most obliged, faithfull servant,  
"A. POPE."

"*Twittenham, June 21st, 1723.*

"MY LORD,—I write this to your Lordship in the zeal and fulness of my heart, which has scarce permitted me to stay till your return from Oxfordshire (of which I had the news but to-day). You have done me many and great favours, and I have a vast deal to thank you for; but I shall now go near to forget all that is past, and perhaps



be so ungrateful as never to mention it more; since everything you could hitherto do for me is quite swallowed up and lost in what you have now done, for me and for the whole nation, in restoring to us my Lord Bolingbroke.

"Allow me, my Lord, in a private letter to phrase it thus plainly, and not to seek other terms, to seem to lessen my particular obligation, in ascribing any great part of it to any other than yourself. Allow me further to say (with a freedom which your Lordship's constant openness, and may I presume to think friendship? has encouraged me to use it, with all possible respect, to you :) That nothing which could have been a mortification to me this year, either as to the loss of any of my fortune, or any of my friends, could have been so well recompensed, as by this action of our Government.

"My personal esteem for, and obligation to, my Lord Bolingbroke, are such, that I could hardly complain of any afflictions, if I saw him at the end of his. I know no real merit I have, but in a sincerely and lasting sense of gratitude to every friend I have found; I can deeply grieve in their grief, and rejoice in their joy. I have had my share, very lately, in one; and it is owing to your Lordship that I shall now have my turn in the other.

"That I may ever be happy in subjects of

congratulation, and never know an occasion of condolence with your Lordship (after that great one which I shall never forget, or the loss of that friend, to whose recommendations I owe the honour I have to call your Lordship so): this, my Lord, is the sincerest wish of him who shall ever be with all truth,

"Your most faithful and ever obliged servant,  
"A. POPE."

*"Twitnam, August 22<sup>d</sup>, 1723.*

"MY LORD,—It is a satisfaction to me to tell your Lordship, that I shall not be any way disappointed of the honour you intend me of filling a place in your library with my picture<sup>t</sup>. I came to Town yesterday, and got admission to Sir Godfrey Kneller, who assured me the original was done for your Lordship, and that you, and no man but you, should have it. I saw the picture there afterwards, and was told then by his man that you had sent and put a seal upon it<sup>u</sup>. So I am certain this affair is settled.

"Give me leave, my Lord, with great sincerity, to thank you for so obliging a thought, as thus

<sup>t</sup> This picture now hangs in the octagon drawing-room at Nuneham.

<sup>u</sup> Kneller was said to have a habit of selling his pictures over the heads of their proper owners to the highest bidders; hence the precaution taken by Lord Harcourt.

to make me a sharer in the memory, as well as I was in the love, of a person who was justly the dearest object to you in the world: and thus to be authorized by you to be called his friend, after both of us shall be dust. I am ever with all good wishes to your Lordship and your family (in which too I must do my Mother the justice to join her),

"My Lord,

"Your most obliged and most faithfull servant,

"A. POPE.

"Whether this will find you in the town or at Cockthorp, I am ignorant; but hope when you return to wait upon your Lordship."

"Twittenham, Oct. 16, 1723.

"MY LORD,—If your Lordship did not know how much your welfare is my interest, in very many respects, I yet hope you could not but think it extremely and warmly my wish, from many better reasons than interest. I can scarce use so cold a word to you as gratitude, your Lordship and your family have a stronger title to me, begun from your son, and not to end with your grandson, if ever I live to see your great-grandson. I beg to know that your Lordship is fully recovered. I am easy enough in every other article, for we are so well at home (my Mother and I), that I want little or no news from abroad,

but that of the equal health and ease of those I am to esteem and wish well.

"I have lately received a long letter from Dean Swift, in which a very affectionate mention is made of your Lordship and a friend of yours. The rest of it is spleenatic, and too philosophical for this world; I hope the Dean is fitter for the next, or he is good for neither. But there is so much wit and surly good sense in all he writes, that one can hardly wish him in any point more of one's own opinion, he sustains the contrary so well.

"Speaking of letters, puts me in mind of a complaint I forgot, when I last waited on you, to trouble you with, (for your Lordship knows I have a sort of right, by precedent, to trouble you with all my complaints; to other great men I am silent and patient, to you only a grumbler). They have whispered about the Town a story of a strange letter writ by me to the Bishop during his confinement, I have met with one or two who have seen copies of such a pretended letter, which I never writ.

"I wonder at these things, and am in the dark to find for what end, or by what persons they can be propagated. I will not longer take up your Lordship's time; I believe you know my sentiments of private respect and friendship not to be inconsistent with publick quiet and alle-



giance. But even the most inconsiderable man must be content thus far to share censure and slander with the most eminent. All that either you (my Lord) or I can do, is to stand acquitted in the judgment of the best and most knowing persons. If I am so in yours, and a few more such persons (which I believe I must owe to you too), I am satisfied, and so must the greatest man in the nation.

"I am ever with sincerity and respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obliged and most  
faithfull, humble servant,

"A. POPE."

"*Twickenham, July 3, 1725.*

"MY LORD,—It was my intention to put your Lordship in mind of me, not as an importunate, but as a grateful follower of you; for gratitude is the only thing I know that I may eternally pursue, without being impertinent.

"I heartily hope your Lordship finds every advantage both of mind and body, health and quiet, in perfection, and all that either the fair weather of the season, or (which is better) the fair weather of the soul, can afford you of content and satisfaction.

"I should not omit acknowledging my receipt of the Duke of Newcastle's subscription by the hands

of my agent: but these are things I may forget to acknowledge to you, and yet remain brim full of acknowledgements, I have so very many of a higher nature.

"Though, as I was saying, 'twas my resolution, once at least to break in upon your retirement, and make your Lordship and my Lady a country visit upon paper, in a letter something longer than I ought; yet it now befalls (as it often does in country gentlemen's visits of civility to men in power), that the compliment is attended with some petition.

"A very extraordinary instance of this will appear in this letter. My Lord, I am in Law, and in the worst Law, Spiritual Law: and my Lord you are a party in it, in a very unexpected manner. My Lady Kneller has petitioned the Doctors Commons to pull down my Father's Monument (in which also my Mother is to lye), to make room for Sir Godfrey's; on pretence that there is no other place in the church large enough. This only reason was alledg'd in the monition which was read in the church a week since.

"And I have proof given that the said monument is not so much as begun, so may be made of any size: but she further alledges since, that I promised Sir Godfrey to do so, which is false. I formerly told your Lordship the whole truth, that he did ask me two things,—that I would write

his Epitaph, which I granted ; but as to the other, of removing the tomb, I told him I apprehended it was indecent, and that my Mother's consent was requisite ; after which I never saw him more.

"The utmost I said, which he might mistake for a consent, was merely not to disturb a dying man, in these very words which I can swear to : *That I begged him to be easy, and I would do for him whatever I could with decency.* My Lady was by me informed to the contrary, first the day after his funeral by her servant Byng, and a few weeks after by myself. And this request was not made to me till a few days before his death, when he was almost in his agony, hardly (if at all) *compos mentis*, and very unfit to be contradicted peremptorily. To strengthen this pretence, she affirms that I received from Sir Godfrey some pictures on this consideration. The fact of which is that one was given me *above a year before* (though never to this day finished), and sent indeed about that time she mentions. And another was sent by him *before I knew anything of this request of his.* She has annexed this circumstance very falsely.

"Your Lordship will wonder how you can be any way concerned in all this. One of these pictures is that of myself which hangs in your library, which your Lordship well knows was an exchange of Sir Godfrey's with you for another

picture which you had long before from him, and not from me, and of which he took the honour. But I have no proof of this. I could be very glad of your Lordship's advice upon the whole : some of the chief gentlemen of this parish have entered their dissent, and signed a certificate to object to the removal of the tomb.

"My Lord Strafford, whose pew butts upon the place, has writ in strong terms to the Proctor, to declare it will be dangerous to him to have so large a monument as she proposes fixed in the wall, and in general the precedent of such removals is apprehended by them, as well as the power of the Spiritual Court to cause them.

"Mr. Pigot tells me I may have a prohibition at Common Law, even if the other Court do order a removal. He advised me to write to your Lordship, and wishes your authority and influence were employed any way to represent this matter fairly, and intercede by any proper person with the Bishop of London to put a stop hereto. What has been hitherto done in it is this. The monition was read, and I cited to appear in seven days time. Mr. Pigot employed a Proctor who appeared, Lady Kneller was ordered to give an allegation next Court day, which is this day sennight.

"If your Lordship can be the means to rid me of this trouble, or to shorten it, I am pretty sure



you will have pity on a man who has half Homer on his shoulders, and a law-suit. I am in full pursuit of my work, and 'tis the very time I should have been least interrupted. Pray, my Lord, excuse this trouble, and the most grateful wish I can make you in return is, may you never know a greater than I shall give you.

"I am, my Lord, with the sincerest respect,  
"Your most obliged, and most Faithfull servant,

"A. POPE.

"My Mother is in good heart, and sincerely your servant; poor old nurse is very ill.

"*Saturday night.*"

"*Twitnam, March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1726.*

"MY LORD,—I have a particular favour to beg of your Lordship, not only as it concerns a friend of mine who has been personally injured, but as it relates to what you ever have been more tender of, than any private concern, even of your friends, public justice and equity. I earnestly desire your Lordship to be present at an affair relating to a complaint against the Governor of Bermudas, of which they are to move for a hearing, next Saturday, at the Privy Council. I have cause to believe it is such an affair, as will require the notice of all honest men, and be no less agreeable to your own love of justice, than to your

particular favour so long shewn to all that is requested by,

"My Lord,

"Your most obliged, faithfull Servant,

"A. POPE."

"*Wednesday, April, 1727.*

"MY LORD,—I trouble your Lordship with the answer I had from the Attorney concerning the writings I sent for by your direction. What you judge proper to be done next by me in it, I beg your Lordship to inform me: If it require no greater haste, I would gladly stay in the country four or five days; but whenever you please to command me, I am nevertheless ready to come to town. If I had no other cause to wait on you, it is unfeignedly a sufficient one to me, to have the pleasure of assuring you, my Lord, with what truth and obligation

"I am,

"Your most faithfull and obedient Servant,

"A. POPE.

"My Mother's and my humblest respects to Lady Harcourt."

In the year 1721, Lord Harcourt appears to have endeavoured to shake off sad re-

collections, by throwing himself more particularly into public affairs.

In October of that year he received the following letters from Lord Carteret and Lord Sunderland :—

*" October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1721.*

"MY LORD,—When Mr. Tench brought me the other day the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, my surprise would have been equal to my concern, if he had not told me, at the same time, that I had no occasion to answer your letter, because Mr. Jeffery's warrant had been signed that day, of which he would acquaint you. As soon as the bill shall come to me, it shall not be delayed one moment, and shall be dispatched to my Lord Privy Seal by a messenger.

"Happy should I thinke myselfe, if I had greater and stronger occasions of showing with how much truth and zeal

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient Servant,

"CARTERET."

*" October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1721.*

"MY LORD,—The Parliament being certainly to sitt to do business on the 19<sup>th</sup>, I hope your

Lordship will pardon the liberty I take in intreating you would hasten your coming up; for as the setting out well is half-in-half, so I should very much wish you could be here some time this week, before the speech is settled. I write by this post to Lord President, to beg he would hasten his return.

"I am ever with great truth and respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,  
"SUNDERLAND."

In the same year that the above letter was written, Lord Sunderland resigned office, on being accused of receiving fictitious stock; and Mr. Walpole, having done all he could to defend him, consented to occupy his place\*.

Lord Harcourt at this period identified himself more closely with the policy of Walpole, without, however, surrendering his principles.

Walpole, who had long sought his assistance, was only too glad to secure his co-operation, without questioning his opinions; and he shortly afterwards testified

\* This was connected with the South Sea bubble; Walpole continued Prime Minister for twenty-one years.



his appreciation of Lord Harcourt's merits, by obtaining for him a step in the Peerage, as well as a renewal of his pension.

In 1722, Lord Harcourt was made once more a Privy Councillor, and on the 19th of August of the same year, Mr. Walpole wrote to him as follows:—

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship gave me leave to give you this trouble, to desire your company here in town, to have your Lordship's advice and assistance in preparing matter for the ensuing session of Parliament. I am just come from Lord President, who is desirous to see you here by this day sennitt; but if it suits at all with your Lordship's private affairs to take a day or two more in the country, I see no inconvenience in staying till the middle of next week.

"I am in great truth and respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant,  
"R. WALPOLE."

The following letter from Walpole, dated Whitehall, Oct. 11, 1723, has reference to the pension:—

"MY LORD,—I send your Lordship inclosed your exchequer order for the £2,000 due to your

Lordship at Michaelmas last. Be pleased to indorse your name, and return the order to me, and the money will be paid to whomsoever shall take out the order, and call for the money. We have agreed to send the addresses of the Parliament of Ireland over to Hanover, and the answer I shall humbly suggest as proper for his Majesty to give, will be to express in general his concern at the uneasiness this patent has given to the Parliament of Ireland, and to tell them that he will do all that is *in his power* to give them satisfaction. I hope, my Lord, you have found the benefit of the country, for nobody more sincerely wishes for your health and prosperity, than,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant,

"R. WALPOLE.

"Lord Cooper is dead."

In this same year, 1723, Lord Harcourt used his utmost endeavours, and not without some success, to obtain a measure of relief for his old colleagues.

On the 26th of July, 1723, we find the following letter from Lord Bolingbroke:—

"MY LORD,—I think it a case of conscience to interrupt your Lordship in the enjoyment of

the pleasure of the country, which you love so well, and can follow so little. But a return of my feavour, which Dr. Mead hopes he has stopped by the Bark, makes me in haste to be going for Aix, where he thinks I may promise myself to find a radical cure for this ill habit of body.

"There are some other reasons which have arisen since your Lordship left us, that incline me to go away about Thursday or Friday sev'n-night, which term is later than your Lordship set for your return. If by any accident your return should be deferred, I must beg leave to wait on you in the country, or desire you to give me a meeting where it may be least inconvenient to your Lordship, on the road; for I cannot think of leaving England without embracing the person to whom I owe the obligation of having seen it once more. I will not descend into any particulars att present, but cannot help saying that I see some clouds rise, which it is certainly much more easy to hinder from gathering, than to dispel when gathered. I am, and shall be in all circumstances of life, and in all the countrys of the world,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful and  
obedient Servant,

"BOLINGBROKE."

Another letter from Lord Bolingbroke is dated from Dawley farm, March 22nd, 1725:—

"MY LORD,—Whilst I am here, troubling myself very little about anything beyond the extent of my farm, I am the subject of some conversations in Town, which one would not have expected. I'll mention one of these to your Lordship; Arthur Moore has in two several companies, answered persons who were inquisitive, whether my attainder would be repealed in this session, by saying that it could not be imagined the Government would do anything in my favour whilst I was caballing against it with Mr. Pultney.

"If this report was to be thrown into the world, Arthur Moore might with a better grace have left it to be propagated by some other emissary; and if it be designed as an excuse for leaving me in my present condition, than which none more cruel can be invented, I do assure your Lordship that the excuse shall not stand good.

"I have very much esteem for Mr. Pultney, I have met with very great civility from him, and shall on all occasions behave myself towards him like a man that is obliged to him; but, my Lord, I have no private correspondence, or even conversation with him, and whenever I appeal to the King, and beg leave to plead my cause before



him, I will take care that his Ministers shall not have the least pretence of objection to make to me in any part of my conduct. I will only say upon this occasion, that if I had caballed against them, there would have been other things said than were said, and another turn of opposition given.

"I dare say your Lordship acquits me upon this head; but I do not know if you will so easily forgive me the length of this letter upon so trifling a subject. Do in the matter what you think proper; perhaps you will mention it to my Lord Privy Seal, as I shall do when I have the honour of seeing him. My return to London will depend upon the arguing my plea in Chancery, and that cannot be long delayed.

"I am faithfully your Lordship's most  
obedient, humble Servant,  
"BOLINGBROKE."

The following letter was addressed by Lord Harcourt to Lord Bolingbroke. The copy kept by Lord Harcourt bears no date:—

"MY LORD,—To whatever cause your Lordship may have ascribed the continuance of your persecution, I am confident you will not think it owing to the coolness of my solicitation for you. It is certain that a more favourable con-

junction could never have happened. I have the strongest assurances of his Majesty's gracious disposition towards you, and I believe in my conscience that Lord Sunderland and Mr. Walpole are heartily and affectionately concerned for you, and grieved that nothing has been yet done for you in Parliament.

"I should not deal sincerely with your Lordship, should I endeavour to persuade you it was not in their power to have passed a Bill for recalling you during this session in the most honorable manner; the malice of a very few, and either real or pretended fears of many of the Whig party, who might possibly have been dissatisfied, and the declaration thereof sent by some persons of great names or titles, whom I believe neither my Lord S. nor Mr. W. would willingly disquiet, are, I am able to discover, the best reasons, weak as you will think them, for what has happened.

"I know not whether your Lordship could or ought to forgive me should I importunately beg you any how to preserve your temper, and give any credit to the assurance we send you from hence. I can with the greatest truth say, that such an assurance from your Lordship would give me the greatest satisfaction, not being yet able to imagine that your Lordship ought to despair. Give me leave, however, most truly to declare my opinion to you, that I am far from

having laid aside the just hope I had of your return.

"I had a long discourse concerning you two days since with Mr. Walpole. He was pleased to make the strongest declarations and professions of his concern and friendship for you; he promises to write by the same express this evening. I doubt not but he will do so, and must refer myself to what he writes.

"I must own to you that Mr. Walpole and I have some time differed concerning you during this session. He proposed to me a Bill to preserve your paternal estate for you, and to enable you to hold any personal estate you had acquired since your attainder, or might hereafter acquire; I could not easily depart from what I thought might have been as easily attained, the reversion of your attainder, but that he told me the party would not at this time bear.

"It would without doubt follow as a thing of course a small time after. How far my grasping at more than could be got may have hindered what you might have had, I cannot say, I know you will pardon me my good intentions, if it did; I can only add, that for some time past a difficulty seems to have been apprehended at the obtaining or proposing any Bill whatever for you during this session. As soon as at this time it appeared nothing of the kind was now to be attempted,

I endeavoured to represent the apparent hardship you must be under till an Act should pass.

"As to your paternal estate, Mr. Walpole seems much more sanguine than I am. He thinks the death of your father, should that happen before any Act passes for you, could be no disservice to you, he says that would of necessity bring the matter before Parliament. He assures me he would in that case openly declare and venture everything for your service, and he seems not to have the least diffidence of his succeeding for you. He desires that imagination may not give you the least disturbance.

"What I represented to Lord S. and Mr. W. in Madame Vilette's affair sensibly affected them. They could not at first apprehend it possible that Decker could act so vile a part, and therefore desired me to meet Decker with Woodford his solicitor, and discourse the affair before Lord S. and Mr. W., to which I readily consented. I met Decker accordingly, but Woodford refused to come with him, on a specious pretence that he was not an equal match to debate a matter of law with me. Decker was got to the Lord's before me, and as soon as he came declared that he was resolved not to open his mouth, or say one word good or bad whilst I should be there; however, on my coming in, and at my Lord's request stating the facts as short as I could, he



did at last break silence, being provoked to do so by what I said, which yet he did not so much as pretend to contradict.

"His first and great complaint was, how much he had lost by subscribing Madame Vilette's annuities. My answer to it was very short, that Mr. Drummond by Madame Vilette's command forbid him to subscribe them; to which he had returned an answer that he had subscribed 'em on his own account only. He could not deny it, but said he mentioned it only to shew the hardness of his case, that he did not insist on any allowance for the loss, but thought it unreasonable that he should run the hazard of any further loss.

"That he had heard Madame Vilette was married<sup>y</sup>, and if that should prove true, he might be forced to pay the money over again. How or from whom he had received that information he could not say, or that he had assurance of the marriage. He was told, however that fact might appear, it would be necessary for Mr. Drummond only to be satisfied, before he should pay the money to Madame Vilette: that Sir Mathew seemed unconcerned in it, he being a trustee only for Mr. Drummond, and that Sir M. had the less reason to concern himself in it, having

<sup>y</sup> Madame Vilette was married to Lord Bolingbroke, as his second wife.

had no other knowledge or intimation of the marriage than an uncertain rumour thereof, from he knew not whom.

"Your most faithful and obedient Servant,  
"HARCOURT."

The following paper, in Bolingbroke's handwriting, refers to the affair mentioned in Lord Harcourt's letter:—

"By virtue of the powers given me on the other side by the Marquise de Villette, I do hereby authorise Mr. John Drummond to agree and conclude with Sir Mathew Decker in the following manner. That the price of the bank annuities for which Sir Mathew is accountable to the said Mr. Drummond, and Mr. Drummond is accountable to the Marquise de Villette, be fixed at ninety-seven, which will make forty-eight thousand five hundred pounds due from Sir Mathew.

"That to discharge part of this debt, the Ten Thousand pounds due from the Duke of Chandos be accepted. That for the remainder Southsea Stock be accepted at one hundred, and whereas this Stock will yield five per cent. till the year 1727, Mr. Drummond may make an allowance of one per cent. upon thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds to Sir Mathew Decker for four years, which allowance may be deducted immediately out of the capital of thirty-eight thousand

five hundred pounds which he is to pay to Mr. Drummond. This is more than Sir Mathew ought to expect from the Marquise de Villette, and is all I can allow. Since no interest will begin to run to her profit on this sum but from midsummer, it is but reasonable that the interest which would have been due upon the annuities, should be made good to her up to that time.

"If Sir Mathew does not like this proposal, Mr. Drummond may accept from him forty-eight thousand five hundred pounds in ready money, or thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds in ready money, and the Duke of Chandos's Mortgage for ten Thousand. August 12, 1723.

"BOLINGBROKE."

"Je prie Monsieur John Drummond de disposer des cinquante mille livres sterling que jay dans les Annuities d'Angleterre a quatre pour cent, selon les ordres que luy en donnera par écrit Mi Lord de S<sup>r</sup> Jean Vicomte de Bolingbroke, et je promets de ratifier toute les fois que besoin en sera les dits ordres de mi Lord Bolingbroke, aussy bien que de remettre a Sieur John Drummond la reconnaissance que jay de luy de ces cinquante mille livres sterling, dattée de Paris le 28 de Decembre, 1719, quand besoin en sera ; fait a la Tour, ce 20 Jeun, 1723.

"MARCILLY DE VILLETTE."

In 1723, Lord Harcourt was made a Lord Justice, to represent the King during his absence in Hanover; and this office was annually conferred upon him during the remainder of George the First's life.

In June, 1727, the King died during his residence abroad, and Lord Harcourt was one of those who attended the first Council of George the Second, which was held at Leicester House<sup>\*</sup>. Parliament was prorogued on the 17th of July.

On the 19th of June, Lord Harcourt had written the letter which follows to Sir Robert Walpole:—

"This evening Mr. Moore came to see me. He expressed himself with great concern lest somewhat I said to you in the Council chamber at our late meeting there might have given you just cause of dissatisfaction. Nothing could have more surprised me than such an account.

\* "Leicester House, which used to be a desert, was thronged from morning to night like the Change at noon. But Sir Robert Walpole walked through these rooms as if they had been still empty. His presence, that used to make a crowd wherever he appeared, now emptied every corner he turned to."—*Lord Hervey's Memoirs of the First Days of the Reign of George the Second.*



"From the first moment I entered into his late Majesty's service, my zealous endeavours to promote it were never wanting, and I have often pleased myself with an opinion that you have always thought those endeavours sincere, and had therefore honoured me with some share of your friendship and esteem. Upon the late surprising news<sup>a</sup>, which was brought to me about 3 in the morning, you would not believe me should I not tell you that my first cool thoughts were touching my own affairs, but it is with the greatest truth I can assure you my second were upon yours: on my return to London I ordered Rock to find you out, if possible, either at Chelsea or in Arlington Street, before I should come to Town, and to learn when and where you would give me leave to wait on you.

"I had little more to have said to you, than to have expressed my just sense of all your favours, and my earnest desire to continue to receive the honour of your commands. Could you think me capable in any thing of promoting the public interest or yours, I beg you to believe that I shall never depart from those sentiments. Though I was in very great disturbance when I mett you at Leicester House, yet I cannot think I was out of my senses, therefore I am willing to believe Mr. Moore mistook you.

<sup>a</sup> The death of George the First.

"If you really took any thing ill which I then said, I am unable to guess what it was. Let me therefore entreat you, when you can find so much leisure, to let me know where and at what time I may wait on you to assure you that there is no man living who more sincerely or affectionately wishes the continuance and increase of your honour and happiness than, Sir,

"Your most faithful and obedient Servant,

"HARCOURT."

In answer to this letter Walpole invited Lord Harcourt to visit him; and accordingly, he set out for Chelsea on the 23rd of July. When he arrived at Walpole's house he was seized with paralysis, and was immediately taken back to Harcourt House in Cavendish Square.

Sir John Evelyn, who was brother to Mrs. Harcourt, the Chancellor's daughter-in-law, made the following entry in his Diary, for an extract from which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. William Evelyn of Wotton:—

"July 23. As I was dressing to goe to church this morning, being Sunday near eleven, came

a servant from my Lady Harcourt to acquaint me my Lord was dying, upon which I immediately went to Cavendish Square, where I found his Lords<sup>p</sup> very ill in bed. Being to goe to Cockthorp y<sup>e</sup> next morning early, he went to Chelsea at eight this morning to take his leave of S<sup>r</sup> Robert Walpole, and just as he was stepping out of his chariot, Mr. Rock his secretary, who was with him, thought he did not make much use of his left leg, however he made a shift to gett into the house and satt down; but when S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Walpole came to him, he cou'd not rise, nor speak to be understood, upon which he was put into his coach and carried home, and had five men to carry him upstairs.

"When I came he was perfectly sensible and cou'd speak, but not plain, his mouth being drawn aside. D<sup>r</sup>. Mead ordered him to be blooded, and gave him *Hiera picra*, and in the evening he was Cupt.

"July 24. This afternoon, when I stood by poor L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt's bed, he ask'd me after y<sup>e</sup> Cornish elections, and seemed to like to hear news, and I told him that of L<sup>d</sup> Berkeley and M<sup>r</sup>. Chetwin being removed from y<sup>e</sup> Admiralty; and S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Walpole, whom he sent for, coming in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, he talk'd very easily to him, as S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> told me himself when he came from him, and D<sup>r</sup>. Mead thought him so much

better in all respects that he had hopes of his recovery.

"July 25. This morning his pulse was so much worse that he gave him over.

"July 29. However, he did not dye till two this morning, having born his sickness with great patience and resignation, and received the Sacrament two days before, and given his Grandson very good advice. His case was a dead palsey, and he was but in his sixty-seventh year, and I thought likely to live many years as any one of his age.

"The night before he was seized, my son and I were with him near an hour, and never imagin'd his end was so near. About twelve this day his will was open'd and read by Mr. Rock, consisting of five skins of parchment by which he appoints Mr. Rowney of Oxford, Mr. Mead the lawyer, brother of the Physitian, Mr. Rock and myself, Executors and Guardians in conjunction with my Lady Harcourt, to whom he gives £1,000 legacy, all her jewels and dressing-plate, the use of all his furniture in town and country for life; to his Grand-daughters my Nieces £5,000 a-piece.

"August 3. I sett out with my Nephew y<sup>e</sup> young Lord Harcourt to attend his Grandfather's corpse into Oxfordshire. Hee lay at Nettlebed.

"August 4. About six this evening the dismal ceremony was performed in Stanton Harcourt



church, the Pall was born by y<sup>e</sup> Earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, and Abington, S<sup>r</sup> John Doyley, S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Walter, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Jenkinson, and S<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Cope, Baronets, and M<sup>r</sup>. Clark of All Souls; y<sup>e</sup> young Lord, supported by S<sup>r</sup> John Stonhouse and myself, being chief mourner, followed by Mr. Rowney, Mr. Jennens, &c.

"The body was deposited in a vault under y<sup>e</sup> chancel belonging to his family, where there is a monument of one that was K<sup>t</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup> Garter in Ed. the IV<sup>th</sup> time, and his Lady with a bracelet resembling y<sup>e</sup> Garter on one of her arms, which is very particular. I saw there the Latin<sup>b</sup> inscription on my brother Harcourt, with Pope's four lines under it, in an handsome piece of marble, with a neat moulding round it.

"The coach y<sup>e</sup> young Lord, Mr. Jennens, Mr. Rock, and myself were going in to Cockthrop, two miles further, was overturned by y<sup>e</sup> carelessness of y<sup>e</sup> Coachman and Postillon, and I received a considerable blow on y<sup>e</sup> left side of my face, which swelled a good deal, and was very painfull; but y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> company escaped without any

<sup>b</sup> The inscription now in existence upon the marble, consists of two stanzas by Pope, both in English, as before recorded. The only Latin epitaph in the church is by Congreve; it is in the Chancel, and commemorates one of the Huntingdon family. Query, what has become of the Latin epitaph to Simon Harcourt, which was also mentioned by Lord Harcourt in his letter to Pope?

hurt except Mr. Rock, who complained of soreness in his bones y<sup>e</sup> next day.

"August 5. After seeing y<sup>e</sup> library, y<sup>e</sup> fine apartments furnished with Crimson velvet, and y<sup>e</sup> new offices, built since I was there in 1721, and walking round y<sup>e</sup> garden, I sett out for London with Mr. Jennens, who I carried to Witham<sup>c</sup>, where I dined with my Aunt<sup>d</sup>, his mother, and in y<sup>e</sup> evening gott to Henley."

The following is an extract from the Parish register at Stanton Harcourt:—

"July the 28<sup>th</sup>, 1727. The Right Honourable Simon Lord Viscount Harcourt, and Baron of Stanton Harcourt, was buried in Linnen, &c.: and notice given that the penalty enjoined by Act of Parliament was answered,

"J. PARSONS, *Minister*."

Lord Harcourt had two daughters who grew up to woman's estate; the elder, Anne, married John Barlow, Esq., of Slebeck in Pembrokeshire; the second, Arabella, married Herbert Aubrey, Esq., of Clay Hanger in Herefordshire.

<sup>c</sup> Wittenham.

<sup>d</sup> Mrs. Jenyns was the youngest daughter of Sir Samuel Moyer, and sister of Mrs. Le Bas, whose daughter young Lord Harcourt married.

Lord Harcourt married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Spencer, and widow of Richard Anderson, Esq., who was second son of Sir R. Anderson, of Pendley in Derbyshire.

She was three years older than Lord Harcourt; she died in June, 1724, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

I have found the following curious document, written by Lord Harcourt's secretary, and which appears to have anticipated all the arrangements that were to be carried out when Lady Harcourt died:—

*"June 14, 1724.*

"First, If my Lady dyes on or before Wednesday next, her funeral shall be at Stanton Harcourt on Tuesday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of this Instant June; if my Lady dyes after Wednesday next, her funeral shall be on that day sen'night on which she shall happen to dye.

"2. Will. Jones will be left in Town, and immediately on my Lady's death must be sent to Cockthrop to give notice of it.

"3. Mr. Friend must be ordered to provide an

handsome Hearse and six good horses, and three mourning coaches with six horses to each of 'em, and four horsemen in mourning to be sent with them.

"4. There must be a leaden coffin, to be put within another coffin which is to be covered with good black velvet with gilt nails and hinges, and a gilt-brass plate with the following Inscription on it:—

"The Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Elizabeth Lady Vicountess Harcourt, Second wife of Simon Lord Viscount Harcourt, dy'd the            day of            in the year of our Lord 1724, and in the sixty-seventh year of her age.'

"5. The Hearse and Mourning Coaches must take up the Corps at three in the morning the day before the funeral, and carry it that night to Nettlebed, which is thirty-three miles. The next day they have but eighteen miles to Stanton Harcourt, where they must be by four of the clock in the afternoon, there being a ferry to cross over a mile before they come to the church, which will take up the Hearse and all the Coaches about half an hour's time.

"6. The Coffin must be taken out of the Hearse at the Manor-house, where the Pall-bearers will be ready to attend it to the Church.

"There is not any place of entertainment at Stanton Harcourt, or for the Hearse or Coaches



to sett up, so that they must all return back to Abingdon, or as much further as they please, as soon as the body is carryed to church; except only one mourning coach, which is to carry Mrs. Field and me to Cockthrop, from whence they must go the same evening to Kingston Inne or Abingdon.

"7. Mr. Friend must provide a carriage to be at Stanton Harcourt a day before the funeral, in which Lady Evelyn will direct several suits of mourning and some other small things to be carryd down, and Mr. Friend may send in it such gloves as shall be ordered for the Funeral, and also mourning rings.

"8. Lady Evelyn is desired to bespeak thirty-five gold enamelled rings of 20<sup>d</sup> weight with this inscription, 'E. Viscountess Harcourt, ob. Jun. A.D. 1724. Æt. Suxæ 67. ;' and six other gold rings not enamelled, each of 10<sup>d</sup> weight, which rings must be of a pretty large size. Let 28 of the 20<sup>d</sup> rings, and the six ten shilling rings be sent down by Mr. Friend's carriage the day before the funeral.

"Shammy gloves, scarves, and hatbands, for six Bearers and for Dr. Blechinden and Mr. Parsons the Minister, and least any other person may be there, bring a few more shammy gloves and hatbands.

"9. A chief mourner's cloak, and a cloak for Mr. James Stonhouse and Mr. Jennens.

"10. Ordinary gloves for Hearsemen, and three coachmen, and four postillions.

"11. Eight doz. of large black gloves for men tenants.

"12. Three doz. of black gloves for women tenants.

"13. Four pair of women's shammy.

"14. Five yards of black cloth, the best, must be carryd down for the pulpit cloth, and as much black bays as is necyssary for the reading-desk, and as much common black cloth as will cover two coffins which are now in the Vault, and must be covered the day before the funeral.

"15. Buckram escutcheons for the hearse as soon as they are over the ferry, and other buckram escutcheons for pulpit and reading-desk, and silk escutcheons for the Pall. Q<sup>ry</sup>. what number sufficient.

"At Mr. Harcourt's funeral twenty-four buckram escutcheons were put on the hearse, and twelve buckram escutcheons on the pulpit and reading-desk, and fifteen silk escutcheons on the Pall, and twelve buckram escutcheons to be given to the tenants, of which six are to be given to the bearers.

"16. Mourning cloaths must be made for my Lord, for Mr. Wall, the cook, Will. Little, John Porter, Will. Jones, and Will Hyde, all these cloaths must be sent down by Mr. Friend, so as

to be at Stanton Harcourt before noon the day before the funeral.

"17. Mourning must be also made for John Kinsbury, the postillion, and Mrs. Harcourt's man, but 'twill be time enough if their mourning be ready by the time Mrs. Harcourt comes out of town with the mourning coach, and Rock will give 'em Notes to Gilbert the hatter for hatts.

"18. Master Harcourt must also have proper mourning, as to which Mrs. Harcourt is desired to give directions, and for linnen and anything else he wants. Let Cave make him a perriwig and lett out his present best wig.

"19. All the coloured Liverys and lac'd hatts must be sent down by the first opportunity.

"20. Mrs. Harcourt's man must find out W<sup>m</sup> Thomas, my Lord's shoemaker, and order him to make my Lord a pair of shammy shoes, which must be sent down in Mr. Friend's carriage.

"21. No gloves, hatbands, rings, or scarves to be distributed but by Mr. Rock.

"22. Let West the coachmaker in Broad-street be sent for to Lady Evelyn as soon as may be after my Lady's decease, and ordered to provide a mourning coach for my Lord with the uttmost expedition, according to the proposal which West made, which was that he should provide cloth, and everything necessary for the coach at his own expense, and that my Lord

should pay him £35 for it, and West to have the coach again at the end of the year; and that he would also put a pair of harness, to be used in Town, into mourning.

"West offered that my Lord should buy the cloth himself if he pleased, and he would abate for it out of the £35; but my Lord thinks there will be less trouble if he were to provide the mourning, so as he first shews the cloth to Lady Evelyn for her approbation.

"My Lord's coronets must be put on the top of the coach, and either new ones made for the purpose, or those on my Lord's coach taken off and blacked. West promised he would get the coach done in a fortnight at furthest, and he must be prepared to do so, Mrs. Harcourt staying in Town on purpose for it.

"The brass work of the harness must be all black'd, and, in order to it, they will be sent to Town in a week's time; but there is not any hurt in covering a pair of harness with black cloth for the Town—that may be let alone till further orders."

The entry in the Stanton Harcourt register stands thus:—

"June 23, 1724. The Right honourable the Lady Elizabeth Viscountess Harcourt, and wife



of the Right honorable Lord Viscount Harcourt, and Baron of Stanton Harcourt, was buried in linnen, and notice given of it to me, June the 26<sup>th</sup>, and that the penalty enjoined by the Act of Parliament for that purpose was answered.

"JOS. PARSONS, *Minister*."

Lord Harcourt married thirdly, in October, 1724, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Vernon, of Twickenham Park, Middlesex, and widow of Sir John Walter, of Sarsden in Oxfordshire. His third wife survived him. He had no family by either of his two last wives.

He appears to have been very much attached to his grandchildren. The following letter was written to him by his granddaughter "Patty." She married when she grew up, George, first Lord Vernon, as his third wife. She became, on the failure of the male line, ancestress of the only remaining descendants of Lord Harcourt, and was great-grandmother of the present possessor of the Harcourt estates :—

"DEAR GRANDPAPA,—It was with a great deal of pleasure that I heard that your Lordship, and my Lady, and Aunt, were well in Town. We came here yesterday about four o'clock with very sorrowfull hearts, after having been in many perils; and be assured, my Lord, we shall always be content wherever you please that we should be, tho' certainly our hearts will always be with you.

"We have been in the garden, there has been a great blite, there is very few cherrys, but those are very fine; there is a pretty many peaches and necttrons, but they fall in great quantitys off the trees; there will be great plenty of very fine grapes, both here and at Stanton Harcourt, and there is scarce a dozen plombs in the whole garden; 'tis in great order.

"I heartily wish for your Lordship and my dear grandmamma here. Sir Robert and Mrs. Walter met us here yesterday, and has insisted upon our coming, tho' indeed we go with some reluctance, not first having your leave for it; for nothing would be a more sensible grief to me, than to incur either your Lordship's or my Lady's displeasure; I desire to express my sincere gratitude to your Lordship for those many kindnesses, which are more than I can either name or return, but I will, as well as I am able, as long as I live, strive to shew I am thoroughly sensible of them,

by paying to your Lordship and my Lady all imaginable duty.

"I am, my dear Grandpapa,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and dutifull Granddaughter,

"M. HARCOURT.

"Pray make my duty with all respect acceptable to my Lady and Aunt."

*"Cavendish Square, June 17, 1727.*

"DEAR PATTY,—I was much concern'd at our leaving you in so much affliction at Henley. We sent you forward with an intention to follow you ourselves very soon, but I now find that cannot be.

"I have therefore order'd Bew upon Tuesday morning next early, to go from Oxford to Cockthorp to bring you away from thence next morning in my charriot. He has promised to be at Cockthorp with four horses soon after six on Tuesday morning next, and I believe will be ready to bring you away in an hour's time, and carry you to Henley that night, and bring you hither to dinner on Wednesday next. You will be here full time enough to consult with your Aunts about your mourning, in which you should be by next Sunday sennight.

"You will have longer time to consider what preparation you are to make about the Coronation of their Majesties, which I intend both Nanny

and you shall see. We are all very well, but have been in a great hurry, and heartily wish you a good journey to London: the groom is sent down to wait upon you back, and Jack, your helper, is sent down to attend you to Town as your Footman. My service to Nanny.

"I am, my dear child,

"Your truly affectionate Grandfather,

"HARCOURT.

"The Earl of Scarborough is declared Master of the Horse. Pray take a view of the gardens, and bring me word what fruit is in them, or like to be about five or six weeks hence."

Lord Harcourt had all his life been a hard worker. He was always unsparing of his health and eyesight, which both suffered materially from the strain put upon them. In later life he was lusty in person and of a fresh complexion.

There are two pictures of him at Nuneham by Sir Godfrey Kneller, one painted in 1702, when he was Solicitor-General, the other when he was Lord Chancellor. Both these pictures represent Lord Harcourt as possessed of an open, good-hu-



moured countenance, with an intellectual brow, and fearless eye.

He may be looked upon as having founded afresh the fortunes of the House of Harcourt in England, and he is an ancestor to whom his descendants may well look back with pride.

When Lord Harcourt was a young man, the following notice appeared in the "London Post" of June 1st, 1700:—

"Two days ago Mr. Simon Harcourt, a lawyer of the Temple, coming to Town in his coach, was robbed by two highwaymen on Hounslow heath of £50, his watch, and whatever they could find valuable about him; which being perceived by a country man on horseback, he dogged them to a distance, and they taking notice thereof, turned and rid up towards him; upon which, he counterfeiting the drunkard, rid forward, making antic gestures; and being come up with them, spoke as if he clipped the King's English with having drunk too much, and asked them to drink a pot, offering to treat them if they would but drink with him: whereupon they believing him to be really drunk, left him, and went forward again, and he still followed them till they came

to Cue ferry, and when they were in the boat discovered them, so that they were both seized and committed: by which means the Gentleman got again all they had taken from him."

A contemporary gave the account which follows, of Lord Harcourt in later life; it is taken from the "Gentleman's Magazine:"—

"L<sup>d</sup>. Harcourt is of a very ancient and good family in Berkshire (Oxfordshire), always remarkable for its loyalty to the Crown, and its aversion to presbytery. After some years' study at Oxford, this gentleman went to the Temple, and made so great a progress in the law, that he was scarce sooner admitted to plead than admired for his pleading.

"He was one of Dr. Sacheverell's Counsel, and so distinguished himself in his admirable defence of that gentleman, that even his enemies must own that he is not only one of the best lawyers, but one of the best orators also of this age.

"Her Majesty being present at this trial, could not but be extremely pleased with one, who, with so much zeal and strength, vindicated her prerogative, and asserted the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, at a time when the House of Commons judged neither of them lawful or necessary.

"On the turning out of my Lord Cowper, this gentleman was made Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper; and though his predecessor was scarce to be exceeded in a discharge of that trust, yet we may not unjustly say, that he was at least equalled by his successor. He was created a peer by Queen Anne, and continued Chancellor during that Princess's reign.

"On the accession of King George to the British throne, this gentleman was dismissed from all his employments, and they were restored to my Lord Cowper.

"He is a fair, lusty man, has been handsome; he has so much learning and eloquence, and so sweet a delivery, that he may not improperly be styled a second Cicero; is extremely generous and good-humoured; has been extravagant, but is now grave, and lives within bounds; hard study, and too much fatiguing himself in his business, have both spoiled his eyes and his constitution. He is about sixty years old."

The following paper illustrates a custom of putting houses into mourning, which is now obsolete.

It is entitled a "Paper of proposals for putting the House in mourning on the death of Lord Harcourt."

"Mourning proposed to be furnished the R<sup>t</sup> Honble. the Lady Harcourt att her House in Cavendish Square, viz. :—

*The Dressing Roome* with fine Whitish Grey Cloth Hangings,  
2 p<sup>r</sup> Window Curtins and Vallente,  
Chaires covered the same, and  
one Settia.

*Her Ladys<sup>s</sup> Dressing Chamber next the Garden* with dark minium Grey cloth,

Cloth hangings from ceiling to the ground, 2 p<sup>r</sup> Wind<sup>o</sup> Curtins and Vallente, 3 dore Curtins or Portiers to the ground, 6 Chaires and a Settea, deep cases of the same, the Floor Covered all over with cloth.

*The Great Dinening room*

12 Chairs covered with light grey cloth, and one Settea.

*The Eating Parlour backwards*

12 chaires, Seats cov<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> fine cloth, blew ground, a settea and easy chair, with a cushion the same, 2 p<sup>r</sup> Window Curtins, and Vallente.

*The Great Stair Case*

Hung deep w<sup>th</sup> black Bays from y<sup>e</sup> ceiling to the surbass, a border of Bays hung round the Halle.

All the Peticulars mentioned within this black line are to rem<sup>a</sup> in use 12 months.



*The Large Dinening Roome* w<sup>th</sup>  
dark minium Grey Cloth  
hanging to y<sup>e</sup> ground,  
3 p<sup>r</sup> Window Curtins Val-  
lente, 2 Dore Curtins or  
Portiers, 7 chairs covered  
the same, and a settea.

All these Per-  
ticulars are to  
remain up 6  
months.

*The Grey Cloth Bedchamber* with  
a fine cloth bed compleat.

*The Great Drawing Room.*

3 p<sup>r</sup> window Curtins and Val-  
lente, 12 Chaires, an easy  
chair, a Settea.

These are her  
Lady<sup>sh</sup> goods.

Having now completed my memoir of  
Lord Chancellor Harcourt, I shall proceed  
to give a short notice of his son; but I shall  
first insert a few quaint letters which I have  
laid hands upon, written by divers mem-  
bers of Lord Harcourt's family.

From Mrs. Wiseman to Mrs. Harcourt,  
second wife of Simon Harcourt (afterwards  
Lord Harcourt):—

“*March the 7, 1693.*

“It is so long, Deare Sistor, sence i ret to you,  
that, tho i had a mind to repare my folt severall

times, i hardly know how to begen; but i con-  
sidered you are to good to be angorry for what  
proseads from my misfortun, and not from a for-  
getfullness of my frinds, wich i hop i shall never  
begilty of; but, as you and many others have  
a naturall aversion to cheese and other things,  
so i have to a pen and ink, wich has bin the tro  
reson of my long silance; I ned not aquant you  
of my mesfortun, and of the death of my pore  
Brother, wich my Sistor gave you an a count of;  
but S<sup>r</sup> John has had to wind fals to comford him  
for the los of his son, on<sup>d</sup> being a leveing of 4  
core pound a yeare, the Other the death of the  
Old Lady, whoo died the 7 of March, after have-  
ing lane 3 monts in a langushing condistion; she  
has mad me Unkel James sol excettattor; and  
i heare she has left S<sup>r</sup> John har stok of cows and  
horses, and my Sistor Peg on hundred pound,  
and my Brother John fifty; on out not to rejoyes  
at the death of anny body, but i can not say i am  
sory, whare so good an advanteg coms to them  
that i have always found my frinds; be sids, that  
house is more convenant for a constance larg  
fammily, and you know self entres<sup>e</sup> gos far, for,  
sence my mesfortun, in the lose of a very good  
hosbon, and, in hom i thought my self so happy,  
that, be sid the sit<sup>t</sup> of my frinds, i wished for

<sup>d</sup> One.

<sup>e</sup> Interest.

<sup>t</sup> Sight.

no thing more; but, i find wee are but to tast happynes in this world, to make us more sensible of our lose, and by that, to take of our lovs from this unsarten world, and sex them on that wich is more lasting; my dessir is to contennu with my Mother, as long as she leves, and i put har to no inconvenience, the contrey suting my yumor better than the town, wich i dessiar not to stay in, more then busnes and the seeing my Sistor Harcourt requires; for i have sen anof of the pleassours of the town to despis them, and to see tis in van to honnt after sajtisfaxtion in croud and noyse.

"A description of the quens Funiral i will not pretend to geve you, it being prented, and so, i beleve, with you by this<sup>g</sup>, my Mother is never very well, and, i am in som feare, removing will geve har som could, tho i beleve wee shall not remove yet—it is know time to relese you, having no thing more but my sarvis to my Brother and yo self, and am for ever

"Your affextionate Sistor,

"M. WISEMAN.

"My Mother geves har love to you and your spous, and min to my nece Betty."

<sup>g</sup> And so I believe you have it by this time.

From Mrs. Harcourt to her Sister :—

"Nov. 1693.

"I recived yours Dear Sister, and am glad you dow not find noe ille efectes from the foges this winter. I am very glad you have mett with sune of y<sup>r</sup> old acquaintance, and hope she may have incoragement enough to continew thare; I have bin all a bought the town, and find it very dife-cult to gitt so much of a sorte; but I have found a parcell I belive may sarve you, if you lick it, the collers are buse, and a cherey with sune lettle flowers between the strips, but thay will cut noe pattorns; the price is tow an fortty shillings a pece, and thay tell me you must have five peces to line a bead and make a quilt; if you disine to have it, pray lett me know as sown as you can, for fear it may be disposed of, and I dow not see any thing elce that looks so well for that purpose.

"All our freinds hear are well, but I dow not hear my sister is towards a great belley; I am glad y<sup>r</sup> Spouse is so well, for he wrights much after the old rate, and if Mol see his letter she would be full of anger with him; pore James is come upe to be a truper<sup>h</sup>, and he says this town is the nastis place, and stinks so, it ready to

<sup>h</sup> A soldier.



poysen him; for you know he never shuts his mouth, that every thing gose down.

"All hear present thare service to you and my Brother, and my spouse thanks him for his kind packett, which was very wellcome, and he will very sudingly retturn him in the same kinde. I hope, dear sister, if hear be any thing I can sarve you in, you will command

"Your affecttionate Sister,

"ELIZA. HARCOURT.

"*Nov. the 12.*

"If you please you may save me mony by directing y<sup>r</sup> letters to M<sup>r</sup>. Harcourt<sup>k</sup>."

From Lady Harcourt to her Sister:—

"*July the 27.*

"I had wrot tow my Dear Sister before I left the town, but, between taking my goods down in Essixe Street, an directing the workmen in Norfolke Street, I was in a parfect hurrey. I was yesterday tow see blenhime, it is a wonderfull thinge to see gardens come to soe great perfection in soe short a time, but they are soe large, it will imploye a hundred peple tow keep them in order; for the house, thar is but one wing don, it will be a fine pile of building, but very large; the wals are soe thicke that it looks

<sup>k</sup> Being a Member of Parliament he received his letters free.

lick a prison; thar was a bove eaight hundreed men at work, an yet thay say it cannot be finished this 3 or 4 years; the prospect is very fine every way.

"I yesterday recived a letter from my spouse, which gave me an a count that his Bro<sup>r</sup> Phillip<sup>1</sup>, had shot himself; if he had dyed a naturall death, th familye would have had case to be glad he was gon, for he was allways made with drink; we have had more instances of that kind of late then ever was hard of.

"I shuld be very glad tow hear my nephew<sup>m</sup> had the place you spoke of, for thar is not any body wishes the familye better then my self; I intend to be in town a bought 3 weeks hence, an hope you will not be long after, for I shall thinke it very dull haveing none of my freinds in town. All freinds heare are well, an give thar sarvice to you an all th good company, accept the same from

"Your affectt. Sister,

"ELIZ. HARCOURT.

"We expect my son every day; I heare my daughter got well to her iorneys end, an is lick tow goe one with her great beley."

<sup>1</sup> Half-brother to the Lord Chancellor, son of his father's second wife, Miss Lee of Ankerwyck.

<sup>m</sup> Young Evelyn.

From Lady Harcourt to her Sister :—

*"June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1722.*

"You may belive, dear Sister, wee are in the utmost concern for the death of pore Jack Barloe. I hope God will support my Daugh<sup>r</sup> under this great affliction; an, when she considers he was whare he had the best advice, an is sattisfied thar was as much care taken of him as if she had bin thar herself, I hope she will bare it as she ought to dow. Her father sent a Sarvant to her to prepare her for it, with as comeftable a letter as could posable be wrot upon soe malloncolley a subiectt.

"My Lord is under all the fears emaignable for Simon<sup>n</sup>; sumetimes he thinks of taking him a way, then he considers, if he puts him any ware else, he may be ille, and then he is farder from advice, an he is shure he is whare he has as much care taken of him, as if he was at home; and the masters love him, an he licks them; but sume peple tell him Wesminster is an unholesome air, soe I think he is almost disstractted a bought it.

"But I must Dear Sister beg the favour of you to bye me a sute of morning such as you an Lady Evelyn shall thinke proper for me, an a night gown, an pety cote; pray send my pety cote to

<sup>n</sup> Grandson of Lord Harcourt, afterwards the first Earl Harcourt.

Mrs. Willer to be maid, I belive she knows my lenth, but she had better make it tow longe then to short. An I disire you to send my manto to Scoot<sup>o</sup>, at our house, an she will send it to be maid; as for my night-gown<sup>p</sup>, it may be maid by the lettle manto woman, if she is a live, an the petty cote.

"Pray send me a black fane; as for lining I have cambrick enoufe to make, soe must disire you to send me a pattorn for night cloethes an ruffalls. I have one thinge more, I must disire you to ask Lady Evelyn wheather it is nesseary to put our liverie sarvants in morninge, he being but a child.

"My Lord was sent for to S<sup>r</sup> John Walter one fryday; last night he come home; he left him in a very sad condishon, for he nither knows any body, nor speaks one word of scence, yett has strenth enouf to walk a bought his rome for an houre or 2 together, soe that he may hold in this maner for sume time.

"Sister Jennins ioyns with me in our sarvice to you, an all the good faimilye. My daugh<sup>r</sup> disirs her duty an sarvice, an thanks for y<sup>r</sup> kindness to Simon. Pardon this trouble

"From y<sup>r</sup> most affectt. Sister an humble Sarvant,

"E. HARCOURT.

<sup>o</sup> Scott.

<sup>p</sup> This simply means an evening gown.



"Cence I wrote this, my Lord says he had wrote to S<sup>r</sup> John abought the sarvant, soe you will thinke me very impertinent."

From Lady Harcourt to her Sister :—

*"June 26th, 1722.*

"I recived all my morning one Saturday last, and licke them very well; it wanted very little olteration; and now I must return my Deare Sister thanks for the great trouble I have given you, and disire to know what I am indeptted to you.

"My Lord an I disine being in town a bought a fortnight or 3 weeks before Barholomewtide for a few days, an take Preashus<sup>a</sup> down with use; I am very glad he is soe well, an think our selfs very much obledged to Lady Evelyn an you for your great care of him. Wee have not hard from my pore daugh<sup>r</sup> Barloe, cence our man was thar which carried the malloncolley news of the child's death; but my Lord has sent D<sup>r</sup>. Mead's letter too them, which I hope will give them sume sattisfacttion, when thay here thar was not a possibiletie of saveing his life.

"I am very sorrey you are obledged to spend the best part of the sumer in town, but wee have had no reason to complaine of heate yett.

<sup>a</sup> 'Precious' was the pet name for Lord Harcourt's grandson, Simon.

"I am very glad the younge Duches of Malbowrow<sup>r</sup> is soe greatly prouided for, an hop she will not nectlectt making a hansume settlement uppon Mas<sup>t</sup> Charls. I am sorrey th widow is soe much out of order, I thought her in a diclining way when I come out of town; I am shure her children would have a great lose in her, an soe would my brother Dick: I am sorrey my nece Treaver has bin detained in town bye her unhappy buisness; I heartyley wish her a good end of it, but belive thar will not be much more don this Sumer. We all ioyne in humble sarvice to you S<sup>r</sup> John an my Lady, an belive

"I am,

"Y<sup>r</sup> most affectt. Sister an Humble Sarvant,

"E. HARCOURT.

"My daugh<sup>r</sup> an the children give thar duty to you."

From Mr. W. Draper to his Sister (Mrs. Evelyn) :—

*"August 7th, 1710.*

"DEARE SISTER,—The newes of my Nieces safe delivery came very welcome to all here. We did not drink the new Xtian's health with any regrett for not being a son. We hope that is a joy in reserve for you and her against another

<sup>r</sup> Lady Harcourt was a Spencer, and related to the second Duke of Marlborough.

yeare; I cannot tell how Mr. Harcourt looks upon the Baby for proveing a girll, because it was not my own circumstance; but I hope his Sp<sup>se</sup> will, like mine, bring him a son, for every daughter.

"I promise my self that the Bearer hereof, will give us the satisfaction of hearing, that my Neice<sup>a</sup>, and the unknown little Lady, are in an encreasing way of health.

"All here rejoyce in every thing that gives you satisfaction, an encrease of w<sup>ch</sup> is ever heartily wish<sup>d</sup> for

"By, dear Sister,

"Y<sup>r</sup> affectionate humbe Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"WILL<sup>m</sup>. DRAPER.

"We received on Monday last some very good venison from Hampton court, which I doubt not was my Nephew Evelyn's kind present, tho the bearer there of never mentioned his name; I begg his acceptance of thanks, and that he will pardon my not sending them sooner."

From Mrs. Jennens to Mrs. Evelyn:—

"Pray beleve me, Deare Sistor, nothing could obleag me, or give me more sattisfaction, then your kind lettors, but the happines of your good company, wich i leve in hops of this summor; but, if you make me not so happy, will if a<sup>t</sup> life

<sup>a</sup> Mrs. Harcourt.

<sup>t</sup> Alive.

except of my Sis harcourts kind invitation to har house, on porpus to inioy the company of my frends; and retorn my thanks for your kind consarn for my health, and am at present pretty well, for a good day or 2 spent in the garden dos me, i find, more good, and i sensably find more bennyfit by storing<sup>u</sup>, and being in the are, then i ded by all the poticarrys gave me in town; so resove to spend my monny in the garden, and in the Lottorry, and not give it to Doctors, the account you have sent of the Lottorry, occastions me to beg you will excuse a fardor trouble i must give you a bout it, wich is, to inquir what day the Lots will begin giveing out, and to take out 10 for me the forst day, for i desiar to take the advantage of the Discount a lowed for present paymen; half the hundred pounds my Sis Catharine puts in; har part, i quistion not but the Children will have in the end, if she gets anny bennyfit, so beg you will take care that wee lose not the opertunty, i will likewise send the monny for the Chars<sup>x</sup>, when you let me know what thay cost.

"Pray give my sarvis and thanks to your son for the book, wich i intend to studdy much, for i am very fond of planting, and desin, if i leve<sup>y</sup>, to fill up the groun ware anny thing will gro, for i had rether have trees then fine clouse<sup>z</sup>, so

<sup>u</sup> Moving about.

<sup>x</sup> Shares.

<sup>y</sup> Live.

<sup>z</sup> Clothes.



shall have littell consarn about fasshonns. I desi-  
 ar you will by us too quartorns of booe Thee,  
 for wee drink som every day, i am myself bettor  
 when i dow, and she is so kind as to ioyn with  
 me for all such thing, therfore desire it in too  
 parsels, and what it coms to; i am as shamed to  
 give my frends so much truble, but know your  
 goodness will pardon

"Your obleaged and truly affectionate Sis,  
 "M. JENNENS.

*"Feborry the 18.*

"Pray my sarvis to your dartor, and love to  
 the lettell ons; my Sis likewise give har sarvis to  
 you, and Betty har doty.

*"For the widdow Mrs. Evelyn  
 at the Post offis in Lumber Streat  
 in London."*

Mrs. Jennens to Mrs. Evelyn:—

*"Jan. 30<sup>th</sup>.*

"I reseved both my deare Sistors kind letors,  
 tho not so sown as by the date i should; and  
 have also reseved the charis, wich are com very  
 safe, and give you manny thanks for getting  
 them, for i like them very well; I sower<sup>a</sup> had  
 ansered your lettors, but the sharp wether wee  
 have had for all most this 3 weeks, has given me  
 such a could and pain in my side, that I could

<sup>a</sup> Sooner.

not ly in my beed with out my stays, or dow  
 anny thing; and at present have a plastor on  
 my side, and can not ly on it, but hop, when  
 worm wether coms, i shall get quit well of it;  
 but at present the wether is very could and  
 frosty.

"I heard last weak that my neve Harcourt  
 was very ill of a fevor, but hop it is not tru;  
 i should be very glad to heare my nece ware  
 a breading, for non more sinserly wishes har  
 a boy than myself.

"I often wist i could inioy more of my deare  
 sistors companny, but the town life will, i am  
 sattisfied, not a gre with my health at all, so  
 must in dever to be sattisfied till Sumor with  
 hearing from you; and then hop to be so happy  
 as to have your good companny in the contrey;  
 in the mene time, wish you health, and a happy  
 knew yeare, and many more,

"And am,

"Your senserly affectionate and obleaged Sis,  
 "M. JENNENS.

"Pray my kind love and sarvis to your son  
 and dartor, and to the lettell ons; and tell my  
 neve, and if he will be so kind as to send me his  
 grandfather book of gardening<sup>b</sup>, if sent by pet-  
 ton's coach, directed for me, it will com safe, and  
 esspesally if ordored to be left at Clifton, at the

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn's Sylva.

Smith shop; perton lys at the Saroson's head in Friday streat, and coms out on Wensdays and Saturdays; i never see the publick knows<sup>c</sup>, thinking it not worth my being at the charge of having it sent, and, not storing out, have no Opportuniti of hearing what is in it from others.

"January 30<sup>th</sup>."

From Mrs. Jennens to Mrs. Evelyn:—

"DEARE SISTOR,—I give you many thanks for your kind present of Chocolat, but, desiring to be in town on Wensday senet, had defered retorning my thanks till i say you; but, my Bro harcourt being heare on Wensday last in order to setel things, but was so ill that he could dow nothing, and he having bin intirly trusted by me in the manigment of all my consarns, must thare fore desiar you, if thare be anny dangor apprehended in his illness, to send me word by perton's coach, and ordor him to leve it at Clefton, that i may com with all spead, for it is very nessary i should have som discors with him a fore he dise<sup>d</sup>, if he is thought to be neare it; i am very glad you are in town to be a comfort to Sis harcourt in his illness; I would have bin myself with har by this, bot my sperrit is so much broken with vexation and truble, that i can hardly

<sup>c</sup> News.

<sup>d</sup> The illness was a mere temporary indisposition.

see or speak to anny body with dry eyes, so can be no comfort, but an afflektion to all my frends; and would it pleas God to take my pore children as well as myself, should be very glad to dye; but, in hops of seeing you in a lettell time, shall ad nomore but my praars that you and yours may never know the truble and afflektion of

"Your unfortunate Sis<sup>t</sup>,

"M. JENNENS.

"Pray my Sarvis to my neve and Neses.

"May 7<sup>th</sup>."



MEMOIR  
OF THE  
HON. SIMON HARCOURT.

### The Hon. Simon Harcourt.

SIMON, second son of Lord Harcourt, alone, of three brothers, lived to attain to man's estate. He was born at Chipping Norton in the year 1683.

Lord Campbell, in writing of him, says :—

“He was a most accomplished and promising young man, who was so much in the confidence of Harley, St. John, and Swift, as to be appointed by them Secretary to the famous Society of ‘BROTHERS,’ and who was expected himself to turn out a distinguished statesman and wit. He not only resembled his father in genius, but very strikingly in looks, a circumstance to which Gay refers in his address to Pope on the completion of the far-famed translation of Homer, in which he supposes all the Poet's friends assembled to welcome his return from Greece :—

“Harcourt, I see, for eloquence renown'd,  
The mouth of justice, oracle of law !  
Another Simon is beside him found,  
Another Simon, like as straw to straw.”



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Collins, in his "Peerage," 1768, gives the following notice of Simon Harcourt:—

"His Lordship's eldest son, the Hon. Simon Harcourt, was returned for the boroughs of Aylesbury and Wallingford to the 3rd and 4th Parliaments of Great Britain, which met in 1710 and 1713, and were the two last called by Queen Anne.

"He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Evelyn, Esq., of Wotton in Surrey, and by that lady, who departed this life on April 6, 1760, he had one son Simon, afterwards Earl Harcourt; and three daughters, viz.: Elizabeth, died unmarried; Anne, who died young; Martha\*, wedded to

\* By an unfortunate oversight, Martha Harcourt has been previously described as the *second* wife of Lord Vernon. She was in fact his *third* wife. George Vernon was born Feb. 9, 1709; he assumed the additional surname of Venables on September 3, 1728, under the will of his great uncle, Peter Venables.

He married on June 21, 1733, Mary, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, by whom he had a son George, his successor; she died in Feb. 1740. Mr. Vernon married secondly Dec. 22, 1741, Anne Lee, daughter of the baronet of that name, of Hartwell, Bucks; she died on Sept. 22, 1742. Mr. Vernon married thirdly April 10, 1744, Martha Harcourt, who survived him fourteen years, and died April 3, 1794; Mr. Vernon was made a Peer May 1, 1762, and died August 1, 1780.

When Mr. Vernon was made a Peer, his first notion was to call himself Lord Kinderton. An ancient Barony of this name was said to have been conferred in pre-historic times upon the "Valiant Venables," when he slew the wyverne that had so long infested Cheshire. This wyverne was believed to feed upon the children

George Venables Vernon, of Sudbury in Derbyshire, afterwards created Lord Vernon; and Mary, who died an infant."

of the inhabitants. Venables was supposed to have slain it with an arrow whilst it was in the act of swallowing a child; whence the crest. Mr. Vernon elected, in the end, to be called Lord Vernon, Baron of Kinderton.

It may be interesting to make a short digression, with the view of tracing a little more closely the connection between the families of Harcourt and Evelyn. The famous author of "Sylva" was born in 1620, and died in 1705, aged eighty-five. By his marriage with Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir R. Browne, he had issue John, married to Martha, daughter and co-heir of Richard Spencer, and who died before his father, 1698: the son, John Evelyn, had issue John, created a baronet, 1713, married to Anne Boscawen, and died 1763, aged eighty-two; and Elizabeth, married to Simon, only son of the first Lord Harcourt.

MARTHA, daughter of Simon Harcourt and Elizabeth Evelyn, married, as his third wife, George, first Lord Vernon. On the failure of the male descendants of Lord Harcourt, Edward Vernon, Archbishop of York, son of the aforesaid MARTHA and of George Lord Vernon, succeeded under the will of George Simon, Earl of Harcourt, to the Harcourt estates and name, as a lineal descendant of Lord Harcourt. On the failure of the male descendants of John Evelyn, the descendants of the same MARTHA became his lineal representatives, and thus it very nearly happened that the Harcourt and Evelyn properties were united.

Dame Mary Evelyn in her will, dated Sept. 12, 1814, in the first place, names "John Evelyn, Esq., formerly of Bath, but now or late of Gloucester Place, Portman Square, Marybone," to succeed to the Evelyn estates, which had been devised to her by her late husband, Sir Frederick Evelyn; "after his decease unto — Evelyn, son of the said John Evelyn (now in the army)." The said John Evelyn was not acquainted with Lady Evelyn, as indeed might be gathered from her ignorance of his son's name; nor was he related to the Evelyns of Wotton. The reason, therefore, why he was introduced into the entail is not very clear;



Simon Harcourt in early life exhibited a great love for poetry; Lord Campbell has credited Lord Chancellor Harcourt with the authorship of the verses which are published in the preface to Pope's works.

I have, however, the manuscript of the said verses in my possession, with the au-

but the fact of his name being Evelyn, and of his being connected with the Evelyns of St. Clere, probably influenced Lady Evelyn in the matter.

This John Evelyn passed the early part of his life in Ireland, from thence he went to India, and subsequently lived in Bath. His son, — Evelyn, whose name was George, became on the death of Lady Evelyn, the tenant for life of the Wotton estates; but he lived a very short time to enjoy his prosperity. When he was twenty-four years of age he was present at the Battle of Waterloo; his left arm was shattered by a bullet in the defence of Hougoumont, but the limb was not amputated, and he regained the use of it. He died at the age of thirty-seven, from the effects of a fall from his horse; the accident brought on an abscess in the liver, which after an eight months' illness, proved fatal.

He was succeeded by his son William, then an infant, who is the present fortunate and worthy possessor of the Wotton property.

Lady Evelyn's will proceeded as follows: "in default of such issue (i.e. of — Evelyn, Esq.), I give &c., unto the third son of the present Archbishop of York, descended from one of the Evelyns of Wotton, . . . then to the use of the first son of the body of such third son, &c."

Such an eventuality would, as has before been stated, have united the Nuneham and Wotton properties, and brought them into the possession of a direct descendant of both Simon Harcourt and John Evelyn.

thor's emendations, and they are distinctly in the handwriting of Simon Harcourt the younger.

I here give a short selection from his verses, and the reader may judge for himself of the degree of proficiency to which he attained:—

VERSES BY THE HON<sup>ble</sup> SIMON HARCOURT.

"DEAR Harry, if any  
This weather, so rainy,  
Should ask what's become of poor Simon,  
Prithee let 'em all know  
He so weary did grow,  
Of Love, he no longer could rhyme on.  
From his dwelling near Hamsted,  
To y<sup>e</sup> conjuror Flamsted,  
That he's gone to be cured of his pain;  
For since y<sup>e</sup> black art,  
First kidnapt his heart,  
He hopes 'twill restore it again.  
When again I am free,  
I'll range it like thee,  
Take ev'ry kind she to my breast;  
While y<sup>e</sup> coquet so fair,  
That caus'd my despair,  
Provides a new fool for her jest.  
How monstrous to starve  
All our passions to serve,

A single impertinent pride,  
 Tho' the violet and rose  
 Are sweet to y<sup>e</sup> nose,  
 There's a thousand fine flowers beside."

ASTROP WELLS, 1719.

ADDRESSED TO THE HON<sup>ble</sup> THOMAS HARVEY, ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

"WHAT not a Muse? the idle Harp unstrung?  
 When such a Theam demands the Poet's song.  
 Shall Bath, thy spring be great Apollo's care?  
 Or Epsom thine? and we forsaken here,  
 Our stream as sacred, and our Nymphs more fair?  
 In Chamb-ne Love lays his terrors by,  
 And gently revels in her Sportive Eye;  
 Mild as his Mother's Mercies he appears,  
 And all the softness of her Doves He wears,  
 On her fair Breasts He'll sometimes smiling play,  
 And steal the Soul insensibly away.  
 If in her Breast and Eye the tempter fail,  
 He'll tune the voice, and in her songs prevail.  
 Secure he strikes the too unguarded Heart  
 That fears no Ruin where it sees no Art;  
 See next what crowds at Tyrrel's Shrine Adore  
 Unnumber'd Swains obey unbounded power;  
 Some in her shape pursue the fatal snare,  
 Some to her Face, or Lovelier Neck repair,  
 And fondly gazing find Destruction there.  
 With various Arts her Empire she maintains,  
 And true to Merritt, still with Judgement reigns.

If Harvey to the Nymph reveal his Flame,  
 She smiles Indulgent and attends the Claim;  
 Not that the youth can ask, or Fair one grant,  
 But what becomes the Votary and Saint.  
 In brainless Fops the passion's an offence,  
 And Love miscall'd is but Impertinence.  
 This well she knows, and Deals the just Reward,  
 Disdainful turns, the Teazer's tale unheard.  
 Gay Fanny last like Op'ning Morn appears,  
 And drooping Nature, like the Morn, she cheers.  
 Souls yet unmov'd the genial warmth confess,  
 Shake off their Earth, and the kind ardour bless.  
 [The Doubtfull Youth Admiring feels the Dart  
 Of other Loves sett looser in his Heart.]  
 The Doubtful youth and age when she's in view,  
 In second life their Vernal Green renew.  
 See how the brisk and gamesome Train she heads,  
 The Graces follow as their Venus leads.  
 Untam'd she bounds, and fearfull of the Yoke,  
 Shuns the stretch't hand that would but gently stroke.  
 Ye ministers of Love, protect the Fair,  
 Restrain the winds, and guard the Hoop with care.  
 No rising Blush is wanting to adorn  
 The finish't beautys of this Op'ning Morn.  
 Such, Astrop, are the Charms that Grace thy Stream,  
 And such shou'd ever be the Muse's theam.  
 O may an abler hand redress the wrong,  
 Their Glorys suffer from so mean a song;  
 Then, Astrop, then thy thousand Stars shall prove  
 A shining tract, a Galaxy of Love.



Thy Thousand Stars shall then be seen in one,  
And the great Masterpiece of Love be shown ;  
The Gracefull Verse shall swell the Poet's Fame,  
And Lasting Laurels rise from Hilsbro's Name.

TO MR. PRIOR, UPON HIS INVITATION  
TO TOWN.

"SUCH, such thy verse as was the Syren's strain  
That sung to Granville—And that sung in vain.  
Here the false world forgotten I'll forget,  
And praise the hand that dealt me this Retreat ;  
Here sweet, sincere and unmixed Blessings find,  
(Grieved only for the Friend I leave behind).  
Blessings like those thy Classics best reveal  
To such, who reading, Envy what I feel.  
See Me in Maro's old Corycian Swain,  
Submissive to the Lott the Fates ordain.

"And better please their unambitious Lord  
Than the pil'd plenty of Carnarvon's board.  
Unfix'd in Youth the mazy round I run,  
And Drank y<sup>e</sup> various pleasures of y<sup>e</sup> Town.  
Yet only found, and who could e'r find more,  
Soon as the day was passed, the noise was o'r.  
Forswear our City then? Not so, but hear what  
Signs and wonders must y<sup>e</sup> way prepare.  
First Exil'd Vertue shall its Right obtain,  
And the mad Isle its long-lost name regain.  
Soft pleasing hope forsake the ripening Maid,  
And Nelson more than Abelard be read.

Great Kneller's skill Aurelia's beauty take,  
Or thou describe the wounds those Beautys make.  
The Dove shall sojourn with the Hawk unhurt,  
Fair tender Truth to Ke—tts' Breast resort,  
A venal Senate fix our Liberty,  
And Faith and courtly Benjamin agree.  
If none that Doat may be allowed to Reign,  
And whether Marlboro's dotage be unfeigned,  
Misterious point, shall clearly be explain'd,  
And greater difficulty come to pass,  
And Methuen Humbl'd kill K—g Bothmar's."

PREFACE TO POPE'S POEMS, BY HON<sup>ble</sup>  
SIMON HARCOURT.

"HE comes! he comes! bid every bard prepare  
The song of triumph, and attend his car.  
Great Sheffield's muse the long procession heads,  
And throws a lustre o'er the pomp she leads ;  
First gives the palm she fir'd him to obtain,  
Crowns his gay brow, and shows him how to reign.  
Thus young Alcides by old Chiron taught,  
Was form'd for all the miracles he wrought :  
Thus Chiron did the youth he taught applaud,  
Pleas'd to behold the earnest of a god.  
But hark! what shouts, what gathering crowds rejoice !  
Unstain'd their praise by any venal voice,  
Such as the ambitious vainly think their due,  
When prostitutes or needy flatterers sue,

And see the chief! before him laurels borne;  
 Trophies from undeserving temples torn;  
 Here Rage enchain'd, reluctant raves, and there  
 Pale Envy, dumb and sickening with despair;  
 Prone to the Earth she bends her loathing eye,  
 Weak to support the blaze of majesty.—  
 But what are they that turn the sacred page?  
 Three lovely virgins, and of equal age!  
 Intent they read, and all enamour'd seem,  
 As he that meets his likeness in the stream:  
 The Graces these; and see how they contend,  
 Who most shall praise, who best shall recommend.

The chariot now the painful steep ascends,  
 The poems cease, thy glorious labour ends.  
 Here fix'd the bright eternal temple stands,  
 Its prospect the unbounded view commands:  
 Say, wondrous youth, what column wilt thou choose,  
 What laurel'd arch for thy triumphant muse?  
 Though each great ancient court thee to his shrine,  
 Though every laurel through the dome be thine,  
 (From the proud epic, down to those that shade  
 The gentler brow of the soft Lesbian maid,)  
 Go to the good and just, an awful train,  
 Thy soul's delight and glory of the fane;  
 While through the earth thy dear remembrance flies,  
 Sweet to the world, and grateful to the skies."

The following letters from Simon Harcourt, are all that I possess of his cor-

respondence; to these I shall add a few letters from his wife, Elizabeth Evelyn, which will bring this short memoir to a close.

From the Hon. Simon Harcourt to his mother-in-law (Mrs. Evelyn):—

*"Thursday 27<sup>th</sup>, 1716.*

"HON<sup>d</sup> MADAM,—I write you this by my father's orders to let you know he designs with my mother to be in London on Saturday next, and stay there till the Thursday following, when they intend to set out for Cockthorp. If you find it, madam, convenient for you to come to town for a day or two, you may rest yourself in Red Lyon-street, and come down with my father in his coach; but if you had rather go from Wotton to Henley, you will be pleas'd to be there on Thursday next at y<sup>e</sup> Catherine Wheele, where you will meet my father, who will bring you from thence with him.

"My mother desires you would write her two words only by y<sup>e</sup> Sunday's post, whether she may expect you in town; she hopes you will come up to her, least anything should fall out to prevent their leaving London the day y<sup>ey</sup> intend, they do not indeed forsee anything y<sup>t</sup> can pos-



sibly keep 'em longer, but your coming up will be y<sup>e</sup> surer way.

"I am, Madam,

"Y<sup>r</sup> most dutiful, obedient, humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

"S. HARCOURT.

"My wife and I desire our service to all with you."

From the Hon. Simon Harcourt to his mother-in-law (Mrs. Evelyn):—

"HON<sup>d</sup> MADAM,—My father sets out from hence for London on Saturday next in his chariot, he will drop his horses and chariot in town till the Tuesday following, and hopes you may be ready by that time, and take that opportunity of coming to us; all here are well, and present their most humble service to you and all with you; my wife desires her duty to you, and orders me to tell you she can't hold out long.

"I am, Madam,

"Your most obedient Son and Servant,

"SIM. HARCOURT.

"*Cockthrop, Wensday Morn.*"

From Honble. Simon Harcourt to his wife:—

"*Aix-la-Chapelle, May 29, 1720.*

"MY DEAREST,—I have now the pleasure of telling you I am got well to Aix. By the Letter

I have writ this post to my father, you will see I am as yet in doubt whether I shall drink y<sup>e</sup> waters or not, and how I intend to dispose of myself in case I don't drink 'em.

"Lord Bolingbrook will be so good to me as to stay here, should I drink y<sup>e</sup> waters, till such time as I shall have finisht 'em, and to take me with him afterwards to a purchase he has lately made in France. Could I tell you the care that is taken of me in this family, you would not be in pain for me; whatever becomes of me you may be assured, I shall do the best I can to be with you by the time I promis'd you; and in the mean time take all imaginable care of myself for your sake and the sake of my dear Little ones, whom God Almighty bless and prosper; pray if you want any money tell Rock, and order him from me to write to Bedwell for it.

"If this should not come to your hands before you leave London, I will suppose you have made no scruple asking Lord Harcourt for what money you wanted, I am sure he will never see you uneasy upon that account, and I think otherways I should not have a quiet moment in my absence from you; for be assur'd, my Dearest Creature, that of all the things in this world, you are and ever will be nearest the heart of

"Your ever faithfull and affectionate,

"S. HARCOURT.

"You will direct your letters according to y<sup>e</sup> address that will be enclosed in a letter to my father this post."

From Hon. Simon Harcourt to his wife:—

"June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1720 (*foreign stile*),  
"Aix-la-Chapelle.

"MY DEAREST CREATURE,—When you have read the letter I am now writing, you will, I hope, have read three from me since I left you; as yet I have not had a word from England, nay even Harvey has not vouchsafed me y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of a line; by to-morrow's post I expect great things, and if I find myself disappointed, shall begin to be a little impatient; I can now tell you I have taken the waters of this place, what future good I may find from 'em I know not, but at present I think I am not much the better for them.

"The confusions in France will oblige L. Bo-lingbroke to hasten thither; I believe wee shall set out together on Saturday next, and get to Paris by Wednesday following, about dinner-time. As soon as I get thither I will endeavour to find out about my Aunt draper, make your compliments to her, and desire her assistance in getting me a scarfe for you, for I think that was the commission you gave me at parting. Little Betty

left it to me to do by her as I thought fit, and you may be sure I shall not forget her.

"Pray, in your letter to me to Paris, let me know how things go with you in England, what's become of y<sup>r</sup> South Sea African, and the —— fishery, and whether my father has begun his new house<sup>b</sup>; in a word, write me a long letter, and in it, however full you may be of Betty, forget not to say something of precious<sup>c</sup>, not altogether disregarding poor Patty; as to y<sup>e</sup> wild girle upon y<sup>e</sup> Com'on, I suppose you know as little of her as I do; in a word, tell me you and yours are well, and you will then tell me the news that will ever be most agreeable to

"Your ever faithful and affectionate,

"S. HARCOURT.

"I shall write to my father next post; pray my duty to him and my mother.

"Pray direct to me as follows:—

"À Monsieur

Monsieur Harcourt,

Chez Mess<sup>rs</sup> Cantillon and Hughs,

Rue du Rouse, proche la Monoye,

à Paris."

<sup>b</sup> Harcourt House, Cavendish Square.

<sup>c</sup> His son.



From Hon. Simon Harcourt to his wife :—

*"Paris, June 21, 1720.*

"MY DEAREST,—Your last letter of y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> of May got safe to me, I should have thankd you for it by last post had I not been in a hurry in setting out for Versaills, where I have since been, and seen your Aunt Draper; I found her and her family well, but not so cheerfull and so well pleas'd with France as I expected; she complains grievously of y<sup>e</sup> excessive rate y<sup>t</sup> all things are got up too, which indeed is inconsievable, this and the perpetuall altering the value of their mony and bills, makes all foreigners very uneasy, and some amongst 'em whome I can answer for, impatient to return.

"My Aunt Draper, however, intends to stay here a considerable time longer; she will be in Town on Monday, and on Tuesday wee go together to look out for some french Toys for y<sup>e</sup> Dear theif, if anything can be found worth acceptance, and that cannot be had in England, you shall not be forgot; I have a great many things to say to you, but our meeting I hope will be so soon, y<sup>t</sup> I shall reserve 'em for the woods at Cockthrop.

"Pray write to me as soon as this comes to your hands, for I will not leave france till I have had an answer to this; you shall know next week

when you may expect me, in the mean time God Almighty bless you and yours; pray remember me to all with you,

"And believe me, my Dearest Creature,

"Ever yours most faithfully,

"S. HARCOURT.

"Pray let y<sup>e</sup> enclos'd be sent to Oxford as soon as it gets to your hands."

At the back of this letter is written, in his wife's handwriting, "this is the last letter that I ever received from dear Mr. Harcourt." He had for some time been delicate, and appears to have travelled a great deal, as things went in those days, for the good of his health.

He died in 1720, in Paris, at the age of thirty-seven; his body was brought home, to be interred at Stanton Harcourt, in the family chapel. The epitaph written by Pope for his monument has already been described in the memoir of Lord Harcourt.

Simon Harcourt left an only son, of the same name; who, in another volume, will occupy a large share of our attention.

Here follow extracts from letters written

by the wife of the Hon. Simon Harcourt to her mother, Mrs. Evelyn, and to her brother, Sir John Evelyn, and extending from the year 1713 to the year 1734, inclusive.

From Hon. Mrs. Harcourt to Mrs. Evelyn (her mother):—

*"August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1713.*

"I am very much obliged to you, Dear Madam, for rejoyceing so kindly with me for Mr. Harcourt's safe return; I think, indeed, I never saw him look healthyer nor better than he does at present, and now I find how well France has agreed with him, am very well pleased that he has been there, tho' I was not at his going; I hope my Brother received the letter I writ to him last week, to thank him for the good news he was so kind as to send me of Mr. Harcourt's being safe landed; his letter came to Cockthrop on Tuesday last, tho' not to me till Wenesday, I being then at my Aunt Jennens; I should have been under a good deal of uneasiness if I had apprehended the danger Mr. Harcourt was in at sea; but I was so happy as to know nothing of the matter till I heard it from himself; he found us at my Aunt Jennens, where we stay'd all last week.

"My mother presents her humble service to you Madam, and desires the favour of you to bring her some wafer paper to put under the Almond cakes; and Mr. Harcourt desires me to give his duty to you with his humble service, and mine to my Brother and sister, who I am very glad to hear continues so well, and hope her time of confinement will be very near over by the time her Friends leave her. I have now nothing more to add but that I am ever with great respect,

"Dear Madam,

"Yours most obediently,

"E. HARCOURT."

From Hon. Mrs. Harcourt to Mrs. Evelyn:—

*"March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1715.*

"I hope, Dear Madam, you received my letter which I writ last week. . . . Mr. Harcourt begun his Welch journey last Munday . . . . Miss Jennens came to town last night; my Aunt has been so noble to her as to give her twenty pound, to lay out in cloths, with which she hopes to make herself very fine, with the assistance of her Friends in the laying of it out; I writ you word in my last letter that Dr. Mead had very little hopes



of my Aunt Harcourt, her lungs having been bad for some time, he thought from the begining of her illness that she would not get over it; she died last Sunday morning; she was perfectly sensible to the last, and very willing to dye, the only thing that troubled her, she said, was the parting with her children, she desir'd to see all her Friends the day before her death, to take leave of them, and desir'd them not to be concern'd, for she was not in the least; she express'd her satisfaction at the sight of her Sister Bell, wishing her a great deal of happiness, tho' she should not live to see it, and hoped what difference had been between them would be forgiven and forgot.

"My uncle is left a very mournfull widower, but the men soon overcome those things. We were very much surprized here in town last Tuesday night with strange sights in the Air; some people fancy'd they saw the figures of men, and fighting. I can't say that I saw aney thing like that, it appeared to me like the smoke of guns, or of a great fire at a distance; but I did not see it at the worst, those that did say it was exceeding frightfull.

"My mother desires me to give her humble service to you Madam, and to my Brother and Sister, and she begs the favour of my Sister to send her a receipt for to drye Apricot chips if

she has one. I beg my humble service to them both,

"And am ever, Dear Madam,

"Yours most obediently,

"E. HARCOURT.

"I have sent Miss Ann a thimble, which with my humble service I desire she will accept of."

"*London, March y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>, 1718.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I was very glad to hear the things came safe to Wotton, and that I had the good luck to have what I had done approv'd on, which will incourage me to serve my Friends again whenever they command me, since they are so good as to be so easily pleased . . . . I had a letter last Monday from Mr. Harcourt, he was then got as far as Hereford; there happen'd an unlucky accident at the begining of his journey, tho' he had the good luck to skape without aney hurt; the Oxford Coach in which he went down was overturn'd down a steep precepice, but nobody gott aney hurt, but one lady, who I suppose happen'd to be undermost, and was pretty much buried. He rekon'd to be at his journey's end last night.

"L<sup>d</sup> Winton's Trial began last Thursday, he is found guilty, and sentence will be passed next

Munday, his behaviour was not like a man in his right senses, and 'tis hop'd he will find favour upon that account. Betty desires me to give her duty and service to all her friends at Wotton, not forgetting her young Friends, who I hope are all well. I must desire to add my humble service to my Brother and sister,

"And am ever, dear Madam,

"Most obediently yours,

"E. HARCOURT."

"London, March y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>, 1716.

"My Father and Mother go out of Town next Munday, and design to stay about a fortnight in the Country, and about as long in Town when they come back again. By that time I believe Mr. Harcourt will be returned out of Wales, so as to meet us at Cockthrop.

"They talk still very much about town of Lord Bridgewater's marreing Mrs.<sup>d</sup> Meadows, and I heard it spoke of not long ago by a relation of my L<sup>d</sup>s. I think he can't make a better choice, and shall be very glad to hear of any good fortune that happens to that young lady. ...."

<sup>d</sup> Young ladies were described as Mrs.

"London, April y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>, 1716.

"I have pleased my self very much, Dear Madam, with the hopes you gave me in your last kind letter of seeing my brother and sister in Town. . .

"It was reported yesterday that Lady Sunderland was dead. M<sup>r</sup>. Walpole they say is quite out of danger, which is a very great happyness. I don't know what the Nation could have done if so considerable a man had died."

"London, May y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, 1716.

"I was very agreeably surprised, Dear Madam, with seeing my brother in Town last week, and very glad to hear that all my friends at Wotton are well. ....

"My Father talks now of our going down to Cockthrop this day fortnight, and I should have been glad to have gone sooner, for I believe Mr. Harcourt will be there by the end of this week, and I sopose will have had enough of traveling, and not care to come any farther, tho' he says he is very much tempted to come up to see the Books my Lord Torington has left my Father. ....

"I sopose you have heard of Lord Summers'



death; they say he has left no will, which will make Lady Jekill and his other sister prove very considerable fortunes. . . . ."

"Cockthrop, May y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1716.

"I sent you word, Dear Madam, in my last letter that we should begin our journey<sup>s</sup> last Thursday. . . . .

"We found Mr. Harcourt here ready to receive us; his Welsh journey has agreed mighty well with him, only his complexion is a little the worse for having been so often a horseback; but he will find the using so much exercise of very great advantage I hope to his health, which will more than make amends for his being tan'd.

"Mr. Aubrey came down to Cockthrop with us, and I beleive the wedding will be in a very few days. . . . ."

"Cockthrop, June y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>, 1716.

"I defer'd thanking you, Dear Madam, for the favour of your last kind letter till I could send you word that the wedding<sup>e</sup> was over; last Tuesday was the day, and my Father, who is as great a lover of dispatch as Mrs. Boscawin, hurried us to church soon after ten o'clock, and before eleven the ceremony was over. . . . .

\* The marriage of Lord Harcourt's second daughter to Mr. Aubrey.

"The Comedien and Betty were the two Bride Maids, and the latter not a little delighted with being so, tho' she could not forbear shedding some tears just after her Aunt was married, for fear her new Uncle should carry his Bride away with him immediately from Cockthrop, and could not be satisfied till she understood that they were not to part so soon.

"I sopose next week we shall have a good deal of company; we could not expect much this week because of Woodstock Race, which begun last Wednesday, and does not end till to night; the Bride and Bridegroom were there on Thursday, there was a great deal of company there, tho' not near so much they say as there was the day before; the Duke of Summerset's horse won the plate the first day, and Lord Ross's the second; who was the lucky person yesterday I have not yet heard. They say Lord Brooke's Equipage outshined everybody's there by much, tho' there were a great many there that were very fine, he having no less than seven-and-twenty men in the richest liveries that were ever seen.

"We hear that the Duke of Marlborough has been very dangerously ill with a fitt of Appoplexy, and it was reported at the Race that he was dead, but we have heard since that he is upon recovery. The books my Lord Torinton

left my Father are come very safe to Stanton Harcourt. Mr. Harcourt has already spent two mornings there, very much to his satisfaction, tho' there are but two of one-and-twenty cases yet open'd, so that he has a great deal of pleasure still to come, he wishes my Brother here to partake with him. . . ."

"Cockthrop, June y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>, 1716.

"I was very sorry, Dear Madam, to hear by your last kind letter that my Brother had been troubled with a pain in his head, which as it hinders him from entertaining himself at his book, must needs be a double punishment; Mr. Harcourt has had that complaint, too, pretty much of late, which I believe is owing to his going every morning to Stanton Harcourt, where the Books are, and returning from thence in the heat of the day."

"Cockthrop, April y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup>, 1718.

"Our neighbour, Sir Robert Jenkingson, we hear, is going to be married to M<sup>rs</sup>. Kitty Dashwood. We can't think of our Welsh journey till the weather is a little better, the roads are now so bad everybody says, that my Mother is almost discouraged from thinking of it at all; but one hopes at this time of year they won't continue so;

Betty is to be one of the company, at least, as far as my Sister Aubrey's, where she seems at present very much inclined to stay till we come back from Wales; but I don't know yet whether her Papa will agree to that, or to part with her so long; I shall be unwilling my self, I believe, to be so long both from her and the rest of the children, as I fear I must before we come back again. The Nurse is one that is pretty carefull, and I hope will be so now. The Boy went into briches on Easter Monday, he looks abundance better in them then in his coats, and everybody thinks it suits him abundance better, and he seems of that opinion himself, and fears nothinge so much as to put on his coats again."

"Colbey, May y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup>, 1718.

"My Father begins now to talk of our return to Cockthrop, and I believe about ten days hence we shall begin our journey; we shall stop at my Sister Aubrey's to rest our selves for a day or two, and to take up Betty; my Brother Aubrey, who came hither last Wensday, says her cold is much better; if 'tis not gone before we gett home, I design she shall drink Asses milk for it, we having one there for the boy, who had a little breaking out about him in the spring, for which Dr. Mead thought it would be proper to give him Asses milk; both he and Patt were very well



when we heard last from Cockthrop; the boy takes it very ill, I hear, that we left him, and especialy of his Grandpapa, who he did not think, he says, would have served him so; but I believe we shall be able to make our peace with him, my Brother Barlow having bought a little Welch horse to send him for a present when we go. . . ."

"Cockthrop, August y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>, 1718.

"..... Mr. Gay has left us; Mr. Pope and his mother being come to Stanton Harcourt; she is a very good sort of a woman, and will make a very good neighbour whilst she stays, which I believe will be about a month or six weeks longer, by that time I sopose they will be weary of theyr solitude .....

"Mr. Harcourt went yesterday to Astrop, to make mother Rowney a visit, where he stays till tuesday next, and is then to meet us at S<sup>r</sup>. John Walters. ....

"One hears dayly of some sad accident or other, occasion'd by the Thunder or lightning that happen'd lattly; there were two People kill'd by it in a field at Stanton Harcourt, a man and a woman, they were sweethearts, and to have been married at Michaelmass; they are both buried in a grave, and my Father tells Mr. Pope and Mr. Gay, that he thinks they ought to make an Epitaph upon them. 'Twill be a surprize to you,

I believe, to hear that my Aunt Stonhouse is married, but a much greater when you hear to whom; that after refuseing so many good matches as she has done, she has at last thought fitt to marry her footman, a young fellow of about twenty; 'twas such an amazing peice of news, that I cou'd not have believed it had I not heard it from those who were too well inform'd for one to doubt the truth of it; he is willing it seems to settle what she has upon her, and S<sup>r</sup> John will be so kind to her as to take care to see that done. Betty desires her duty to her Grandmama, and the Boy his, and that I would lett you know what a notable horseman he is, and that he has rid as far as Hardwick upon his little Welch horse, which he thinks an extraordinary peice of news. ...."

"Cockthrop, September y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, 1718.

".... My Brother seems mightely pleased with Newnham, which he saw in his way hither; last Saterday we went to Blenheim, where there has been a good deal done since he saw it before, several of the Apartments being finished, and the Hall painted; there we saw Mr. Moor, who has promised to come over to Cockthrop.

"My Brother and my uncle Harcourt went this morning to see Cornbury. I don't here aney thing

yet of Lord Rochester's coming down, tho' some say the wedding will be kept there.

"Mr. Harcourt is under Dr. Fruin's care, and according to his directions is adrinkin Spau Waters; he began but yesterday, and cant expect to find much benifit by them yet, tho' I hope he will in a little time. We hear nothing more of my Aunt Stonehouse, for so I must call her, not knowing her other name, only that she refused to have the writings, that are to secure what she has out of this fellow's power, in trustees' hands, as Sr John Stonehouse and the rest of her Friends would have had them, so I sopose he will gitt what she has and spend it. Some say she has a mind now to disown her being married to him, but I fear that is now too late. . . ."

*"Cockthrop, October y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>, 1718.*

"Our Neighbours Pope and Gay have left us, but we hear that we have a new one at Ducklington, Mrs. Fotherbey being come thither; but we have not yet seen her, nor our neighbour Bluit, who is come to North-Moore.

"We are in daily expectation of Sr John Walters and his Lady, who have promised to come and spend three or four days with us. My Father and Mr. Harcourt seem in earnest now about the Library, and are making preparations in order to

go about building next spring, and hope then my brother will come to their assistance. . . ."

*"London, December y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>, 1718.*

"Wee went from Cockthrop to my Aunt Jenner's last Saterdag morning, and staid with her till Tuesday morning; the children set out on Munday, and mett us on Tuesday night at Slough, and yesterday about noon we all gott safe to Town. We were under some fear of meeting high-waymen, having heard there has been great robbing of late, but we scap'd very well without meeting aney; the waggon where our goods and plate were, was sett upon near Oxford by five fellows; but there happened to be 3 or 4 waggons together, and those that belonged to them made their party good, and took three of them, who are now in Oxford Geol. . . ."

"Mr. Harcourt has just now received my brother's kind letter, for which he designs to return him thanks very soon, and likewise for the Pig's-tail. . . ."

*"Cockthrop, June y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>, 1722.*

"I beleive you have heard of Sir John Walters' death, he has left his estate to my Lady during her life, and to Sr Robert Walters after her death. My Father has a legacy of a thousand pound;



he is now at Sarsden, he went thither last friday, in order to be there at the funeral the next day. St John was ill but a few days before his death. He died of no distemper, but a general decay, which was no wonder, considering how he had lived. . . .

"Last night's evening's post informed us of the D. of Marlborough's death; he has been in a manner dead for some time, and by what one has heard of him of late years, could have but little enjoyment of life. My Aunt Jennens did not leave us till yesterday, the great rains having made the waters so high at Newbridge that there was no passing. She stayed with us a week longer than she design'd."

*"Cockthorp, July y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>, 1722.*

"I take the first opportunity of writing to you, Dear Madam, after my return to Cockthorp, believing it would be acceptable to you to hear that we got well thither; Capten Trever and his Lady mett us at Henley, and lay there that night, the moon not happening to rise till very late, and the Capten being a little merry, 'twas not advisable for them to venture home in the dark. . . ."

*"Cockthorp, August y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>, 1722.*

"To Sir John Evelyn:—

"I return you many thanks, Dear Brother, for

the kind letter I received from you last night, with the agreeable news of my Mother's being so much better, that I hope a very little time will perfect her recovery; and you must give me leave to repeat my thanks to you upon Precious's account, who I daresay thought himself very happy to wait upon the young ladies to so fine a sight as the funeral<sup>t</sup> must needs be, by the description we had here of it in the newspapers; I fancy the Anthem must be mighty fine, and had I been in Town I should rather have heard that than seen the show."

*"Cockthorp, May y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>, 1722.*

"My Mother desires her thanks to my sister for the receipt of the Snail water, with her humble service both to you, Madam, and to her; M<sup>rs</sup>. Scot is now a stilling the Snail water, and I did intend to give Simon some of it had his cough continued, but thank God he has now hardly any remains of it, and seems perfectly well in health, but somewhat troubled in mind at the weather's being so bad, that he can't ride so much as he would; and 'tis no small difficulty we have to keep him within door when 'tis wet and windy, which happens pritty often, for we have had but little good weather since we came into the country. . . .

"Lord Abington call'd here last week in his

<sup>t</sup> The Duke of Marlborough's.

way to the Bath, his Lady was not well enough to go with him, having miscarried, and been very ill since."

"*Cockthrop, June y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>, 1722.*

"I think the young Princesses make their appearance in Publick very soon after having the Smal-Pox, but I sopose they have had it very favourably, which will incourage People to go on with this new way of inoculating; I own I am so unfashionable as not to like it, tho' it has succeeded with a great maney; I have not yet heard how Miss West came off, I heard that she had the Courage to try it; Lord Bathurst, I think, had a great deal, to try it upon six of his children at once, and very good luck to have them all do well."

"*Cockthrop, June y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*

"I don't know how time may reconcile one to this place, but I think nothing alters aney so much for the worse as the loss of a friend<sup>s</sup> one has been long ust to there, and I beleive Cockthrop at this time would be as unpleasant to you as to me, otherways I should very much wish for your company here.

"My Father has given me three of those rings that were sent down, to lay by till I have an

<sup>s</sup> Referring to Lady Harcourt, Lord Harcourt's second wife, who had just died.

oppertunity to send them, one for yourself, one for my sister, and one for my Brother; and desires the favour of him to dispose of the seven remaining in his hands after the following manner: Two to be sent to my cosin, Philip Harcourt, one for himself, the other for his Mother; two rings to be sent to Mr. Richard Harcourt, one for himself, the other for his wife; three rings to be sent to Mr. Morley, one for himself, another for his wife, and the other for her sister Harcourt; he says he is sure you are all so good as to excuse the not haveing yours sooner, but does not know whether others may not take it amiss."

"*Cockthrop, August y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*

"I sopose we shall see Precious here on friday or Saterday next; my Father sends horses to Henley for him on Thursday, the next day he is to dine at my Aunt Jennens's, and to come from thence that night, or the next morning, as he pleases; it falls out unlucky that his Grandpapa will be absent I fear the whole time of his being in the Country; Betty and I must do our best to entertain him, but I beleive he will prefer the setting dog or riding out, before our company."

"*Cockthrop, August y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*

"To Sir John Evelyn:—

"DEAR BROTHER,—I received the favour of



your kind letter by last night's post, and am very much obliged to you for adviseing me after so friendly a manner to what you think likelyest to prove a satisfaction in the end; and tho' my Father has invited me very kindly to continue with him after his being married<sup>h</sup>, yet there may happen inconveniences in a mixt Family, more than one can forsee at present, and I am sensible of maney things that may make it improper; and therefore I have determin'd, tho' the time was but short that I had to consider on it, to go to London next week to gett a House as soon as I can, that I may remove from Downing Street if possible before my Father and the family come to Town.

"I find my Mother and sister have already been so kind as to inquire after one for me, and I shall be glad to know if they either saw or heard of one they thought likely to do; I should choose Westminster, and to be near my Freinds there, rather than aney other part of the town, if I can meet with a house not too large for me, nor in too close a place; I must not say that I shall be sorry to find my friends in Duke Street absent when I come to Town, if this fine weather should continue the Country will be so much pleasanter, that I should be very partial to myself to wish them aney where else; but when they

<sup>h</sup> Lord Harcourt was just about to marry Lady Walters.

return 'twill be a very great satisfaction to me to see them there; I beg my duty to my Mother, and my humble service to my sister and the young ladys,

"And am, Dear Brother,

"Yours most affectionately,

"E. HARCOURT.

"Betty desires her duty and humble service to her friends at Wotton."

"*Downing Street, September y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*

"I think my sister told me that you had seen the house I have taken, and that you did not dislike it; I beleive I could not have found one fitter for me upon all acounts, had I had time to have lookt further. . . .

"I dare say my sister knows where the best dried sweetmeats are to be had in town, and must desire that you would be pleased to ask her, because I am to send some down to Cockthorp by the carrier to-morrow sen'night, being what will be wanted there when my Lady comes. I beleive it was very surprizing to you to hear how soon that wedding was like to be, as indeed that part of it was to me, tho' I did imagine it very likely to happen some time or other, but could not think it would be quite so soon. . . ."

*"Downing Street, October y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>, 1724.*

".... I fancy before this time you have heard that my Father was married on Wednesday last; I had yesterday a letter from him, in which he tells me he designs to go to Cockthrop to day, and that he shall stay there about a fortnight, so 'tis time for me to be gone from hence, that this house may be clean'd and put in order against he comes; and I hope mine is now pretty well air'd, there having been fires kept in the rooms this ten days, and to-morrow night I intend to lye there, my own room being furnished, and the one I eat in. ....

"I am much obliged to my brother and sister for so kindly offering me to be at their house, but I could by no mean think of crowding them up, or putting them to so great an inconvenience, as the having me there must have been. ...."

*"Cockthrop, September y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>, 1725.*

"We have not passed one day this week without company, her Grace of Marlborough din'd here on Thursday last, and with her Lady di Spencer, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Sunderland; her grace inquired mightily when my sister went to London, and said that she had lately had a letter from Lord Blandford, and that he told her he design'd to imploy Lady Evelyn to furnish

his house in town; 'tis an employment I beleive my sister will not be fond of, tho' she is all ways ready to assist her friends, and I thought it would have been properer for her Grace, tho' I could not be free enough to tell her so. ....

"Simon went from hence last Munday, he had the pleasure of riding all the way, which made his return to School not quite so mussy as it would otherways have been."

*"Queen Square, Westminster,  
August y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>, 1726.*

"I beleive it was very surprizing to you to hear that Mr. Phill. Harcourt's match was broken off, after being so far advanc'd as to have the wedding day fixd, and the ring bespoke; the account I heard of it was, that at the begining of this affair, the Gentleman and the Lady both agreed that it would be best for them to live by themselves, and to have no relation of either side in the House with them; but a little before he went the Circuit he went to take his leave of the Lady, and at parting he told her that he had a request to make her, and he hoped that she would comply with it, which was that she would let one of his sisters live with them; she told him that it was contrary to their agreement, but to oblige him it should be so.

"And at the same time she desired that he



would give leave that a relation of hers, that had liv'd with her from a child, might stay with them after they were married for one month only, which he seem'd to think unreasonable, but did not then absolutely refuse; but a few days after, he writ the lady word that she had granted him his first request so unwillingly, and not at last without an expedient, that he could not but take it as an ill begining, and therefore he desired to take his leave of her, and left it to her to give what reason she pleas'd for the matter going off so suddingly, being at a loss I suppose to give a very good one himself. His friends are all very much surprized at his proceedings, and think him very much to blame."

*"Long Wittenham, September y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>, 1726.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I had the pleasure of hearing that you were well by your kind letter which I received last friday.

"My Aunt Jennens, M<sup>rs</sup>. Trever, Betty and myself went last thursday to dine at Cockthrop with a sett of hir'd horses from Oxford, and, as we came back, our Coachman being either fudled or asleep, contriv'd to overturn us. Betty and I were undermost, and the glass up of our side, and with the fall broke all to peices, and yet we had the good fortune to escape without being cut; my

Aunt Jennens happened to hit her face against the bar that parts the 2 fore glasses, and brus'd one side of it about her eye very much, and got a little cut just above her eye brow, that bled so much that we were afraid that she had been very much hurt, till the surgeon that we sent for from Abington came, who told us that it was nothing that was dangerous, but that she had happen'd to cut some little artery, which made it bleed so much. My Aunt's Cloths suffer'd very much, and I beleive will be good for little after this accident; but we are all very well satisfied that we came off without any broken bones, since we fell from a pritty high bank.

"I must beg my humble service to the good Company at the Codrill<sup>1</sup> table.

"Dear Madam,

"Your most obedient and dutifull daughter,

"E. HARCOURT.

"My Aunt Jennens and M<sup>rs</sup>. Trever desire that you would accept of their humble service, and Betty of her duty."

There is a note at the back of this letter, written by Sir John Evelyn:—

"My sister's letter to my Mother 5 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1726; received y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>, being y<sup>e</sup> day she died."

<sup>1</sup> Quadrille was a fashionable game at that time.

*"Long Wittenham, September y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>, 1734.*

"DEAR BROTHER,—... I have had a letter from M<sup>rs</sup>. Bowman<sup>k</sup> since I came hither, dated from Hanover, and am obliged to you for the account you give me of my son from one that you have received since; M<sup>r</sup>. Rock<sup>l</sup>, when I saw him, told me that he had acquainted you with Lady Harcourt's favours to my son, who I hope will be wiser than to accept of them."

<sup>k</sup> Young Lord Harcourt's Tutor.

<sup>l</sup> Lord Harcourt's Secretary.

## APPENDIX.

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SPEECH OF SIR SIMON HARCOURT

ON

DR. SACHEVERELL'S  
TRIAL.



Speech of Sir Simon Harcourt

ON

Dr. Sacheverell's Trial.

"MAY it please your Lordships, I am Council for Doctor Sacheverell, who stands impeached in the name of the Commons of Great Britain of high crimes and misdemeanors; the crimes supposed to have been committed by him are contained in four articles; I beg leave to postpone the three last, without mentioning any thing of them, till we have all concluded what we have to offer and lay before your Lordships, as to the several charges contained in the first, and endeavour to satisfy your Lordships, that, notwithstanding what has been objected by the Gentlemen of the house of Commons against the doctor in maintenance of that article, he is an innocent man.

"The first article contains three distinct charges, we shall proceed on them as they lye in order. The first of them is, 'that he suggests and maintains, that the necessary means used to bring

about the late happy revolution were odious and unjustifiable.'

"Your Lordships have been informed, that by this expression of 'the necessary means,' mentioned in the first article, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons intend his late Majesty's glorious enterprise for delivering the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, and the subjects of this realm well affected to their country, joining with, and assisting him in that enterprize. In a shorter description it has been explained, that these necessary means were the subjects' resistance to their unfortunate prince then upon the throne. Of this resistance the Doctor has made no mention in his Sermon; he has indeed affirmed the utter illegality of resistance on any pretence whatsoever to the supreme Power, but it can't be pretended there was any such resistance used at the revolution; the supreme power in this Kingdom is the legislative power; and the revolution took effect by the Lords and Commons concurring and assisting in it.

"Whatever therefore the Doctor has asserted of the utter illegality of resistance, his assertion being applied to the Supreme power, can't relate to any resistance used at the Revolution, and, consequently, can't be an affirmance that such resistance, or such necessary means, were odious and unjustifiable.

"One of the learned gentlemen, who spoke the third day of this trial in maintenance of the last article, concurred with me in this, and objected it to the Doctor, that he had guarded himself by confining his assertion to the Supreme power, and that he had not averred the utter illegality of resistance to the Queen; but had he in express terms affirmed the unlawfulness of such resistance, yet by the same arguments which have been used, the Doctor would have been told he had been preaching a slavish doctrine.

"My Lords, another gentleman of the house of Commons (I think there were but two of them who took notice of this expression of the Doctor's of the *Supreme power*) observed, that the Doctor had asserted the illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever, which power he admitted was the legislative, and declared, if the Doctor had really meant that power, he should not have differed from him; and, without doubt, your Lordships and all persons will concur with him in this, that 'tis utterly unlawful to resist the supreme power.

"But that Gentleman, being satisfied that tho' the Doctor expressly mentioned the supreme power which is the legislative, yet he certainly intended the supreme executive power, concluded he was guilty of this charge in the first article; and mentioned it as an instance of the great



mercy and lenity of the House of Commons, that they had not proceeded against him for high treason, as a parson in one of the late reigns was prosecuted for words which he thought less offensive and dangerous than this assertion preached by Dr. Sacheverell; and yet that Gentleman was pleased to say, that had a dissenter, whose affection to the Government was unsuspected, expressed himself as the doctor did, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons would not have thought fit to have prosecuted him.

"That case which was alluded to, I take to be the case of Mr. Roswell, a non-conformist Minister; he was indicted in the 36 Car. 2, for words spoken by him in a sermon preached at a meeting house, 'twas a prosecution carried on through the violence of those times, and generally detested; he was convicted; but on cooler thoughts, and consideration of the uncertainty in his expressions, that they could not amount to such a crime as he stood charged with, judgment was arrested, and Mr. Roswell was discharged.

"Another learned Gentleman, who opened the charge, was of opinion that the Doctor, in his assertion of the illegality of resistance to the supreme power, does really neither mean the legislative nor executive power, but that he had the Pretender in his view.

"This is diving into the secrets of his heart,

and searching into his thoughts, which God only knows; this was urged, to avoid the strange inconsistency, in concluding that the Doctor was endeavouring to undermine the Government by preaching up the utter illegality of resisting it.

"My Lords, if there be a double sense, in either of which those words are equally capable of being understood; if in one sense the Doctor's assertion be undeniably clear, but in the other some doubt might arise, whether his words be criminal or not; the law of England is more merciful than to make a man criminal, by construing his words against the natural import of them in their worst sense.

"This is the great justice and clemency of our law in every man's case; but some persons are intitled to have a more favourable construction put on all their words and actions than others are, such as persons acting in execution of their offices, in obedience to authority, or by a Commission from the Crown; such persons are looked upon as under the immediate protection and care of the law. How much more reasonable is it that ministers of the Gospel, who have their commission from God, and speak in the name of God, should have the most candid interpretation made of whatever they say. This, I am persuaded, was one of the chief reasons which, in the case of Mr. Roswell, allayed the rage of that

reign, and at that time obtained mercy for him, though a non-conformist Minister under a conviction of High-treason.

"Tis a hard fate attends this unhappy Gentleman, if he must inevitably lye under the imputation of being thought an enemy to the revolution, and to our present happy establishment on that foundation. What evidence will your Lordships expect he should produce to clear himself? He has shown his submission to the revolution; from the first moment his years made him capable of doing so he has given all publick testimonies of his fidelity and affection to the last reign, as well as the present, which the Government has at any time required from the most suspected persons; he has taken the oath of Allegiance, signed the Association, and took the Abjuration.

"Tis a miserable case any man is in, if, after he has taken the Abjuration, the utmost which is required, he shall still be told, he has indeed abjured the Pretender, but hath not yet forgot him.

"If neither the inoffensiveness of the Doctor's behaviour, and if neither his words nor oaths can satisfy, and if after all these demonstrations the Doctor has given of his fidelity, he is still liable to be censured, what satisfaction is it possible for him to give?

"My Lords, if the manner of this solemn pro-

secution has not altered the nature of things, I hope I may insist, without putting in a claim of right in behalf of all the factious and seditious people in the Kingdom to revile the Government at pleasure, that by the happy Constitution under which we live, a subject of England is not to be made criminal by a laboured construction of doubtful words; or, when that can't serve, by departing from his words, and resorting to his meaning. Too many instances there were of this nature before the late happy revolution; but that put an end to such arbitrary constructions.

"I might trouble your Lordships on this head with multitudes of authorities, but I shall mention only one; 'tis an authority of your Lordships upon a writ of error, immediately after the revolution; Sir Samuel Barnardiston's case; and I beg leave to refer to your Lordships' journal, May 14, 1689.

"Twas that Gentleman's misfortune to be called in question in the reign of Charles the Second (Hill. term, 1683), for writing some letters supposed to be seditious, and highly reflecting on the Government, and the public justice of the nation at that time. Upon his tryal he was represented as a seditious man, and one of a turbulent spirit; and being so painted by the Chief Justice who tryed him, tho' his actions were inoffensive, notwithstanding his innocence, a verdict



was obtained against him; and when he came to receive judgment, not being looked upon as an inconsiderable man, nor as a tool of his party, but as one of the heads of it, a fine of ten thousand pounds was set on him.

"I beg leave to lay before your Lordships what you did in that case. Your Lordships reversed that judgment, and as a glorious instance of your justice, not contenting yourselves with the right you had done in the case then before you, at the same time provided, as far as was possible, that no innocent person, in after ages, might suffer wrong. Your Lordships therefore, in an extraordinary manner, ordered the reasons of your judgment to be entered in your journal, and they are entered in the following words:—

"'First, the information in this case being grounded upon letters, which in themselves were not criminal, but made so by innuendos, your Lordships declared that innuendos, or supposed and forced constructions, ought not to be allowed, for all accusations should be plain, and the crimes ascertained.'

"My Lords, I hope it's unnecessary to my present purpose to read to you the second reason; but as 'twas another instance of your Lordships' justice, which ought never to be forgot, I shall take the liberty of doing it; it relates to the fine of ten thousand pounds. Though Sir Samuel

Barnardiston was a gentleman of a considerable estate, your Lordships declared, 'secondly, that this fine of ten thousand pounds is exorbitant and excessive, and not warranted by legal precedents of former ages; for all fines ought to be with a *salvo contentamento suo*, and not to the party's ruin.'

"These were your Lordships' declarations in this case; if there be any uncertainty or doubt in the Doctor's expressions, your Lordships, I hope, will put the most favourable construction on them. What I have hitherto offered is, with relation to these words, *The Supreme power*; but that which I take to be the main objection in this case, is, that the Doctor's assertion of the illegality of resistance must be necessarily understood with reference to the executive power; and if it be utterly illegal, in any case, upon any pretence whatsoever, then 'twas unlawful at the revolution; and from thence the consequence is drawn, that the Doctor is guilty of this first charge, *of maintaining that the necessary means used to bring about the happy revolution were odious and unjustifiable*. This I take to be the force of the objection.

"My Lords, I admit the Doctor has in general terms asserted this proposition of the illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever; and yet I am not altogether without hopes, but that I shall be able to satisfie

even the Gentlemen of the house of Commons, whether that expression be understood of the legislative, or executive power, that he is an innocent man, notwithstanding that assertion.

"My Lords, there is nothing further from our hearts, nor is any thing less necessary to the Doctor's defence, than for us to dispute, or to call in question the justice of the revolution; we are so far from it, that we look on ourselves to be arguing for it, whilst we are endeavouring to shew your Lordships, that the resistance used at the revolution is not inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England, and with the law of England, and that the Doctor uses no other language than what they both speak. When your Lordships have laid aside what was urged the second day, to show the justice of the revolution, and to aggravate the Doctor's offence, supposing him to be guilty, this matter will lye in a very narrow compass; and I am in hopes that there will not appear to be so great a difference as hath been represented, between the Doctor, in his assertion concerning the illegality of resistance, and some of the Gentlemen of the house of Commons; I can't say that I differ from many of them in their notions of allegiance, as stated the second day of this tryal.

"My Lords, the first thing on which I humbly insist, supposing this general assertion to relate

to the Supreme executive power, is, that the Doctor has not in any part of his sermon applyed it to the particular case of the revolution.

"'Twas insisted on the first day, that he had not only asserted the utter illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever; but, also, that he had expressly affirmed, that the revolution was not such a case as ought to be excepted out of his general rule. This I deny: if such an expression can be found in the Doctor's Sermon, I shall think no punishment too great for him. 'Tis one thing expressly to affirm the revolution is such a case as ought to be excepted out of the general rule, and another thing not to make the exception. The Apostle, who in general terms enjoins the duties of obedience and non-resistance to the higher powers, makes no exception when he lays down those precepts; nor on the other side does he say, no such case can ever happen, wherein obedience is not to be paid, or resistance not to be made. He is silent in that matter; and the Doctor's expression in this case, is agreeable with that of the Apostle.

"To prove the Doctor guilty of this first charge, and that he had directly applied his general rule of the illegality of resistance to the supreme power to the particular case of the revolution, a learned gentleman (whose province 'twas to



maintain the first article) on the second day of this tryal, first stated to your Lordships the page wherein the Doctor mentions the utter illegality of resistance, and read that passage in the following words:—‘the grand security of our Government, and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subject’s obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the supreme power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatever;’ and then he says, ‘the Doctor goes on, and says,—Our adversaries think they effectual stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this point, when they urge the revolution of this day in their defence.’

“This might very reasonably make an impression upon your Lordships, not comparing those several passages in the Doctor’s sermon, at the same time that objection was made. But I beg your Lordships will observe the distance of these two passages from each other, between twenty and thirty lines, in which several distinct and entire sentences are contained, to which that last passage of ‘our adversaries, &c.’ plainly relates.

“The next method used to prove the Doctor guilty, was by taking the passage in itself, independantly from any other; and this I own to be the true way of considering it: and taking it thus, ’tis objected, if in no case whatsoever ’tis

lawful to resist, ’twas then unlawful at the revolution. Such a doctrine must be a slavish doctrine. An unlimited passive obedience and non-resistance is a slavish notion.

“My Lords, Doctor Sacheverell does not contend for it, nor is there anything mentioned in his Sermon of such an obedience or non-resistance. There is but this small difference between the Gentlemen of the house of Commons, who think this expression so highly criminal, and the Doctor, who still conceives it to be otherwise; whether, when the general rule of obedience is taught, the particular exceptions which may be made out of that rule are always to be expressed; or whether, when the general rule is laid down, the particular exceptions which might be made out of that rule are not more properly to be understood or implied.

“I humbly apprehend, my Lords, that extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, are always implied, though not expressed in the general rule. Such a case, undoubtedly, the revolution was, when our late unhappy Sovereign, then upon the throne, misled by evil counsellors, endeavoured to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the Kingdom. The general rule ought always to be pressed, but the exceptions of extraordinary cases, of cases of necessity, are never particularly to be stated. To

point out every such case beforehand, is as impossible as it is for a man in his senses not to perceive plainly when such a case happens.

"Every minister of the Gospel is sufficiently instructed from the doctrine of his Church, from the written laws of the land, and the law of God, to press the general duty of obedience; but such extraordinary cases wherein resistance is lawful, wherein it becomes an indispensable duty, are nowhere laid down. The same Apostle who enjoins obedience and non-resistance to the higher powers, commands also servants to obey their masters, and children their Parents, in all things; notwithstanding which general precepts, many cases may happen wherein it may be not only unfit, but sinful for servants to obey their masters, or children their parents. And yet the Apostle never thought it proper to state or mention those cases, but contented himself to press the duty of subjection in general, leaving such cases, when they happened, to justify themselves.

"Such cases, my Lords, with respect to resistance against the supreme power, are no way fit to be considered but in Parliament; and even the Parliament itself hath never yet thought fit otherways to consider them, than by way of retrospect, to justify what had of necessity been done in those cases; but never went so far as to enumerate the cases of that kind which might hap-

pen for the future, wherein it might be lawful for the subject to resist; nothing being more evident than that the subjects would be, sometime or other, thereby tempted to exceed their just liberty.

"I beg leave to close what I have humbly offered to your Lordships on this head, with an observation I borrow from Mr. Pym, at his delivering the charge against Doctor Manwaring; Mr. Pym, speaking of the Duchy of Normandy, observes that that Duchy, having been oppressed with some grievances, contrary to their franchises, made their complaint to Louis the tenth, who by his charter acknowledging the right and custom of the country, and that they had been unjustly grieved, did grant and provide, that from thenceforward they should be free from all subsidies and exactions to be imposed by him and his successors, yet with this clause, 'Unless when great necessity required;' which small exception, Mr. Pym observed, had devoured all their immunities granted by that charter. I think I may as reasonably conclude, that if Clergymen, or others, in their Sermons, writings, or public discourses, instead of preaching up the general rule of obedience, are permitted to state the several extraordinary cases which may arise, the several excepted cases which, notwithstanding the general rule, are implied; such exceptions will, in time, devour all allegiance.



"Having thus stated to your Lordships the question between us, whether such excepted cases as the revolution was, are not more proper to be left as implied, than to be expressed, when the general duty of obedience is taught; I shall endeavour to satisfy your Lordships, First, That the Doctor's assertion of 'the illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever,' in general terms, without expressing any exception, or that any exception is to be made, is warranted by the authority of the Church of England; and, Secondly, that this manner of expression is agreeable to the law of England.

"First, That it is warranted by the authority of the Church. Your Lordships were informed on the first day of this trial, with how much bravery even our Popish ancestors asserted the legality and indispensable duty of resistance, whenever they thought the liberty of their country required it; but that at the reformation, when truth began to shine out, then it became evident that this notion of the illegality of resistance was a slavish doctrine. The learned gentleman undoubtedly pitched on a very proper time to begin his search after truth; and from thence I shall endeavour to trace it.

"One very early authority I find, 'twas indeed in the dawn of the reformation, in a book entitled 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any

Christian Man,' published by the King's command, 34. H. 8. 'Twas a treatise composed by the direction of Cranmer, by Rydley, Redmayn, and other very great and learned men. I find it highly commended in the history of the reformation (Part I. Book 3, Page 286).

"The reverend author of that history gives an account how well the reformers were employed (Anno 1540), though not in the way of Convocation; that a select number of them sate, by virtue of a commission from the King confirmed in Parliament; and that their first work was to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine for the necessary erudition of a Christian man, and (page 293) that 'twas finished and set forth, with a Preface written by those of the clergy who had been employed in it, declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures and the ancient doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered that exposition of the Christian faith. In this treatise I find these passages:—(In the exposition of the fifth commandment), 'And by this commandment also, subjects be bound not to withdraw their fealty, truth, love, and obedience towards their Prince, for any cause whatsoever it be; nor for any cause they may conspire against his person, nor do any thing towards the hindrance or hurt thereof, nor of his estate.' (In the exposition of the Sixth commandment), 'More-

over, no Subjects may draw their swords against their Prince for any cause whatsoever it be.' The reverend father of our Church, to whom the Public is so much indebted for that excellent history of the reformation, and who has received the just thanks of both houses of Parliament for it (page 291), declares those expositions of the Commandments to be very profitable.

"My Lords, though the treatise in which I find these expositions was published in a Popish reign, yet as an undeniable evidence that the doctrine of non-resistance there taught is a Protestant doctrine; I shall show your Lordships the reverend author of the history of the reformation has himself asserted it, in much stronger terms than Doctor Sacheverell has done. In Edward the Sixth's time the glorious light of the Gospel shone out. The first book of the homilies, prepared by the clergy, was then published by the royal authority; in which were three parts of a homily, or rather three distinct homilies of obedience; in one of which is the passage mentioned in the Doctor's answer; 'Here, good people, mark diligently, It is not lawful for inferiors and subjects, in any case, to resist and stand against the superior powers, for St. Paul's words be plain,—that whosoever withstandeth shall get to themselves damnation; for whosoever withstandeth, withstandeth the ordinance of God.' In queen Mary's reign,

the light of the Gospel was eclipsed, and the darkness of Popery again overspread the nation. Resistance to Princes being a doctrine of the Church of Rome, your Lordships will not expect any authentic evidence to be produced out of that reign in maintenance of the doctrine of non-resistance.

"When queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, the truth of the Gospel shone forth in its full lustre, and then six homilies were added to the other three against disobedience and wilful rebellion; in which your Lordships will find many passages wherein the duty of non-resistance is pressed and inculcated in much stronger terms than it hath been asserted by Doctor Sacheverell.

"In that glorious reign the thirty-nine Articles of our religion were agreed upon by the Archbishops and bishops of both Provinces, and the clergy in convocation; by the 35<sup>th</sup> of which, the homilies are declared to contain a Godly and wholesome doctrine, and are ordered to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People. In the 13<sup>th</sup> year of that reign a further sanction was given to the homilies; the 39 Articles were then confirmed; and every person in holy orders to be admitted to any benefice with cure, was required, by Act of Parliament made in that year, to subscribe and read them in



the church, and declare his unfeigned assent thereto.

"My Lords, we have now a most gracious Sovereign on the throne, as far surpassing her renowned predecessor, queen Elizabeth, in the effectual support she gives to the Protestant interest, and in her pious care for the perpetual security of the Church of England, as in all the other successes and glories of her reign. In this reign a perpetual sanction is given to the books of the homilies, by inserting in the act of union the Act made the 13<sup>th</sup> Eliz., which confirmed the 39 Articles, by the 35<sup>th</sup> of which the doctrine of the Church taught in the homilies is approved, and declaring that act, 13 Eliz., to be 'an essential and fundamental part of the Act of Union;' so that I may now conclude, the doctrine of the Church of England taught in her homilies must continue as long as the Union of the two Kingdoms, which I heartily pray may be to the world's end. On these authorities do the homilies of our Church subsist; and as they are thus ratified by the Articles and Acts of Parliament, the Doctor has the concurrent authority of the Church and State for what he has said concerning the illegality of resistance.

"My Lords, is this doctrine of non-resistance taught in the homilies in general terms, in the same manner as Doctor Sacheverell has asserted

it, without expressing any exception; do the Articles of our religion declare the doctrine taught in the homilies to be a godly and wholesome doctrine; and will your Lordships permit this gentleman to suffer for preaching it? Is it criminal in any man to preach that doctrine which 'tis his duty to read? The Doctor is not only required by the 35<sup>th</sup> Article to read this doctrine diligently and distinctly, that it may be understood by the people; but to show your Lordships the doctrine taught in the homilies did not die, nor was altered at the revolution; I must observe to your Lordships, that the rubrick of the Office appointed for the 5<sup>th</sup> of November by the late queen of blessed memory, directs the clergy on that day, if there be no sermon, to read one of these homilies against rebellion.

"Since the Doctor chose rather to preach than to read a homily on that day, how could he better comply with the command of Her late Majesty, than by preaching the same doctrine as was contained in those homilies he was commanded to read on that day, if he did not preach? Does an Act of Parliament, inserted in the Act of Union, enjoin him to subscribe to this doctrine before the Ordinary, and declare his unfeigned assent to it, in his parish church, and shall he be condemned in Parliament for asserting the truth of it? I must admit this 35<sup>th</sup> Article of our

religion is not by the toleration Act (I will give no offence by calling it by its true name) required to be subscribed by any Persons dissenting from the Church of England, to entitle them to their exemption from the Penalties mentioned in that Act. But that Act of Parliament no way varies the case with respect to the clergy; so that, whatever duty was incumbent on them before, is so still, and therefore I hope your Lordships will not think this gentleman has so highly offended.

"As a further proof that this doctrine of non-resistance, as laid down by the Doctor in general terms without making any exception, is the doctrine of the Church of England, I shall show your Lordships that it has been so preached, maintained, and avowed, and in much stronger terms than the Doctor has expressed himself, by our most orthodox and able Divines from the time of the reformation. 'Twould be useless to offer to your Lordships all the authorities I might produce on this occasion; but we shall beg your Lordships' patience to lay before you some passages out of the learned writings of several reverend fathers of our Church, of nine Archbishops, above twenty Bishops, and of several other very eminent and learned men.

"That your Lordships may not think this doctrine died at the revolution, I shall humbly lay before your Lordships the opinions of three Arch-

bishops and eleven Bishops, made since the revolution, which will fully show the doctrine of non-resistance is still the doctrine of our Church. I would not willingly give offence in naming them; I am sure I mean no reflection, nor can it, as I think, be any reproach to them; I find no other doctrine in this case taught by them, as far as I am able to judge, than what the Apostles taught before them.

"With your Lordships' leave, I will therefore presume to name them, Archbishop Tillotson, the two present Archbishops, Bishop Stillingfleet, late Bishop of Worcester, the present Bishops of Worcester, Rochester, Salisbury, Ely, Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Exeter, St. Asaph, Carlisle, and Chichester. If I am able to show your Lordships that all these right reverend fathers of our Church have preached the same doctrine the Doctor has, are the same words coming out of their mouths to be received as oracles of truth, but spoke by the Doctor fit for articles of impeachment? I am sure it's impossible to enter into the heart of man to conceive, that what these reverend Prelates have asserted, that any general position they have laid down concerning non-resistance, is an affirmation that the necessary means used to bring about the revolution were odious and unjustifiable. Why then is Doctor Sacheverell, by having taught the same doctrine in the same manner as they did,



to be charged for having suggested or maintained any such thing?

"My Lords, I dare not suppose this doctrine, thus established by so many reverend fathers of our Church, to be erroneous. If an intemperate expression of one single Archbishop, above a hundred years since dead, is fit to be inserted in an article of impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanours, what punishment should I deserve could I suppose the doctrine taught by so many Archbishops and Bishops to be erroneous. But if I might hope to be excused, if I made the supposition that the homilies of our Church contain false doctrine, and that so many of the right reverend fathers of our Church are capable of erring, or being ignorant in the doctrine of their Church, I humbly propose it to your Lordships, whether a clergyman who errs after such great examples, might not reasonably have hoped for a more moderate correction than an impeachment? Had this slavish doctrine of non-resistance been first branded with its indelible mark of infamy, and the right and indispensable duty of resistance to Princes plainly shown; had all the slavish notions of the common law which we find dispersed throughout our law books, which gave countenance to this doctrine of non-resistance, been first weeded out of them, and some few Acts of Parliament, entirely agreeable with this slavish doc-

trine, been first repealed; had the people been set right in the notions of their obedience, and the ministers of the Gospel been instructed by Act of Parliament what doctrine they ought to preach, and what not; had all these things been first done, and the Doctor had afterwards err'd, your Lordships might have then looked upon him as an obstinate offender.

"The next thing I beg leave to consider is, the law of England; whether the Doctor's assertion of 'the utter illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever,' in general terms, is agreeable to the law of England. I hope I need not again explain myself as to this particular, I mean, that as the general rule is always taught and inculcated by the Church, so has it always been declared by the legislature, without making any particular exception; and if this rule holds both in Church and State, this gentleman is strangely unfortunate if he can't be comprehended under one or other of them.

"My Lords, whatever may at any time heretofore have been thought proper to be done by Parliament; whatever measures, in cases of the last necessity, may at any time have been taken by the people in general, for preserving their liberty, or asserting the rights of their country, and keeping themselves from slavery; yet in no age can any instance be show'd, not in the reigns

of those Princes who have been depos'd, that this doctrine, of the right of resistance, as it has been term'd, was ever permitted to be asserted by any particular person.

"A memorable case to this purpose happened in the reign of King Edward the Second; an Act of Parliament, passed in the fifteenth year of that reign, entituled 'Exilium Hugonis de Spencer, Patris, & Filii.' The two Spencers were banished by that Act, and the first article in that Act against them is, 'that they had affirmed and published in writing, that homage and oath of allegiance were due more by reason of the Crown, than by reason of the person of the King; and that if the King did not demean himself according to reason, in the exercise of his government, his subjects might remove him; and that since that removal could not be by course of law, they might therefore remove him by force.'

"The time when this Act pass'd, and what afterwards happened, is remarkable. The Act, very soon after the making of it, was repeal'd, and 'twas thought necessary in that reign the people should assert that right, and thereupon the King was depos'd. But your Lordships will find in his successor's reign, they were so far from casting any blot on the act of exile, that in the 1 Edw. 3, by one of their first Acts, the repeal of the exile was annulled, and the act of exile confirmed. It

is true, that in the 21<sup>st</sup> year of Rich. 2, the Act made the 1<sup>st</sup> Edw. 3, for annulling the repeal of the exile, was repeal'd, and the reversal of the act of exile confirm'd; but in the 1<sup>st</sup> of Hen. 4, the whole Parliament held the 21<sup>st</sup> Rich. 2, and all the proceedings in it, for their extravagance, were annulled, and from thence the act of exile of the two Spencers continued untouch'd.

"I must humbly observe to your Lordships, that though there were two repeals of the act of exile, yet neither of them mentioned the matter contain'd in the articles as insufficient, but the reasons assign'd in the acts of reversal are, that 'in the proceedings against the Spencers the great Charter was not observed, that the prelates were not present, and did not assent thereto; and some other defects in form.' What opinion our greatest lawyers have since had of this act of exile, sufficiently appears, Co. 7. 11, Calvin's case, the words are these,—'In the reign of Edw. 2, the Spencers, the father and the son, to cover the treason hatched in their hearts, invented this damnable and damn'd opinion, that homage and oath of leigeance was more by reason of the King's Crown, (that is of his politick capacity), than by reason of the person of the King;' 'upon which opinion,' says the Lord Chief Justice Cook, 'they inferr'd most execrable and detestable consequences. First, if the King do not demean



himself by reason in the right of his Crown, his leiges are bound by oath to remove the King. Secondly, seeing that the King could not be reformed by suit of law, that ought to be done by force; All which were condemned by two Parliaments, one in the reign of Edw. 2, called "Exilium Hugonis Le Spencer," and the other 1 Edw. 3. Cap. 1.'

"I barely mention these Acts to show, that however applicable the case of the revolution might be to that of King Edw. 2, yet that those very persons by whom the King was depos'd, thought it so high a crime in the two Spencers, to take on them to publish such positions, as to deserve banishment. The next law I beg leave to mention, is the 25 Edw. 3, Cap 2, by which 'the levying war against the King in his realm' is declar'd, in general terms, 'to be high treason,' without any exception whatsoever.

"This is an instance of what I am contending for, that the law, in all cases concerning our allegiance, lays down the general rule, without making any exception. So in the oath of obedience (as enjoined 3 James 1, 4,) all persons are to swear 'to defend the King to the utmost of their power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall or may be made against his person, crown, or dignity.'

"The oath is in general, without any exception

express'd in it; and no man will presume to say, that oath, which was taken from the 3 James 1, till after the revolution, was not true. But the answer to be given is, what I give in this case, that cases of necessity, such as the revolution, were implied, they are improper to be express'd, and why ought not the like implication equally to be allowed in the general assertion made by Doctor Sacheverell? By the Act made 12 Car. 2, C. 30, for attainder of the regicides, it is declar'd, that 'by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the people, collectively, or representatively, nor any other persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any coercive power over the Kings of this realm.'

"My Lords, I can't apprehend this Act to be repeal'd; if it be not, I beseech your Lordships let Dr. Sacheverell be tried by it; and that you will be pleased to consider whether the Doctor's assertion concerning resistance hath out-gone the declaration in this law.

"Your Lordships hear how fully the fundamental law of the Kingdom is declared by this Act; the Doctor has only said, 'Tis illegal to resist the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever.' The expression at the end of that declaration may possibly be observed, that it ex-

tends only to a coercive power over the person of the King; I know not what inference may be drawn from thence, but certainly there is nothing in the Doctor's Sermon but what may be abundantly justified by the declaration in that Act.

"The Militia Act, the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Car. 2, Cap. 3, for ordering the Forces in the several counties of this Kingdom, contains a declaration as strong as the former: By that Act 'tis declared, that 'neither both or either of the houses of Parliament can, or lawfully may, raise or levy any War, offensive or defensive, against His Majesty, his heirs, or lawful successors.' When I perused this last declaration in the recital of the Act, I read carefully to the end of it, to look for the exception, but could find none. If there be no exception in that Act, but that it stands as a general declaration of the law; if neither, nor both the houses of Parliament can or may raise or levy War, offensive or defensive, against the King, is it a high crime and misdemeanor to assert in general terms that resistance to our Prince is unlawful? Pray, my Lords, compare the Doctor's assertion in his Sermon with the declaration in this last Act of Parliament.

"By the Corporation Act, 13 Car. 2. Sess. 2. Cap. 1, all mayors, aldermen, common-councilmen, and other corporate officers there enumerated, are required to take an oath, that 'it is not

lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King.' By the Militia Act, which I have already mentioned, the same oath, that 'it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King,' is required to be taken by every Peer of the realm, before he is capable of acting as a Lieutenant or Deputy-Lieutenant; and by every Commoner of England, before he can be capable of acting as a Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant, officer or soldier in the Militia. By the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. 2, Cap. 4, all ecclesiastical persons, and many others under the several denominations in that Act, are required to subscribe to the truth of that assertion, that 'it is not lawful on any Pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King.' This is the language of our laws, and the like do the Apostles use in their precepts teaching obedience and non-resistance to the supreme power.

"But here, I ought to observe, an objection has been made to these several Acts, that by an Act made in the second year of the late King and Queen, 'tis enacted, 'that from thenceforth the oath enjoined to be taken or subscribed by the several Acts I have mention'd, should not be required to be taken by any person whatsoever; and that the former Acts of Parliament, as to that oath, are thereby repealed.' 'Tis a very tender repeal, my Lords, if it be one; but admit



it to be one, it seems to have been argued from thence by a learned gentleman, with whom in many things he said I no way differ, that this doctrine of non-resistance was become the more unlawful, because that oath was not to be taken from thenceforward.

"My Lords, as the Corporation Act required the swearing 'twas not lawful to take up arms against the King, so does it direct the subscribing to the unlawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant; Now, by the same argument, the Solemn League and Covenant may be proved to have been a lawful oath.

"I beseech your Lordships to consider, whether the repeal of this oath can have any weight with your Lordships. 'Twas a general assertion, to which all the Peers and Commoners, in the employments I have mention'd, were to swear; there is no exception in the oath, but what is implied in it. Was not the Proposition as true before it was sworn, as after? Was it therefore true because 'twas sworn, or was it sworn because it was true? Did the swearing it make it true, or the truth make it fit to be sworn? If it was true when it was sworn, the proposition was equally true before, and since. I believe, since the oath was taken by so many Peers and Commoners, no man will pretend to question the truth of the proposition.

"My Lords, I have gone through the several laws I shall lay before your Lordships on this occasion, and let me once more humbly beg your Lordships that you will be pleased to compare the Doctor's assertion in his Sermon concerning the illegality of resistance with them; whether it be stronger than the declaration of the undoubted and fundamental law of the Kingdom, in the Act against the regicides; than the declaration in the Militia Act; than the oath required to be taken by so many Acts of Parliament; than the declaration of the 25<sup>th</sup> Edward 3<sup>rd</sup>. All the Doctor has said is, that 'resistance to the supreme power is illegal on any pretence whatsoever.' All the Peers and Commoners of England, under the characters and employments I have mention'd, have sworn to the truth of it; the 25<sup>th</sup> Edward 3<sup>rd</sup> declares it to be high treason; and your Lordships have heard what S<sup>t</sup>. Paul says.

"My Lords, I began this discourse, relating to the doctrine of our Church and the laws of the land, with the most sincere protestation, that it was far from my intention to offer any thing inconsistent with the justice of the revolution; I think the justice of it consistent with our laws, the exceptions to be made being always implied: and surely none can show themselves truer friends to the revolution, than those who prove that the revolution may stand without impeaching the doc-

trines of our Church, or any fundamental law of the Kingdom.

"Doctor Sacheverell being impeach'd for not making the exception when he laid down the general rule, I beg leave to turn the case, and suppose he had made it. Had he been stating the case of a revolution, on a day when he press'd the illegality of resistance, on a day when, if he did not preach, he was obliged to read one of the homilies against rebellion, in which there is no exception; had he been picking holes for the Subject to creep out of his allegiance, and had he been cited before his Diocesan, might he not have been questioned on what authority he presumed to preach in that manner? whether he found such doctrine taught by the Apostles, by the homilies, or by any of the reverend fathers of our Church? Might he not have been told it was his duty, in imitation of those great examples, to press the general duty of obedience, and the illegality of resistance, without making any exception whatsoever? Had he been question'd before the temporal power for preaching in the manner he has done, had an indictment been fram'd against him on his general assertion, and brought before the twelve judges, I humbly apprehend, not one of them would have declar'd he went too far: but had he been making exceptions out of the general rule of obedience, es-

pecially if he had been tried by such judges as were before the revolution, might he not have been told, 'twas easie to discern what spirit he was of, of what party he was, and what he aim'd at, what he intended, that he had not been preaching in defence of the late revolution, to show the justice of it; but that he was covering the treason of his heart, and under pretence of justifying one revolution, he was labouring to bring about another; he who knew how far the design had gone of landing the Pretender but two years since, what else could he mean by picking holes in the rules for our obedience?

"I have but a word or two to add to the other charges of this article: the gentlemen of the House of Commons were pleas'd to observe, that though there were four articles, the substance of them all centered in the first. The second charge in this article is, 'that his late Majesty in his declaration disclaimed the least imputation of resistance.'

"It is not, I hope, a sufficient ground for an article of impeachment, if the Doctor has expressed himself in an obscure manner; I must confess I can't easily comprehend him myself, but it may be any man's misfortune to express himself in such a manner, as to make it decent and fit for him to explain himself: and, I hope, the Doctor has explained himself so as to show,



that, though he may have spoken improperly, he has yet spoken innocently. The gentlemen of the House of Commons declare by resistance they mean the resistance of the Subject to their Sovereign; but resistance, where the Doctor mentions his late Majesty to have disclaim'd it, cannot have that meaning: he was a Sovereign Prince, and might resist whom he pleased. Perhaps the passage in the Doctor's Sermon may be capable of different constructions, but the Doctor has taken care to prevent all manner of mistakes that might possibly arise from thence.

"He has not only (as was observed by one of the gentlemen of the House of Commons) made a marginal reference to show what he meant, which might have been done when he apprehended that expression would be found fault with; but he has in the Sermon itself quoted what the Parliament did, in burning a treatise which related to the King's having conquered the Kingdom.

"My Lords, it was asked what had he to do to take notice of that matter, what led him to justify the late King? Was there ever anybody living that imputed any such thing as conquest to him? My Lords, if there never was but that one imputation endeavoured to be cast on his memory, as I never heard of any other, surely then he did well to wipe off that imputation; and that this has been laid to his charge, I must refer

to the journals of both Houses of Parliament. Your Lordships resolv'd the assertion of King William and Queen Mary's being King and Queen by conquest, was injurious to their Majesties' rightful title to the Crown, inconsistent with the principles on which this Government is founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people: and on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January, 1692, your resolution being communicated to the Commons, was unanimously agreed to.

"The last part of this article is, 'that to impute resistance to the revolution, is to cast black and odious colours on his late Majesty, and the said revolution.' My Lords, there are these words in the Doctor's Sermon, of 'casting black and odious colours on his late Majesty and the revolution:' they are in the close of a sentence, which immediately precedes the expression of his late Majesty's disclaiming the least imputation of resistance: it is impossible to mistake the place, your Lordships will examine it, and from thence let him take his fate, whether that passage is applicable to what went before it, or to what follows after. Those words of 'casting black and odious colours,' are so far from referring to 'his late Majesty's disclaiming the imputation of resistance,' that they conclude the sentence which went before it, in which the Doctor mentions 'new preachers and new teachers, that broach'd

abominable positions, that the people have a right to cancel their allegiance at pleasure, to call their Sovereign to account, and who pretend to justify the horrid murder of the Royal Martyr King Charles the First, and endeavour to screen themselves, and their vile notions, under the revolution.'

"The Doctor, having mentioned these new preachers and their doctrine, goes on,—'our adversaries think they effectually stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this point, when they urge the revolution of this day in their defence. But certainly they are the greatest enemies of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious colours upon both.' I pray, my Lords, what does this refer to, don't it clear the revolution against the venom of those miscreants who publish such villanous assertions as these? But 'twas objected by a learned gentleman, what has a minister to do to meddle with these things? If any man offends against the temporal or Ecclesiastical laws, the Courts are open, the magistrates are to punish.

"My Lords, I don't find, if this doctrine holds, that he must preach against anything; if he must not preach against anything which may be prosecuted, either in the temporal or Ecclesiastical Courts, he must not preach against any

offence that is forbid by the ten commandments. Perhaps it will be urg'd that there are no such people as these new preachers and new teachers, that he is raising a phantom, and then throwing it down; he is only imagining cases, of which there are no instances; that there are no such men who endeavour to justify the murder of King Charles, or defend it by the revolution. We will show there are too many instances of such persons who make no scruple to publish these positions, and cast reflections on the Queen and her Government, whom the Doctor has been defending. He is not the person he has been represented, he hath no disloyal thoughts about him: sure I am, he would rather die in Her Majesty's defence.

"We shall show your Lordships that there are such as run most vile comparisons between the revolution and the most execrable murder of King Charles the First, and can find no better difference between them, than this abominable distinction of a 'wet martyrdom and a dry one.'"



Extract from Coxe's "Memoirs of  
Sir Robert Walpole."

IN Coxe's "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," pub. 1798, we find the following observations upon this remarkable trial:—

"The result of this ill-judged trial was far different from the event which Godolphin and his friends weakly expected. The triumph of the Tories was evident from the lenity of the sentence, which only ordered that the Sermon should be burnt by the common hangman, and suspended Sacheverell from preaching during 3 years.

"The unpopularity of the ministers was highly increased, the inclination of the Queen in favour of their opponents was ostentatiously manifested. The populace was inflamed; and the consequence of this act of imprudence and precipitation, was the downfall of those who hoped to find in the condemnation of Sacheverell the revival of their popularity, and the establishment of their power.

"It may not perhaps in this place be improper to observe, that the fatal and mischievous con-

sequences which resulted from the trial of Sacheverell, had a permanent effect on the future conduct of Walpole, when he was afterwards placed at the head of administration. It infused into him an aversion and horror at any interposition in the affairs of the Church, and led him to assume occasionally a line of conduct which appeared to militate against those principles of general toleration to which he was naturally inclined. Soon after the removal of the Whig administration, Walpole published a pamphlet on this remarkable trial, entitled,—'Four letters to a friend in North Britain upon the publishing the trial of Dr. Sacheverell.'

"The first letter states the particulars which preceded the trial; the second, those which accompanied it; the third, those which followed it; and the fourth displays the consequences. The purport of this publication was to prove in clear and familiar language, and by a plain but strong deduction of reasoning, that the abettors of Sacheverell were the abettors of the Pretender, and that those who agreed with him to condemn such resistance as dethroned the Father, could have no other meaning than the restitution of the Son.

"The Whigs were beginning to lose their popularity, when the trial of Sacheverell raised a ferment in the nation, and excited a general outcry against them. The minority, and particularly the

Duke of Marlborough, was accused of protracting the war for their own interests, and this calumny was finally believed.

"During the trial of Sacheverell, when their unpopularity increased, Harley was admitted, by the introduction of Mrs. Masham, to several private interviews with the Queen, in which he endeavoured to persuade her to dismiss the Ministry. But as she was of a timid, procrastinating disposition, he had great difficulty in succeeding.

"Many of the Whigs hesitated, and delayed their resignation. Devonshire, Henry Boyle, Wharton, Somers and Cowper were among the few leaders who resigned with spirit and dignity. Lord Chancellor Cowper, in particular, behaved with unexampled firmness and honour. He rejected with scorn all the overtures which Harley made in the most humble and supplicating manner to induce him to continue in office.

"The repeated importunities of Her Majesty drew the audience into the length of three quarters of an hour. On the following day his resignation was accepted, and soon afterwards the seals were given to Sir Simon Harcourt. Harley's promises or threats were alike ineffectual with Walpole. He tried to make him moderate his opposition against the new members, but his constant answer was—'Make a safe and honorable peace, and preserve the Protestant succession, and you will have

no opposition.' Walpole acted on this occasion an honorable and disinterested part. In the wreck of the great administration, Harley, desirous of retaining in power several of the Whigs, with a view to counterbalance the credit of St. John and Harcourt, who already began to give him umbrage, endeavoured to gain Walpole. He made very flattering advances, told him that he was worth half his party, and pressed him to continue in administration; but all his efforts proved ineffectual."



Extract from Hallam's "Constitutional History of England."

HALLAM, in his "Constitutional History of England," published 1827, writes thus :—

"The Lords voted Sacheverell guilty by a majority of 67 to 59. They passed a slight sentence, interdicting him only from preaching for three years. This was deemed a sort of triumph by his adherents; but a severe punishment on a wretch so insignificant would have been misplaced—and the sentence may be compared to the nominal damages sometimes given in a suit instituted for the trial of a great right.

"The Doctor, says Lockhart, employed Sir Simon, afterwards Lord Harcourt, and Sir Constantine Phipps as his counsel, who defended him the best way they could, though they were hard put to it to maintain the hereditary right and unlimited doctrine of non-resistance, and not condemn the Revolution; and the truth of it is, that these are so inconsistent with one another, that the chief arguments alleged in this and other

parallel cases, came to no more than this, that the revolution was an exception from the nature of government in general, and the constitution and laws of Britain in particular, which necessity, in that particular case, made expedient and lawful.

"The Homilies are so much more vehement against resistance than Sacheverell was, that it would have been awkward to pass a rigorous sentence on him.

"In fact, he or any other clergyman had a right to preach the Homily against rebellion instead of a sermon. As to their laying down general rules without adverting to the exceptions, an apology which the managers set up for them, it was just as good for Sacheverell, and the homilies expressly deny all possible exceptions.

"Tillotson had a plan of dropping these old compositions, which in some doctrinal points, as well as in the tenet of non-resistance, do not represent the sentiments of the modern Church, though, in a general way, it subscribes to them; but the times were not ripe for this or some other of that good prelate's designs."

Extract from Lord Mahon's  
"History of England."

LORD MAHON, in his "History of England," Fourth Edition, says :—

"Another party-matter was the favour shown by the House of Commons to Dr. Sacheverell. The sentence of the House of Lords forbidding him to preach during the space of three years expired on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, and on the Sunday following he held forth for the first time at his own church of St. Saviour's, and taking for his text the words, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' drew an unseemly parallel between his own sufferings and the Redeemer's Passion.

"The House of Commons, anxious to show their disapprobation of the former proceedings against him, appointed him to the honour of preaching before them on the Restoration-day, and the Court was no less forward in conferring a rich benefice upon him. Never perhaps had any man attained a higher pitch of popularity; we are told that as he passed to and from the

House of Lords, on his trial, the bystanders used eagerly to press about him, and strive for the happiness of kissing his hands. We are told that on his journey through Wales, even our princes in their progresses could scarcely have vied with his reception, that the day on which his sentence expired was celebrated not only in London, but in several parts of the country with extraordinary rejoicings. Would not all this appear to imply that he must have possessed some degree of talent or merit?

"Yet the concurrent testimony of some of his friends, as well as of his enemies, represented him as utterly foolish, ignorant, ungrateful, his head reeling with vanity, his heart overflowing with gall. This venerated idol, when we come to try its substance, appears little more than a stock or a stone.

"But Sacheverell was considered as the representative of a popular party doctrine, as the champion and the martyr of the High Church cause; and the multitude, which always looks to persons much more than to principles, can rarely be won over, until even the clearest maxim appears embodied in some favourite leader."



Extract from Professor Smyth's  
"Lectures on Modern History."

THE next extract I shall give of remarks upon this subject, is taken from the second volume of "Lectures on Modern History," by Smyth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. He says:—

"Among the different transactions of a domestic nature that took place in the reign of Anne, I would particularly recommend to your study the proceedings in the case of Dr. Sacheverell.

"I recommend them, not on account of any interest that can now belong either to the doctor or his sermon, neither of which are in themselves deserving of the slightest regard; but on account of the lively picture that is here exhibited of the times, and above all, of the manner in which the great Revolution of 1688 was explained and defended by the first statesmen of the country about twenty years after the event.

"And it is in this spirit, and for this purpose, that I would wish the student to read them, not

as a juror who was to decide whether the Doctor was or was not guilty of the charge preferred against him, but as an enquirer into the history of our constitution, as one who is to observe the political principles exhibited on this occasion by the managers of the House of Commons, by Sacheverell's defender, by the Lords, and by the nation. The trial is ever memorable, because at this trial the Revolution was avowed to be a case of resistance—resistance justified indeed by the necessity of the case, but still resistance.

"All the time of the Revolution, it may be remembered that the Houses of Parliament, or rather the House of Commons in their celebrated vote, had rested their justification on somewhat various, and indeed on very inconsistent grounds, 'that King James having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant.'

"That is, in other words, the Whigs, for the sake of the Tories, stated the Revolution to be a case of abdication; and for the sake of themselves, a breach of the original contract, i.e. a case of resistance.

"But on the present occasion, the preamble to the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverell begins

in this remarkable manner:—‘Whereas his late Majesty King William III., then Prince of Orange, did with an armed force undertake a glorious enterprise for delivering the kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power, and divers subjects of this realm, well affected to their country, joined with and assisted his late Majesty in this late enterprise; and it having pleased Almighty God to crown the same with success, the late happy Revolution did take effect and was established; and whereas the said glorious enterprise is approved by several Acts of Parliament, &c.’ And the first article of the impeachment was, that Dr. Sacheverell had maintained that to impute resistance to the said Revolution, was to cast black and odious colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution.

“Now the difference in the tone and language of the Whigs forms the remarkable part of these proceedings, and nothing can be more curious than to observe how the different parties comported themselves—the Whigs, the Tories, the Church, and the Queen—on this great occasion, in the presence of the nation, and in reality, of subsequent ages.

“The doctrines of resistance are not doctrines which can find their way into the courts of law of any country, or be the language of the public ordinances of any regular government. These doctrines, therefore, could not be stated by the

Whig manager of the impeachment, in the presence of all the constituted dignity and authority of the realm, without the strongest qualifications, without distinguishing the case of the Revolution from every other ordinary case, without considering it as a case of the most overpowering necessity—by necessity, and by that alone, to be either explained or justified.

“In our own times, therefore, on the breaking out of the French Revolution, when Mr. Burke had to vindicate his own account of this Revolution of 1688, his own representation of the spirit by which it was conducted, and the true nature and tenure of the Government formed in consequence of it, he immediately appealed to the speeches of the Whig managers on this very occasion; and it was easy for him to show that the Revolution was then justified only on the necessity of the case, as the only means left for the recovery of that ancient constitution formed by the original contract of the British state, as well as for the future preservation of the same government. Now though I think allowance must be made for the peculiar situation in which the managers in Dr. Sacheverell’s trial stood, and the necessity they were under to qualify to the utmost their doctrines of resistance; still, it is sufficient for Mr. Burke, that their doctrines, unless so qualified, could not be produced and defended before the lawyers and



statesmen of the country, could not be produced as doctrines worthy to be recognized by, and to be a part of, the constitution of England.

"The next question that remains is, what reply was made to the Whig managers by the defenders of Sacheverell? How were the doctrines of resistance, thus stated and limited, received? were they controverted? Far from it: when once modified, they were at once admitted. And therefore, when thus modified, they may be considered as the constitutional doctrines of the realm.

"But the interest of the trial does not cease here, for Dr. Sacheverell having fortified his own doctrines of passive obedience by the authority of the Church of England, and the most able divines and prelates from the time of the Reformation, a very large field of disquisition was opened, and the question was very solemnly considered whether passive obedience had or had not been the doctrine of the Church of England, and of its most able and learned divines. The grounds to be taken by the reasoners on the Tory side were obvious: quotations were to be produced from the proper authorities, to show that the doctrines of passive obedience had been laid down, and without any exception; that such had been the ordinary practice of our divines, and that the doctor only followed their example.

"This was done. But the Whig prelates and

lawyers contended that rules of duty, like those of civil obedience, could only be taught by the Scriptures (and therefore by the Church and its divines) in general terms, and that exceptions in extreme cases, like those of the Revolution, were necessarily implied from the very nature and common reason of the case.

"And what was now the ground taken by the Doctor's counsel? The propriety of this reasoning, and of this view of the case, was admitted by the Doctor's counsel. Now, as this solution of the difficulty, however reasonable, and however acted upon by the divines of the Church of England themselves, had never before been publicly stated and admitted as the proper theory on the subject, some advance must be considered as having been made on this occasion (and one favourable to the general principles of civil liberty), and in a quarter where, of all others, it is most desirable to find it.

"There was another very important topic started on this memorable occasion. The doctor was accused of maintaining that the toleration granted by law was unreasonable, and its allowance unwarrantable. This led to an assertion of the doctrine of toleration by the Whig managers. The defence of the doctor's counsel, the very able Sir Simon Harcourt and others, was such an admission of the principle in theory, and such a mere quibbling and special pleading with respect to

the point of fact, that the general doctrine of toleration must be considered as having become, on this occasion, like the qualified doctrine of resistance, the regular and constitutional doctrine of the land.

"I have mentioned these particulars from a hope of inducing my hearers to believe that this trial will afford them abundant matter for amusement and instruction, even though the particular question of the doctor's criminality be or be not considered.

"The circumstance also which I have just adverted to, of the reference made by the great political moralist of our own times, Mr. Burke, to this very trial in one of his celebrated productions, and that at the distance of a century, may serve I think, to remind you of the importance of history and of historical documents, and the necessity there is that those who wish to be statesmen should in the first place be conversant with the occurrences that have taken place in our own country, the reasonings to which they have given rise, the principles which they seem to have established.

"The speeches, as they are reported in the trial, appear probably in a much more concise and condensed form than that in which they were delivered: and though they have thus gained something in manliness and strength, they have

no doubt lost much in elegance and grace: yet they are, on the whole, very creditable to the talents of the speakers.

"I must make one observation more to recommend these remarkable proceedings to your examination. The great characteristic distinction of this period of our history is the Revolution, the interest our ancestors took in it, the manner in which it was understood, and the chances of its success or failure. And the Revolution is still the great characteristic feature of our constitution and government—it must ever remain so. And when the inhabitants of this country are indifferent to the subject, they will probably soon arrive at a state of permanent political degradation: sooner or later at a total loss of those honorable English feelings, that love of freedom, and that jealousy of power, by which they were before so happily distinguished.

"But to conclude the subject. From this celebrated impeachment of Sacheverell, two good effects followed: first, that there now exists upon record a full assertion of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, made in the presence of all the authority, dignity, and wisdom of the realm, and to every practical purpose an admission and acknowledgment.

"Secondly, that though the impeachment in this important respect answered the purposes of



the Whigs, as patriots and lovers of the constitution of their country, and as far as posterity was concerned, it by no means answered their purposes as leaders of a party. The doctor became the object of the most ridiculous idolatry, and they themselves and their politics were precipitated to their decline and fall.

"This impeachment, therefore, became in this manner an example which never has or can be forgotten, to show the risk that is always run of exalting into importance an author and his writings by public prosecutions: of giving fame and popularity to the one, and circulation and influence to the other. Now this effect thus produced, is a good effect for the restraint that ministers and attorney-generals are thus laid under on the mere point of prudence and policy, and operates most favorably for the liberty of the press. That liberty would be soon destroyed and entirely at an end, if every writing or pamphlet that must necessarily appear a libel in a court of law, was to be instantly seized upon and dragged to judgment, by those who are bound from their office to defend the established order of the community.

"Such men are always tempted, from their situation, however amiable they may individually be, to urge the rights and extend the limits of authority too far.

"It is very happy, that from the experience

of this and other similar prosecutions, the wisdom of leaving publications, if possible, unnoticed, has become a sort of maxim which is seldom departed from but by petulant, narrow-minded men—men who are mere lawyers, and who it is to be hoped, on such occasions, mean well, for this is the only merit they can plead."

Family Pedigree sent by the Duc  
de Harcourt to Lord Chancellor  
Harcourt in the year 1713.

LOUIS par la grace de Dieu, ROY DE FRANCE  
ET DE NAVARRE: A tous presens et à  
venir, SALUT. Nous avons reconnu dans nôtre  
Royaume tant de personnes qui se sont dis-  
tinguées par de grandes actions, que l'inclina-  
tion naturelle que Nous avons à recompenser  
la vertu, Nous a engagé à les élever au dessus  
des autres, par des charges, des dignitez et des  
honneurs qui puissent, en remplissant la Noble  
ambition qui les anime, exciter en même tems  
dans les autres le desir de meriter de si hautes  
récompenses: mais entre tous ceux qui reçoivent  
des marques éclatantes de la satisfaction que  
Nous avons des services signalez qu'ils Nous ren-  
dent et à nôtre Etat, la justice et la prudence  
Nous ont toujours fait préférer dans la distribu-  
tion des plus grandes graces, ceux qui joignent  
à une ancienne naissance et à des actions illus-  
tres de leurs Ancêtres, la gloire particuliere que le

merite personel et des services distinguez leur ont  
acquis dans les emplois qui leur ont été confiez;  
toutes ces considérations se rencontrent éminem-  
ment dans la personne de nôtre très-cher et bien  
amé cousin Henry de Harcourt Lieutenant Géné-  
ral en nos Armées, il a toutes les quaitez néces-  
saires pour être élevé à tout ce qu'il y a de plus  
considérable, une naissance si ancienne qu'on en  
trouve des preuves dans les siecles les plus éloi-  
gnez, des Ancêtres aussi distinguez par les services  
qu'ils ont rendus, que par leur naissance, plusieurs  
Alliances avec les premieres Maisons Souveraines,  
et en son particulier un mérite reconnu par un  
grand nombre d'actions de valeur et de prudence  
dans nos Armées; sa Maison tire son origine de  
Bernard le Danois un des Seigneurs de Danemark,  
qui vinrent en Normandie avec Rolo qui en fut le  
premier Duc en l'an 876. de qui Bernard le Danois  
eût la Seigneurie d'Harcourt et plusieurs autres  
Terres; il fut fait aussi Gouverneur de Nor-  
mandie, et Tuteur de Richard premier petit fils  
du Duc Rolo, et les descendans de ce Bernard  
ont été revêtus des premieres Charges et honorez  
d'Alliances fort Illustres; Jean II. Sieur d'Har-  
court épousa en premieres Noces Agnez de Lor-  
raine, et en secondes Jeanne Vicomtesse de Chas-  
tellerault en 1288. Il a été aussi Mareschal de  
France sous Philippes le Hardy, et Amiral de  
France sous Philippes le Bel en 1293. Jean III.



Sieur d'Harcourt épousa Alix de Brabant en 1302. Jean IV. Sieur d'Harcourt épousa Isabeau de Partenay ; le Roy Philippes de Vallois ayant érigé en sa faveur la baronnie d'Harcourt en Comté en 1338. on voit par les Lettres d'érection que les Terres d'Elbeuf et de Lislebonne en faisoient lors partie, et Philippes de Vallois y déclare que Jean IV. étoit descendu de même Sang que la Reine son Epouse qui étoit Jeanne de Bourgogne fille de Robert II. Duc de Bourgogne, et d'Agnez de France. Jean V. Comte d'Harcourt épousa en 1340. Blanche de Pontieu Comtesse d'Aumale, Princesse de Castille, et de la branche des Comtes de Ponthieu, fille de Jean de Castille Comte de Ponthieu et de Catherine d'Artois, et petite fille de Ferdinand III. Roy de Castille et de Leon. Jean V. eut trois enfans mâles qui ont formé autant de branches différentes, l'aîné fut Jean VI. Comte d'Harcourt qui épousa en 1374. Catherine de Bourbon sœur puînée de Jeanne de Bourbon Reine de France, Epouse de Charles V. et les mâles de cette branche ont fini en la personne de Jean VII. qui épousa Marie d'Alençon ; Marie de Harcourt qui étoit issuë de leur Mariage, fut mariée à Antoine de Lorraine Comte de Vaudemont en 1440. et porta pour cette alliance tous les biens de cette branche dans la Maison de Lorraine qui les possède encore à present : la seconde branche qui commença par Jacques de Harcourt

puîné, marié à Jeanne d'Anghien en 1374. a fin en la personne de Guillaume de Harcourt Comte de Tancarville son petit fils, et Marie de Harcourt sa sœur qui succeda à tous les biens de cette branche, les porta dans la Maison de Longueville par son Mariage avec Jean d'Orleans Comte de Dunois et de Longueville. Philippes de Harcourt III. fils de Jean V. a formé la troisième branche, il épousa en 1374. Jeanne de Tilly Dame de Tilly et de Beuvron, ses descendans se sont distingués par leurs services dans les Armées par les Charges qu'ils ont possédé de nos Lieutenans Generaux de nôtre Province de Normandie, et de Vice-Amiral, et par les Alliances qu'ils ont contracté dans les Maisons de Grasville, de Gaillon, de Chabot, d'Espinay et de Matignon, issuës de Connestables, de Mareschaux de France, et autres grands Officiers de nôtre Couronne, et alliez des Maisons de Montmorency, de Chastillon, de Bretagne, de Flandres et d'Angleterre ; cette troisième branche qui est la seule masculine subsistant à present, en a formé deux autres ; l'une est celle de Harcourt d'Ollonde ; et l'autre celle de Harcourt Beuvron, de laquelle est nôtre cousin, si tost qu'il a été en état de nous servir, il nous a fait connoître que ses actions répondroient à sa Naissance ; il a commencé en 1673. en qualité d'Aide de Camp de nôtre Cousin le Vicomte de Turenne, et ayant continué à nous servir l'année

suivante dans le même emploi, il se trouva aux combats de Zeintzeim, de Saint François et de Turkim, et Nous fumes si contents de la valeur qu'il y fit paroître, et de la maniere dont il s'y distingua, qu'en 1675. Nous luy confiâmes un Regiment d'Infanterie, et en 1677. son mérite augmentant, Nous le mîmes à la tête de nôtre Regiment de Picardie, il Nous servit en cette qualité au Siege de Valenciennes, de Cambray et de Fribourg, et mérita par la maniere dont il se conduisit, et par les services que nôtre cher et bien amé François de Harcourt de Beuvron son pere Nous a rendus avec toute la satisfaction possible en qualité de Lieutenant General de nos Armées, et qu'il continuë de Nous rendre encore en celle de nôtre Lieutenant General au Gouvernement de nôtre Province de Normandie, d'obtenir de Nous en l'année 1678. la survivance de cette Charge; la connoissance que Nous avions de ce qu'il avoit fait jusqu'alors pour nôtre Service, et de ses grands talens pour la Guerre, Nous porterent à le faire Brigadier d'Infanterie en l'année 1683. La Guerre ayant recommencé en l'année 1688. Nous le fîmes Mareschal de nos Camps et Armées, et il se trouva en cette qualité au Siege de Philisbourg, où il continua de Nous donner des marques de sa vigilance, de sa capacité et de son application, ce qui Nous porta à luy confier en l'année 1690. le Commandement de la Ville et

du Païs de Luxembourg, et Nous avons pris depuis une si grande confiance en sa valeur et en son habileté, que pendant la dernière Guerre Nous luy avons toujours donné le Commandement en Chef d'un Corps d'Armée considérable: En l'année 1692. il s'opposa à un Corps de plus de quatre mille Chevaux des Troupes de Brandebourg, de Munster et de Neufbourg, qui vouloient entrer dans le Païs de Luxembourg; il les combattit à Ourteville si à propos, qu'il les défit entierement, et que le Comte de Vesle qui en étoit Général, y fut fait prisonnier: Nous le choisîmes la même année pour faire la retraite de l'Armée qui avoit assiégué Reinfeds, ce qu'il a executé malgré la rigueur de la saison, sans que les ennemis osassent rien entreprendre dans sa retraite, quoiqu'ils eussent une Armée beaucoup plus forte, commandée par le Langrave de Hessecassel: la satisfaction que nous recevions de luy augmentant tous les jours, pour sa bonne conduite, Nous luy donnâmes en 1693. la Charge de Lieutenant General de nos Armées, et Nous le fîmes Gouverneur de Tournay; ce fut dans cette même année qu'il contribua si considérablement à la grande et signalée Victoire que Nous remportâmes sur nos ennemis à Nervindes, par la diligence avec laquelle il y amena les Troupes qui étoient sous son Commandement, quoi qu'eloignées de sept lieues; et par la valeur et la dextérité avec laquelle il combatit à leur



tête : Nous le choisîmes en 1696. pour commander en chef sous le Roy d'Angleterre l'Armée que Nous avions destinée pour ce Prince ; la Guerre étant finie en 1697. par la Paix que Nous donnâmes à l'Europe, Nous jettâmes les yeux sur nôtre Cousin pour l'envoyer nôtre Ambassadeur Extraordinaire en Espagne, et étant bien persuadé que la délicatesse de son esprit, jointe à la grande prudence dont il acompagne toutes ses actions, le rendroient aussi capable de Nous servir dans les négociations les plus importantes, que de commander nos Armées, et nôtre Cousin a si justement répondu à la haute opinion que Nous avions de luy, qu'après luy avoir donné le Commandement en Chef de l'Armée que Nous avions résolu d'assembler à Bayonne, et que les sages et justes dispositions du feu Roy d'Espagne ont rendu inutiles, Nous avons jugé à propos de le renvoyer encore à Madrid en qualité de nôtre Ambassadeur Extraordinaire où Nous ne doutons pas que nous ne recevions de nouvelles marques de sa capacité, de son zèle et de son affection à nôtre Service dans une conjoncture aussi importante que celle de nôtre très-cher et amé Frere et petit Fils Philippes V. sur le Trône d'une aussi Grande Monarchie que celle d'Espagne : tant de Services si importants en Paix et en Guerre, tant de qualitez si rares et si éminentes, méritent bien une récompense qui passe à sa posterité, et qui

soit proportionnée à son mérite personnel, et à la grandeur de sa Naissance, et comme Nous n'en avons point dans nôtre Royaume qui soit au dessus de la dignité de Duc, par tous les avantages qui y sont attachez, Nous portans d'autant plus volontiers à luy acorder cette grace, que les Terres qui le composeront sont fort considérables, tant par leurs revenus, que par les beaux droits qui y appartiennent ; la Terre, Seigneurie, et Marquisat de Thurry, sur laquelle il desire que l'érection soit faite, est située en nôtre Province de Normandie, mouvante de Nous à cause de nôtre Ville, Château et Vicomté de Falaize, elle fut érigée en Marquisat par Lettres Patentes du mois de Septembre 1578. elle a droit de haute, moyenne et basse Justice, dont les appellations ressortissent nuëment en nôtre Cour de Parlement de Normandie, et plusieurs autres droits considérables, comme Garennes, Foires, Marchez, Peages et autres, même le Droit de Séance en nôtre Cour de Parlement à Rouën, avec les Bois et Francs Buissons de cinq lays en dépendans qui sont pareillement mouvans de Nous, et le Fief et Seigneurie de S. Benin, la Terre et Seigneurie, Dupont, Douilly, circonstances et dépendances, et la Fiefferme de Crosilles unie au Marquisat de Thurry, ensemble la Terre et Seigneurie de la Mothe Harcourt érigée en Marquisat par Lettres Patentes du mois d'Aoust 1593. avec les bois de la Mothe et Grainbault en dépendans,

situez dans les Francs Buissons de cinq lays, lesdites Terres et Marquisat mouvans de Nous à cause de nôtre Duché de Normandie, ayant ladite Terre de la Mothe Harcourt, le droit de haute, moyenne et basse Justice, dont les apellations ressortiront aussi nuëment en nôtre Cour de Parlement de Roüen, et plusieurs autres droits considérables ; comme aussi la Terre et Seigneurie de S. Martin de Sallons mouvante aussi de Nous à cause de nôtre Duché de Normandie ; celle de Beauvoir, et celle du Chastellier mouvante de celle de la Mothe Harcourt, et en faisant partie aussi bien que celle de S. Martin de Sallons ; toutes lesquelles Terres, Seigneuries et Marquisats sont également capables de soutenir la dignité Ducalle, tant par leurs grands revenus que par la considération dont elles sont par elles-mêmes. POUR CES CAUSES, et autres grandes considérations à ce Nous mouvans, de nôtre grace spéciale, pleine puissance, et autorité Royale, avons créé, érigé, élevé et décoré, et par ces Presentes signées de nôtre main, créons, érigeons, elevons et décorons ladite Terre, Seigneurie et Marquisat de Thurry, en Titre, dignité et prééminence de Duché, sous le nom de Harcourt ; avons à cet effet uni et unissons par cesdites Presentes à ladite Terre et Duché de Harcourt, les Bois et Francs-Buissons de cinq lays, le Fief et Seigneurie de Saint Benin, la Terre et Seigneurie

du Pont Douilly, la Fiefferme de Croisille unie audit Marquisat de Thurry, ensemble la Terre, Seigneurie et Marquisat de la Mothe Harcourt, avec les Bois de la Mothe et Grainbault en dépendans ; comme aussi les Terres et Seigneuries de S. Martin de Sallons, celle de Beauvoir et du Chastellier, avec tous les droits, prérogatives et mouvances qui leur apartiennent, pour ne composer à l'avenir qu'une seule et même Terre sous ledit Titre et dignité de Duché de Harcourt, à l'effet de quoi, Nous avons, de nôtre même grace et autorité que dessus, changé et commué, et par cesdites Presentes, changeons et commuons le nom de ladite Terre de Thurry en celui de Harcourt, pour par nôtre Cousin Henry de Harcourt, ses enfans et descendans, mâles en ligne directe, nés et à naître en loyal mariage, jouir à perpetuité, comme Seigneurs propriétaires dudit Duché, des titres, honneurs, dignitez, rang, prérogatives, prééminences, privileges qui y apartiennent, ainsi qu'en jouissent les autres Ducs de nôtre Royaume, soit dans les Assemblées de Noblesse, faits de Guerre et autres lieux ; Voulons et Nous plaît, que toutes les Causes civiles et criminelles, mixtes et réelles qui concerneront, tant nôtre Cousin le Duc de Harcourt, que les droits dudit Duché, soient traitées et jugées en nôtre Cour de Parlement à Paris en premiere Instance, et que les Causes et procès d'entre les Vassaux et Justi-



ciables dudit Duché, ressortissent par apel des Juges dudit Duché en nôtre Cour de Parlement de Normandie, et à cét effet avons distrait et exempté lesdites Terres, Marquisats et leurs dépendances, et par cesdites Presentes les distrayons et exemptons du ressort de tous autres Juges et Jurisdicions, où les apellations desdits Officiers avoient accoustumé de ressortir, sans préjudice néanmoins des cas Royaux, dont la connoissance demeurera à nos Juges, qui avoient accoustumé d'en connoître, le tout à la charge d'indemniser nos Officiers ; Voulons que nôtre Cousin le Duc de Harcourt tienne ledit Duché nuëment et en plein Fief de Nous, à cause de nôtre Couronne, et qu'il relève de nôtre Tour du Louvre, sous une seule foy et hommage, qu'il sera tenu de nous porter en ladite qualité de Duc : Entendons néanmoins que les Aveux dudit Duché soient rendus en nôtre Chambre des Comptes de Normandie ; Voulons que les Vassaux de nôtre Cousin le reconnoissent comme Duc, et lui rendent les devoirs ausquels ils sont tenus en ladite qualité, sans néanmoins que les droits et devoirs desdits Vassaux soient augmentez en aucune maniere ; et pour l'exercice de la Jurisdiction dudit Duché, nôtre Cousin le Duc de Harcourt pourra établir un Siege Ducal audit lieu de Thurry à present Harcourt, dans lequel il y aura un Bailly, un Lieutenant, un Procureur Fiscal, et le nombre

d'Officiers accoustumez pour rendre la Justice, sans qu'en consequence de la presente érection à défauts d'hoirs mâles de nôtre Cousin le Duc de Harcourt ou de ses descendants, ledit Duché puisse être par Nous ou par les Rois nos successeurs, réuni à la Couronne en consequence des Edits et Déclarations des années 1566. 1579. 1582. et autres faits sur l'érection des Duchés, de la rigueur desquels Edits et Déclarations Nous avons dispensé et dispensons ledit Duché ; mais à la charge qu'à défaut de successions mâles en ligne directe, et en loyal Mariage de nôtre Cousin le Duc de Harcourt, ledit Duché retournera à sa premiere nature, titre et qualité. SI DONNONS EN MANDEMENT à nos amez et feaux Conseillers les Gens tenans nos Cours de Parlement et Chambres de nos Comptes à Paris et à Roüen, et à tous autres nos Officiers et Justiciers qu'il apartiendra chacun en droit soy, qu'ils ayent à registrer ces Presentes, et du contenu en icelles faire jouir et user nôtre Cousin le Duc de Harcourt, et ses enfans et descendants mâles en loyal mariage, pleinement, paisiblement et perpetuellement, cessant et faisant cesser tous troubles et empêchemens, nonobstant tous Edits, Déclarations, Réglemens et autres choses à ce contraires, ausquels, et aux déroatoires des déroatoires y contenus, Nous avons dérogé et dérogeons par cesdites Presentes : CAR TEL EST NÔTRE PLAISIR. Et afin que ce soit

chose ferme et stable à toûjours, Nous avons fait mettre nôtre Scel à cesdites Presentes, sauf en autre chose nôtre droit, et l'autrui en toutes. DONNE à Versailles au mois de Novembre l'an de grace mil sept cens, et de nôtre Règne le cinquante-huitième. Signé, LOUIS; Et plus bas, Par le Roy. Signé, COLBERT avec gril et paraphe, Visa PHELYPEAUX. Et scellé du grand Sceau de cire verte.

*"Registrez és Registres de la Chambre des Comptes de Normandie, ce consentant le Procureur Général du Roy. Fait le deuxième d'Aoust mil sept cens un."*

### Summons to Lord Harcourt to attend the Coronation of George the First.

"GEORGE R.<sup>a</sup>,—Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the 20<sup>th</sup> day of this instant October, is appointed for the Royal Solemnity of our Coronation; These are to will and command you (all excuses apart) to make your personal attendance on Us at the time above mentioned, furnished and appointed as your Rank and Quality appertaineth, there to do and perform all such services as shall be required and belong unto you. Where of you are not to fail. And so we bid you most heartily Farewel.

"Given at our Court at St. James's, the 6<sup>th</sup> day of October, 1714, in the first year of our Reign.

"By his Ma'ties command,

"SUFFOLK M."

\* George R. is in the King's handwriting, the body of the paper is written by a secretary. Suffolk M. is written by Lord Suffolk.



"MY LORD,—In Pursuance of an order in Council, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> Instant, your Lordship is forthwith desired to send me word, whether you can give your attendance on the King at his Coronation, or not; and whether the Lady Harcourt, your wife, will come (as a spectator only;) to the end that Room may be better provided, both in Westminster Hall and the Abbey, for such as shall be present.

"I am, My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble and  
obedient Servant,

"SUFFOLK, M.

*"Suffolk-street, Oct. 7, 1714.*

*"To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Harcourt*

*"For his Maties. Service, These<sup>b</sup>."*

<sup>b</sup> The whole of this paper is printed.

END OF VOL. II.

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# VOLUME 3



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THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT,

OF STANTON HARCOURT, AND NUNEHAM COURTENAY,  
IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, ESQUIRE.

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## PREFACE.

THE task which the Editor of these Papers set himself to perform, was to preserve old Family Records, that might otherwise have fallen into oblivion.

This work, to the best of his ability, he has now carried out; and in bringing the third volume of the "Harcourt Papers" to a conclusion, he hopes that the driest part of his labours is accomplished.

The succeeding volumes will contain slight Memoirs of Simon, Lord Harcourt's successors in the family estates, together with extracts from such Papers and Correspondence as have been preserved during the last hundred years, and as may appear to be worthy of notice.



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MEMOIR OF SIMON,  
SECOND VISC. HARCOURT.



CORRIGENDA.

P. 274, line 7 (and in other places), *for* "Fanquier" *read* "Fauquier."

P. 278, line 4, *for* "Farrer" *read* "Farren."

*Memoir of Simon,  
Second Viscount Harcourt.*

SIMON, grandson of Lord Chancellor Harcourt, was born in the year 1714; he had the misfortune to lose his father when he was six years old, and at the age of thirteen he succeeded to his grandfather's title and estates.

He was educated at Westminster; and on the death of the Lord Chancellor, he was left, under his grandfather's will, to the guardianship of his mother, Mrs. Harcourt; of his step-grandmother, the dowager Viscountess Harcourt; of his uncle, Sir John Evelyn; and of Mr. Rock.

In the year 1730, being then sixteen years old, Lord Harcourt was sent by his guardians to complete his education abroad, under the charge of Mr. Bowman. He was abroad for four years, and returned to England in the year 1734, for his coming of age.

The following letters from his Tutor, Mr. Bowman, to Lady Harcourt, and from himself to his sister, afford a very accurate view of the style of education then considered necessary for a young nobleman :—

*“Bourges, October 3rd, 1730.*

“MADAM,—After having made all necessary provision for answering your Ladyship's intentions of my Lord's passing the winter here, we began, on the 17th of September, a tour through those parts in our neighbourhood, which probably his Lordship may not have an opportunity of visiteing afterwards. With some diligence we have employed fifteen days in seeing Bourbon, Moulins, Riom, Clermont, and other places of less note, in our way through the two adjacent provinces of Bourbonnois, and the lower Auvergne, which (for its extent) is among the finest spots in Europe. By the lateness of the season, his Lordship's expectations have only been disappointed in not seeing the vintage where ever he went in its usual time. . . .

“Upon our return, we have the mortification to find that a fire which threatened the whole town has consumed twenty-five or thirty houses; and that one Mr. Creswell, a gentleman near fifty, formerly Member of Parliament, who for these

four years has coursed through the whole provinces of France, with one Mrs. Smith, called his niece, resolves to pass this winter at Bourges, as he did the last at Orleans. We are strangers to his conduct and misfortunes at home; but, having run into indiscretions abroad to the prejudice of his character, his Lordship from his own honour, vertue, and applications, apprehends his company being improper for a young nobleman; and, therefore, though he arrived the 8th of September, his Lordship neither has nor will visit him, till better informed or otherwise directed.

“Whatever be the gentleman's history, by his equipage it appears that he travels meerly for his diversion, as formerly he lived for his pleasure. His fair companion is perfectly well educated, as far as foreigners may judge by her behaviour and appearance. But he, travelling without any female attendance, has on many occasions lost her the respect due to an English gentlewoman of family. . . .

“He cannot help complaining and expressing great surprise, I find, at my Lord's neglect. But hitherto his Lordship has accounted for it to his friends, by his firm purpose here of improving only by French company, and men of letters; and therefore hopes his countrymen will for some time excuse him from some ceremonies, when their designs abroad are not the same with his own.



"As I am certain my Lord on all occasions will have your Ladyship's satisfaction and his own interests very much at heart, so I hope your Ladyship will be pleased to pardon such particular accounts of everything that regards his welfare, from one who has no other business abroad but to consult both to the utmost of his power. His Lordship now loves reading and knowledge, and measures his diversions by his education and health, is much esteemed every where, and has taken the beginnings of a gentle considerate turn of mind, which at last I am hopefull will prove intirely to your satisfaction; and, therefor, to cultivate his good dispositions for some time longer, it seems necessary to use the utmost reserve. . . .

"Madam, I am with the greatest respect,  
"Your Ladyship's most obedient, humble servant,

"WALTER BOWMAN.

"*To the Right Honorable the Lady Viscountess  
Harcourt, at Cockthorp, near Witney,  
Oxfordshire.—Pour l'Angleterre.*"

"*Angers, Saturday, October 27th, 1731.*

"MADAM,—My Lord Harcourt having wrote to your Ladyship both by the Post and by Mr. Elliot, I should not now trouble your Ladyship, were it not that my Lord had had three fitts of a quartan ague; but having miss'd the fourth

yesterday, in all appearance it is stopt by the Barke. But for your Ladyship's further satisfaction, allow me the honour of giveing you all the particulars of his indisposition. On Thursday the 11th, returning from the country, where we had been to examine the remains of a Roman camp, his Lordship first complained of a headach; but being perfectly well next morning, he continued his exercises till next Sunday, when he found himself sick at the stomach, but without any symptom of fever. . . .

"But on Wednesday the 17th, haveing exposed his person too much to the cold in dressing, he chill'd his blood so much, that he fell a trembling as he satt down to dinner. This fitt was in all the forms; but gentle, and went off with a plentiful sweat. Next morning, the Physician thought fitt to order his Lordship to be bled according to the French practice, and the day thereafter I insisted upon his being vomited according to the English method; accordingly he prescribed his Lordship fourty grains of Epicacoana, which operated but very gently. On Saturday the 20th, precisely at the same hour, the second regular fitt returned more violent than the first, and kept his Lordship from twixt twelve and one to near two next morning, without the least sweating. On Sunday morning, after resting from the second fitt, haveing begun with the barke, and continued

it at every interval of four hours, we expected that possibly the next return might be prevented. But on Tuesday the 23rd, the third fitt came four hours later than the other two, so extremely gentle that he bore it with great ease, without goeing to bed. Haveing kept close, and still used the barke, his Lordship had nothing like it yesterday, so that in appearance it is all over for this time; as his Lordship has lost but little of his vigour and appetite, it is to be hoped that a little air moderately taken in walking, or a horseback, with some continuance of the barke, and the use of bitters afterwards, may so far rectify his Lordship's blood as to prevent its returning. . . .

"Permitt me further to acquaint your Ladyship that while we lived at Bourges in very feverish times, our autumnal health in some measure seemed oweing to constant summer bathing, which here was impracticable by the dangers of the Maine, and distance of the Loire. All the well and pitt water of the place comeing from the blew slate, we are obliged to drink the Loire water, brought up in boats two miles, and afterwards but ill kept, which, with the hott wines of this country, is a very sensible disadvantage to sober strangers.

"His Lordship has been but little a shooting this season, and till within this month, has not

used his danceing master all the summer; nor since beginning again to dance, has his Lordship gone to the *manège* 'till nine in the morning, after danceing, fenceing, and breakfast. But within these two months, when all the company went into the country, and we have had no assemblys, his Lordship's greatest amusements have been visiting his friends in the country, sometimes walking, or playing at Tennis of an evening. The latter may have contributed to heat his blood, though he allways declared that he found himself more healthy and vigourous than ordinary. . . .

"His Lordship has finished eight volumes of Rapin's "History of England," in French, and I hope will be able to finish also the full history of France this winter. For his reading here has chiefly consisted in history. Your Ladyship may be informed of my Lord's improvements from some more impartial judges; but altogether I'll venture to say, that his Lordship hitherto has the advantage of other young gentlemen of his age, which he may easily maintain by a continued pursuit of knowledge; and I hope fortune will so far favour your Ladyship's very obligeing friendship for his Lordship, as he may be enabled to travell. We have at Angers for a few days, my Lord James Cavendish, my Lord Tillemore, Mr. Jennison, Member of Parliament for Northumberland, and Mr. Batville, a Welsh gentleman.



... But my Lord Salisbury has been fixed here more than this month, and, being lodged next door, eats with my Lord Harcourt. Mr. King stays here this winter, and is now in the same house with us. We expect Sir Thomas Twisden from Blois; and beyond these, I believe we shall scarce extend our table company. We have had sight of ten Germans this autumn, whereof severals stay the winter, so that Angers is soon like to be as much frequented by strangers as formerly. My Lord prays his dutifull respects to your Ladyship.

"Madam, I am with the greatest respect,  
 "Your Ladyship's most obedient, humble servant,  
 "WALTER BOWMAN."

*"Montpelier, August 20th, 1732.*

"MADAM,—We have passt our time agreeably here dureing the violence of the heats; and hoping they are now abated, to-day, after dinner, we propose setting out for Aix in Provence, by Nismes and Arles, expecting to be at Marseilles by the 10th of September. . . .

"Allow me the honour of further acquainting your Ladyship that I am well informed the number of the English at Geneva amounts at present to thirty, whereof the chief are my Lord Rockingham, and my Lord Stanhope, both noble-men of excellent character, whereof the first only

stays the winter there. After leaving Angers, I humbly conceive it may be judged improper to winter among so many countrymen; nor have we any method of avoiding it, but either by staying in France, or goeing into Italy. Although my Lord indulge his curiosity of seeing Burgundy and Franche-Comte, yet we can be at Geneva by the beginning of November, and consequently in time for passing the mountains. By divideing in that case the months of December, January, and February 'twixt the Court of Turin and Milan, my Lord will be sure of passing the winter amongst better company, and of being master to move for Tuscany as early in the spring as may be necessary.

"On my Lord Essex's account, it may be presumed that more English than usual will stay at Turin. But the greatest inconvenience to be apprehended, is that perhaps we may in that case exceed your Ladyship's allowances, whereas we are sure of keeping within measure on this side of the Alps. But in all cases, I shall endeavour to conform our measures to the opinion of my Lord's friends, and to your Ladyship's commands in particular. My Lord is in perfect health, and pays his duty to your Ladyship.

"I am, with the greatest respect,  
 "Your Ladyship's most obedient, humble servant,  
 "WALTER BOWMAN."

*"Turin, Nov. 4, 1732.*

"MADAM,—At the same time that I have the honour of acquainting your Ladyship of my Lord's perfect health and arrival in this country, I am sorry that the old King's death has disappointed our designs; the Court upon that occasion haveing gone into the deepest mourning, and suspended all assemblys and diversions whatsoever. We made our journey dureing the only interval of fair weather; and my Lord being received with great civility by my Lord Essex, we flatter'd ourselves in hopes of an happy winter, when all of a sudden this unexpected event has defeated every prospect of pleasure or improvement in this place.

"Nothing can be more formal, more starched, nor more melancholy, than these modes of Spanish mourning, which here for the last time are to be severely observed for a whole year. My Lord Essex haveing presented us to the Ambassador of France and his Lady (the late Lord Whitworth's widow), it may not be improper in this town, dear as it is, to pass some time more under our disappointment, in order to see what may be curious, and to improve my Lord's acquaintance amongst the ambassadors, in order, if possible, to procure recommendations to other places. For at any rate, till the great rains are over, we cannot without great trouble remove further into the country. . . .

"It is my humble advice to his Lordship to remove next to Milan, where is to be a good opera for the Carneval, and where scarce any English will stop except for a little on their way to Venice. From Milan, if we remove in the beginning of Lent, we shall be able to see Genoa, Parma, and Modena, in our way to Florence in the spring, and, employing the summer in Tuscany, be ready in the autumn to make our journey to Naples; in order, afterwards, to pass the winter at Rome, which, if we leave after Lent, there will be time for us to see all in our way to Venice at the Ascension; and, eight months afterwards, for our return through Germany and the Low Countrys, as Sir John Evelyn proposed, against the time my Lord shall be of age; when your Ladyship has ordered his return. This plan I beg leave to submit to your Ladyship's examination, as the most comprehensive of all shows, and the most convenient for us. . . .

"We left Lyons the 8th of October, and coming to Grenoble the 9th, staid there but one day, the company being all out at vintage. From thence, takeing a turn among the mountains, lay one night at the Great Chartreux, where the General of that Order resides. Thence cutting across the mountains, we joined our chaise on the high road, and lay at Chamberry in Savoy the 12th, and arrived at Geneva the 14th. . . .



"At Geneva my Lord stayed one week, where his Lordship was conducted by one of the chief magistrates and ingeneers of the place through the curious mines of their new fortifications, which were enlightened for that purpose. On the 22nd we left Geneva, and in seven continued days' journey came here the 28th. . . .

"Madam, I am with the greatest respect,  
 "Your Ladyship's most obedient, humble servant,  
 "WALTER BOWMAN.

"My Lady Essex, after being brought to bed of a son, is in a fine way of recovery."

"Genoa, February 18, 1733.

"MADAM,—Since I had the honour of acquainting your Ladyship with our arrival in Italy, and Sir John Evelyn with our removal to Milan, I have found no occasion for writeing till now. . . .

"His Lordship's time at Milan was divided 'twixt study, and assembly, and operas, in such a manner as I flatter myself your Ladyship would be pleased to approve. His Lordship confined himself to a few friends; but might have made more acquaintances among the Italiens if he had spoke the language, or in any manner liked play. But as his Lordship now can answer to Italian civilities, he proposes every where seeing company, as well as pictures, palaces, and churches. For my own part, I know no better method for pre-

serving a youth from the low vices of our countrymen in Italy, than by throwing him directly amongst people of quality. Here the Countess of Boromée from Milan, though originally of the Grillo family of this place, has shown his Lordship particular civilities. His Lordship has also been recommended to the Marchioness Imperiali.

"The same method we shal use in all other towns where any stay is necessary; this being absolutely requisite for his Lordship's improvement and credit; I hope his Lordship will answer your Ladyship's expectations by doeing honour to his country in general, and to his family in particular. Our stay in places depending on our acquaintances, and curiosities to be seen, we cannot yet fix our departure from hence; but I believe about the beginning of March your Ladyship may expect to hear of us again in Lombardy, at Parma, where his Lordship will pay his court to Don Carlos. . . ."

It has been noted in a former volume, that when Lord Chancellor Harcourt succeeded to his family estates, he found them curtailed almost to the verge of ruin. The part his ancestors had taken in the Civil Wars, and the enterprises of Sir Robert

Harcourt in the reign of James the First, had led to this consummation.

The industry of the Chancellor to a great extent enabled him to retrieve his lost patrimony. The following letter addressed to the young Lord Harcourt, then seventeen years old, by his guardian and adviser, Mr. Rock, shews the condition of affairs soon after the Chancellor's death.

The subject of this memoir, who held good offices during the greater part of his life, was enabled still further to recruit the family fortunes. It must of course be remembered that the value of money was very different in those days.

Mr. S. Rock to Viscount Harcourt :—

*"Staple Inne, Feb. 3, 1731.*

"MY DEAREST LORD,—I rece'd the hon<sup>r</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup> letter, which I would have sooner acknowledg'd, but that I was desirous to answer yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup> questions as particularly as may be, and it is an exceeding great pleasure to me that yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>p</sup> is so happily dispos'd to look into yo<sup>r</sup> own affairs.

	<i>Per Annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
"Yo <sup>r</sup> Lord <sup>ps</sup> Estate in possession is P. ann. . . . .	532	5	4
"The Trust Estate which is subject to the paym <sup>t</sup> of the fortunes . . . . .	2113	7	6
"Lady Harcourt's Joynture is P. ann. 1220 <sup>l</sup> 18 <sup>s</sup> 5 <sup>d</sup> , reckoning Cavendish Square House at 300 <sup>c</sup> a year. But because 200 <sup>c</sup> a year, part of the yearly Joynture of 1220 <sup>c</sup> 18 <sup>s</sup> 5 <sup>d</sup> , is a rent-charge issuing out of the Trust Estate, my Lady's Joynture when it falls to my Lord will be only P. ann. . . . .	1020	18	5
"And the Trust Estate will be also eas'd of the rent-charge of 200 <sup>l</sup> now payable to my Lady.			
"M <sup>rs</sup> . Harcourt's Joynture P. ann. .	568	6	6
"Total yearly value of the whole Estate exclusive of the Reversions . . . . .	4234	17	9

"The yearly value of Estates in Stanton Harcourt, Newnham, Coggs, and West Hildesley, which are held by Copy of



Court roll, or by Leases for years determinable on lives, as near as I can judge of their value, and I beleive I am pretty near it. . . . . 675 11 10

"The yearly value of an Estate in Hardwick, and anoth<sup>r</sup> in Northmoor, held by Lease for years det, &c., and now in Joynture to Lady Harcourt and M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt . . . . . 4 0 0

"Total yearly value of the whole Estate in Possession and Reversion . . . . . 4914 9 7

"In the Southsea Stock and Annuities 9,000; the interest of which Lady Harcourt is to have for her life, and which is already computed to make up her Joynture 1220<sup>l</sup> 18<sup>s</sup> 5<sup>d</sup> a-year.

£ s. d.

"The Trust Estate as above computed is p. ann. . . . . 2113 7 6

"Out of which is p<sup>d</sup> yearly to Lady Harcourt . . . . . £200

"To y<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup> two Sisters . . . . . 240

"To myself . . . . . 50

"Rem<sup>r</sup> of the Trust Estate out of which the portions are to be rais'd is P. ann. . . . . 1623 7 6

"Note, the 1623<sup>c</sup> 7<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> P. ann. must bear the Land-tax, repairs, and all other incidents, as if it was 2113<sup>c</sup> 7<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> a-year; for the 490<sup>c</sup> p<sup>d</sup> y<sup>r</sup>arly out of the Trust Estate, is p<sup>d</sup> clear of Taxes or other deductions.

"An account of what money has been paid since my Lord's death:—

£ s. d.

"Legacys . . . . . 1380 0 0

"Funeral charges about . . . . . 200 0 0

"Debts about . . . . . 1590 14 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

"Buildings and repairs begun by my Lord, and carrying on at his death . . . . . 870 11 4

"To M<sup>r</sup>. Collier, L<sup>y</sup> Harcourt's Sol<sup>r</sup>, to M<sup>r</sup>. Appleby, Sol<sup>r</sup> for yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup>, M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt, Miss Betty, Sr John Evelyn, and myself, and to M<sup>r</sup>. Powell . . . . . 366 18 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

"Four y<sup>r</sup>ars annuities to Lady Harc<sup>t</sup>, yo<sup>r</sup> 2 Sistors and mys'lf . . . . . 1960 0 0

"Paid into Chancery towards the portions . . . . . 649 8 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>  
7017 13 2

"There has been also paid on several acc<sup>ts</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> cannot be particulariz'd in a letter, since my Lord's death, about . . . . . 1744 5 0<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

"P<sup>d</sup> in all about . . . . . 8761 18 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

"I have been so unfortunate as to have had a farm called Lows, at Newnham, in hand for four years, which of necessity runs away with a great deal of money, and money has been lost every year by that farm, by Ned Clark's ill-managm<sup>t</sup> of it. But I went down there last holidays, and have lett it to a good ten<sup>t</sup>. And at y<sup>e</sup> same time I also lett a farm at Coggs, which was in hand, and had been for two y<sup>rs</sup>, so that at present there is only Sessions's farm in Stanton Harcourt, w<sup>ch</sup> is in hand; and I am not quite without hopes of l'tting itt, though good ten<sup>ts</sup> are exceeding scarce. All the tenants at Newnham are very good, except Ned Clarke, and he is behind for r<sup>nt</sup> due at Ladyday last 280<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>s</sup> 9½<sup>d</sup>. At Stanton Harcourt and Coggs, there has been very bad crops for two or three years last past, which has caus'd all the ten<sup>ts</sup> there to pay their rents extreamly ill, and there is due from those tenants at Ladyday last for rent about 700<sup>l</sup>; I mean belonging to the Trust Estate. Some of the rents of the Estate in yo<sup>r</sup> own possession due at Lady-day 1731, are still unp<sup>d</sup>. I have since my Lord's death rece'd out of that Estate—

	£	s.	d.
	1506	11	7½
"And I have paid . . . . .	1502	13	8
"In my hands on that acc <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	3	17	11½

"But I hope by the time yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup> bill for 100<sup>l</sup> reaches me, I shall have the like sune sent me by Mr. Bedw'll. But be that as it will, the bill shall be paid when it arrives. There are two bills on yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup> account w<sup>ch</sup> are still unpaid, and which I have not yet been able to pay; they are Sawyer the taylor's bill, and Bell's bill for linnen; I have not y<sup>e</sup> bills at my chambers, but I think Sawyer's is about 60<sup>l</sup>, and Bell's about 20<sup>l</sup>.

"And now, my dearest Lord, I fear I have quite tir'd you out; and yet I must go on a little furth'r. I sent the gold watch and chain by Lady Lambert, who would leave them with Mr. Arbuthnott, with directions to him to forward the watch, &c. to yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>p</sup>. I wish I had rece'd yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>ps</sup> last letter before I had sent y<sup>r</sup> other things, that I might also have s'nt the tweezer yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>p</sup> mentions. Indeed, my L<sup>d</sup>, I had forgot it, till I had yo<sup>r</sup> last letter; and on enquiring after it, I found Mr. Cox had it, and it shall be sent by the first opportunity. Lady Harcourt tells me she has acquainted yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship with her intentions to lend yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship as much money as you shall want in order to yo<sup>r</sup> travelling, which will free you from all difficulties, and make you extreamly happy. The Game is pretty well secured at Newnham and Stanton Harcourt, but Coggs lyes so near that abominable town of Witney, that it suffers at Coggs; and yet Mr. Beeston



pinches y<sup>e</sup> rogues very often. One fellow I got a warrant for in Oct<sup>r</sup> last, who is a great pocher, and he is run quite away; so that I hope by degrees to get rid of them. Suffer me, my dearest Lord, to make this letter a little longer by saying, and that most truly, that my wife and family joyn with me in humble duty, and the sincerest services to yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>sh</sup>. I hope I shall soon have the pleasure to hear from you. If I have not sufficiently explain'd my meaning in the short state of y<sup>e</sup> matter mention'd above, be pleased to let me know, and I will make it more plain. 'Twas most agreeable news to me that yo<sup>r</sup> ague had done you service, and that you have such entertaining company at Angiers. I hope the English ladies are as handsome and polite as the French.

"I am with the uttmost duty, my dear Lord,

"Yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> most obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"S. ROCK."

From Lord Harcourt to his Sister:—

"*Bourges, Feb. 24, 1730.*

"DEAR SISTER,— . . . . I can't say that we passed the last Carnival entirely to our satisfaction, which I believe is chiefly owing to the poverty of the gentry in these parts, whose incomes will scarce allow them to give balls. I own, indeed, that since the Lent is began, we have lived

better than we have yet done since we have been at Bourges; for as we have had a deal of snow lately, the county people have killed vast quantities of game, such as partridges and hares, a great many of which have fallen into our hands at twopence and threepence a-piece. For you know very well that these superstitious wretches think that their souls are purified by abstaining from flesh, as unfallible means for purchasing Paradise at a cheap rate. . . .

"I am, dear Sister,

"Your most loving brother, and humble servant,

"HARCOURT.

"Duty to Lady Harcourt, humble service to Mrs. and Miss Vernon, and remember me to Messrs. Rock, Cole, and Blow, and Mr. Cox, and tell him that in about eight months time I think of sending over some brace of red partridges, which are very common in these parts, and much more beautifull, better, and bigger than the other sort. Excuse this scroll, for the post stays for my letter."

Here follows a series of letters in French to his sister, from which I give a few extracts. They were evidently written for the sake of practice in the language, his know-

ledge of which appears at this time to have been somewhat elementary :—

*“ Novembre le 4<sup>e</sup>, 1730.*

“MA CHERE SŒUR,— . . . Par un lettre qui j'ai reçu depuis peu d'Angleterre on me mandoit que vous aviez eu une balle, qui j'ose dire fut très joli, et que le Comte de Jersey fut un de votre partie. Je suis ravi que vous avez un gout si bon, car assurément il est un seigneur toute a fait un homme de qualité, qui par sa politique a gagné les cœurs des dames, et l'estime des hommes. Je seray charmé de savoir les particularités de votre balle, et vous pouvez contée, que si j'avais eu les ailes de Mercure j'auray fuit a un de votre partie incognito.

“ Il y a quelque tems depuis nous sommes arrivée d'Aubigny, ou demeure Madame la Duchesse de Portsmouth, qui était maitresse de Charles Second, et grande mere de Monsieur le Duc de Richmond ; c'est une dame qui assurément est servi en princess, soit par le nombre de ses domestiques, que par la magnificence qui regnit par toute sa maison, et par la cour que tout le voisinage lui font, cependant, quoique elle a quatre vingt cinq ans, elle a tout l'esprit imaginable, extrêmement vif elle lit parfaitement bien sans des lunettes, et d'un si grande attention quelle joueroit quatre heures de suite. Enfin elle a tous les

agremens qui peuvent rendre la vieillesse heureux elle nous a reçue gracieusement, tachant toujours de nous faire plaisir, elle nous a pressé autant de rester quelque tems avec elle, que nous avions beaucoup de peine de partir, et elle nous a promis, que si nous reviendrons encore, d'envoyer son carosse pour nous, qui est une faveur tres particulier en France, enfin elle nous a reçue si magnifiquement, et expressoit une si grande amitié pour tous les Anglois, que je suis sure que tous ceux qui la connoissent doivent lui rendre la même justice.

“ Je suis, ma chere Sœur,

“ Votre cher frère et tres humble Serviteur,  
“ d'HARCOURT.”

*“ Angers, le 23 d'Aout.*

“ . . . A Tours nous trouvames plusieurs de nos Messieurs Anglois qui n'y font pas beaucoup d'honneur à leur patrie, je vous assure qu'ils ont grand besoin de la politesse françoise, afin de les rendre un peu plus dignes de la conversation avec le genre humain. . . .

“ Mademoiselle Paget a profité beaucoup de son sejour en France, elle a reuni parfaitement bien quelques petits agrements des Françoises avec la douceur et toutes les belles qualités des Angloises ; ainsy sans vouloir faire tort aux Angloises ni aux Françoises, je pourrois bien dire qu'elle



promette infiniment de faire la plus belle dame qu'on puisse voir d'aucun part. . . .

*"Bourges, le 28 d'Aout.*

"Quoique vous ne contez par d'aller a Sudbury chez Mr. Vernon \* cette année, néanmoins je crois que vous passeriez votre tems assez agreablement parmi vos voisines de campagne, et en prenante le bel exercice, c'est a dire de montée a cheval, souvant, et lorsque les courses d'Oxford viendront, vous ne manquerez pas un divertissement assez agreable pendant une semaine, la vous verriez les beautés champêtres, parees de tous les ornements q'un gout de campagne et le travail de leurs mains leur peussent fournir pendant l'autre partie de l'année. . . .

"La Reine de France (comme on dit icy, car comme la ville est paresseuse tout le monde icy sont des menteurs) est accouché d'un duc d'Anjou, car c'est la titre du second fils du Roy de France; il y a deja trois filles et deux fills et c'est à esperer qu'on ne manquera pas une famille nombreuse, puisque le Roy n'a que vingt un ou vingt deux ans. . . .

*"Angers, July the 7th.*

"DEAR SISTER,— . . . If I thought not to tire you, I would give you a description of our pre-

\* Mr. Vernon, afterwards Lord Vernon, married Miss Martha Harcourt, Lord Harcourt's younger sister, as his third wife.

sent way of liveing, which is much the same as it was at Bourges, barring the academical exercises. My fencing master calls me at half an hour after five, and stays with me till six; and at six I put my boots on, make ready for the Academy, where I always ride till about half an hour after eight. I then come home, breakfast, and read mathematicks till about ten; then I take a lesson upon the German flute; after which I read history or something else till dinner-time, which is commonly at one o'clock; we seldom sett above an hour, which is long enough for any one but a French man. I read a little after dinner, dress, and go into company, play my parts of quadrille, walk, come home to supper, sit a little after supper, and in short go to bed about eleven o'clock. The heat of the present season, and the additional exercises of riding and fencing, have tempted me to defer dancing till the heat is a little passed. . . ."

*"Sienna, Sept. 2, N.S., 1733.*

"DEAR SISTER,— . . . Although we have not been here above eight days, I have already had the pleasure of waiting upon the fairest of the sex in the place, who are more numerous and beautyfull than in any other place I have yet seen; very polite to strangers, as indeed they ought to be, the gentlemen of their own country being by far the oddest, unaccountable creatures that can pos-

sibly be seen. Among other fair ones, there are four so very beautyfull, that in my mind nothing can excell them. I believe what setts them off still to a greater advantage, is their genteel way of dressing their heads, in which (begging pardon) the English ladys do not excell. Here, instead of having odd out-of-the-way caps, their hair drawn so tite as almost pulled up by the roots, they scarce wear any thing upon their heads; they have a pretty four top or toupet, on each side they curl their hair in order to sett off their faces more advantageously, and behind they leave it something longer, hanging in easy and gentle buckles. I hope you will excuse this episode upon the ladys of Sienna and their dress, concerning which I shall have one time or other the honour of telling you my sentiments. . . ."

*"Toulouse, July the 7th, N.S.*

" . . . His Grace the Duke of Portland arrived here two days ago, in his way from Italy to Paris. He is a young man of very good sence, extreamly polite and good-natured. . . ."

*"Milan, Jan. the 24th, N.S.*

" . . . As this is what we call Carnaval time, our chiefest amusement here is operas, which indeed are very fine in most parts of Italy. As musick is the predominant passion in Italy at

present, so the Italians pay their musicians very well, which causes an emulation among them; by which reason so many of them arrive to a vast perfection. Although 'tis generally thought that we pay them in England more than in any other country, nevertheless, considering the length of the journey, the risques they run of not being liked when they arrive here, &c., I say all these things well considered, I don't think the pay of the English in proportion is so good as that of Italy. The English have quite lost their reputation of being judges in musick ever since the bad reception Bernachi met with in England; and although his voice may be perhaps a little worn out, nevertheless, to show how much he is esteemed in this country, for his good taste, skill, and judgement in musick, he is called the Father of musick, which title he certainly well deserves, since 'tis he that has given the fine taste of musick (as the Italians express themselves) to the famous Faranelli, Caresteni, &c. And on the other hand, to show the difference of the Italian and English taste, Seneseno, who is so much admired in England, would not be able to get his bread in this country. . . ."

At the end of the year 1734, Lord Harcourt returned to England, and attained his majority.



In May of the following year, 1735, he was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber to King George the Second; and in the month of October of the same year he was married to Rebecca, only daughter and heir of Charles Samborne Le Bas, of Pipwell Abbey, in Northamptonshire, by his wife, Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir Samuel Moyer<sup>b</sup>, Bart., of Pilsey Hall, in Essex.

The following letter to his wife, from Lord Harcourt, in November, 1737, shews that the ordinary historical version of Queen Caroline's illness is not correct. History tells us that George the Second, who had for

<sup>b</sup> I have found the following note in Lord Harcourt's handwriting:—

"Sir Samuel Moyer left three daughters, the two eldest, Mrs. Pauncefort and Mrs. Lebas, died several years ago; the youngest, Mrs. Jenyns, died about three years ago. Lady Harcourt's mother was Mrs. Lebas. Lady Harcourt was heir at law to Mrs. Jenyns.

"Mr. Tuffnell, of Langley, near Chelmsford, in Essex, is supposed to be the son of John Tuffnell, who was a joint trustee with Sir Samuel Moyer.

"He has a house in Albemarle-street, the fourth on the right-hand from Piccadilly. He is in France, and not expected to return till at Lady-day, 1755; his wife, and son, John Joliffe Tuffnell, who is a Member of Parliament, are at Langley, in Essex."

Mrs. Jenyns was also maternally related to Lord Harcourt.

fourteen years been acquainted with the Queen's dangerous affliction, had promised never to mention it; but that at last he thought it his duty to send for a surgeon, in spite of the Queen's dislike to the proceeding; he was at once told by the surgeon that he had put off sending for him till it was too late.

*"Cavendish-square, Saturday morning.*

"MY DEAR JEWELL,—I had a very easy and safe journey to town, where I arrived about three o'clock, notwithstanding your little Ladyship detained me at Cockthorp till past seven; so that, allowing the time lost by changing horses, I don't reckon that I was above seven hours in performing the whole journey.

"At every town I came to I expected to find news of the Queen's death. However, I had the pleasure of being disappointed. As soon as I could get my cloaths on, away I went to St. James' to enquire after her Majesty's health; and there (as I really expected) I found every body in the greatest affliction that is possible to be expressed. But the bed-chamber women, the maids of honour, &c., from whom I was in hopes of gathering a little information, have taken it into their heads to look so extravagantly wise, and to screw up

their countenances in such a manner, that 'tis scarce possible to screw an answer out of them, so that I left them just as wise as I found them. However, remembering that I was to do myself the pleasure of writing to you by the first post, and that you might very reasonably expect a little news, I went immediately from St. James' to the Duke of Richmond's, not without a design of eating what I could get, and succeeded extreamly well. The dinner fairly over, and the glasses upon the table, I began (you may easily guess) to be very inquisitive; and his Grace, with his usual good-nature, satisfied my curiosity to the utmost of his knolledge.

"I must begin by acquainting you that the Queen was taken ill on last Wednesday sen'night, when most people imagined that it was her old distemper, the gout; but how they were deceived you shall presently hear. Her pain by that time was so great, that His Majesty, who all along suspected that the gout was not her distemper, insisted upon her being examined by M<sup>r</sup>. Ranby the surgeon, who to his very great surprise found a hardness upon her belly, and that of a very long standing. She had concealed it as long as it was possible, but could bear it no longer; in short, it proved to be a rupture, and that of so long a standing as twenty years at least. However, Ranby did not care to do anything to it till

he had given an account of it to the physicians and surgeons that waited in the next room; and they, after some consultation, ordered Ranby to apply something to it for that night, and they might see how to proceed the next morning.

"When the surgeon examined it the next morning, he found the part affected as black as a hat, with all the signs of a mortification; he thereupon, without loss of time, opened the place, and cut and hacked away till he came to her very bowells, which he also apprehended to be in the greatest danger; and the doctors and surgeons agreed that she had but few hours to live. However, in this sad condition, cut almost to pieces, hath the poor woman laid ever since; which is the more surprising, as nothing passeth through her, though some people give out the contrary, and that she is upon the mending hand, which I wish I could credit. But am apprehensive every minute of hearing of her death; if she hath any chance of surviving, it is in the greatness of her spirits, which are not in the least dejected, notwithstanding the dreadful operations she hath undergone.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury hath been twice sent for by His Majesty to attend the Queen; and hath administered the Sacrament to them both, so that she is at present entirely resigned to the decrees of fate.

"The King attends her from morning to night,



without stirring out of her room, and sees her take everything, and assists at every operation. Everybody does him the justice to think him sincerely afflicted, as certainly he ought to be for so good a wife. All her poor children are in the most melancholy situation, sometimes elated with hopes, other times in the greatest despair. Every thing hath so melancholy an aspect, that was it not decency that detained me here, I should soon quit this disagreeable place. If you continue your design of coming to town on Thursday, I fear it won't be in my power to attend you and Mrs. Jennens as I could wish. However, if there should be any alteration in Her Majesty's illness between this and Tuesday or Wednesday, I shall not fail being with you, though it be the night before you set out.

"If you should be obliged to come without me, remember the night before you set out, to send for the keys of the grounds we came through this time two year, when we avoided Kingston hill, which is the only piece of bad ground between this and Cockthorp. If you set out from Cockthorp by eight or nine in the morning 'tis time enough; and if you don't dine by the way, then ten o'clock is time enough; but then you must give the horses a little hay about half way between Cockthorp and Henley. The charriot and the mares must set out the day before, and may go

to Newnham or to Dorchester the first day, the second day to Henley or Maidenhead, and the third to this place. I would advise you to send the coach horses with the charriot to the top of Kingston hill; and let the mares be led so far, then the rest of the journey will be very easy to them."

The following are extracts from letters of Lord Harcourt to his sister at this period:—

*"Tuesday, May 14, 1739.*

"DEAR SISTER,—The letter of the Duke of Richmond, which you enclosed in one of your own, was the more agreeable as procuring me the pleasure of hearing from you. Our journey down to Newnham<sup>e</sup> was performed very agreeably; and the fineness of the weather during our stay of three full days, which we made there, rendered the place entirely delightfull. What with our stay here, and the visit I propose making to my Lord Jersey at Middleton, I can't flatter myself with the satisfaction of seeing you till about this day sevensnight. . . ."

*"1740.*

"As there is no great probability of the wind changing soon, and consequently no likelihood

<sup>e</sup> There was only a small old Manor-house then in existence there.

of seeing his Majesty so soon as we desire, I have some thoughts of setting out to-morrow morning for Sussex. . . .

"As I propose being at Mr. Woodroffe's on Sunday next before dinner, I beg the favour of you to desire him to send a servant to meet me at the Road Lane Ale House, at the bottom of Hindhead, for the road from Charlton is very intricate over the heaths, and almost impossible to find without a guide. . . .

"I shall propose being in London on Tuesday morning at about one o'clock, for I ought to be at the opening of the Parliament."

*"Epsington, July 27, 1740.*

"DEAR SISTER,—We leave this place to-morrow morning, and return to Sir Harry's house in the Bishoprick of Durham, where we stay but one day, and then march homewards. We propose to see Mr. Duncombe's and Lord Carlisle's in our way to York, which will take us about three days; and am in hopes that about five days more will carry us to Cockthorp, and allow us to see the places that lay in our road, which will be Lord Malton's and the Duke of Kingston's. Mr. Aislaby's<sup>d</sup> we saw in our way hither, and were extremely pleased with it, and much obliged to him for the reception we met with. We promised to

<sup>d</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1719.

take it on our way homewards; but I believe it will be impossible, for we begin to be very impatient to see our little family. . . .

"Pray tell Lady Harcourt that we saw Sir Charles and Lady Vernon at Studley. Lady Lyddell and Sir Harry send their compliments. . ."

*"Tuesday morning, June 9th, 1741.*

"DEAR SISTER,—I did intend to have waited upon my Lady at Bushy this day, but the badness of the weather has obliged me to deferr my journey. If I can get a good day, I have some thoughts of bringing the little boy<sup>e</sup> with me, for I am sure it will entertain him very much. He begins to be a little more reconciled to his sister; but he says that his mamma and sister are very lazy to lay a bed so much as they do in this fine weather; however, it agrees extreamly well with them. If Lady Harcourt, Mrs. Vernon, or yourself should chance to come to Town, the Lady in the straw will be very glad to see you, for she is now allowed to chatter, and will in two or three days be able to talk scandall over a dish of tea. . . .

"I need not tell you that I am tired of London; but I now think it less intollerable, because I can give a guess when I shall be able to leave it,

<sup>e</sup> George Simon, afterwards Viscount Nuneham.



which I could not do a week ago. Lord Euston is certainly to be married at last, they say in a fortnight; when it is over I shall believe it, but not sooner. . . ."

"*Hanover-square, June 26, 1741.*

"DEAR SISTER,— . . . To-morrow we propose to make a sort of Christian of our little girl, though she yet knows nothing of the matter. Had Lady Harcourt, Mrs. Vernon, and you been in Town, we should have done ourselves the honour of desiring your company. . . ."

On the 27th of June, 1743, Lord Harcourt accompanied King George the Second to the battle of Dettingen, in his capacity of Lord in Waiting. In 1745, thirteen Peers were commissioned to raise a regiment each for the protection of the kingdom, at the time of the rebellion in Scotland. Lord Harcourt was one of the number, and this led to the military rank which was subsequently conferred upon him.

The following letter was at this time addressed to his brother-in-law, Mr. George Venables Vernon, of Sudbury, in Derbyshire, who in 1744 married his sister Martha,

and was afterwards, May 1, 1762, created Lord Vernon :—

"*Cockthorp, Nov. 1, 1747.*

"DEAR BROTHER,— . . . You cannot conceive what a noise the Litchfield hunting meeting makes in Town, where people make no ceremony of treating the company as Jacobites.

"I was under no uneasiness or apprehension of your being there, for I love and honour you too much to think you capable of such an action. Everybody's eyes were upon you, and his Majesty told me in a little sort of private conference that he was very glad you was not at that, for he must and ought to consider that company as his declared enemys; upon which I assured him that whatever ill-treatment you might have received from your former friend, you were, however, incapable of entertaining a disloyall sentiment, or of doing anything that had the appearance of disrespect towards him; besides which, I told him that in the time of the rebellion you had exerted yourself very much in behalf of his Majesty and his cause. I fancy the Litchfield meeting will be prosecuted, if proper and sufficient evidence can be obtained, for it argues weakness in a Government to allow itself to be insulted. If I was a real friend of the Jacobites, I should have wished my friends would have appeared at Darby, where

they might have done service, instead of exposing themselves to the ridicule of mankind, who will be at a loss to say whether they are greater fools or cowards.

"My wife desires her love to you and my sister, to whom I beg mine, and that you'll believe me to be

"Most affectionately yours,

"HARCOURT.

"I left London in high spirits upon our late good success at sea."

On the first of December, 1749, George the Second advanced Viscount Harcourt to the dignity of an Earldom, and bestowed upon him the additional titles of Viscount Nuneham, of Nuneham<sup>†</sup> Courtenay, and Earl Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt.

On the 20th of March, in the year 1751, Frederick, Prince of Wales, died; an event which made but little stir in the political world. At this time, Francis, Lord North, was governor to young Prince George of Wales, having been appointed to that office in 1750.

<sup>†</sup> At this time the spelling was altered from Newnham to Nuneham, to distinguish the place from others bearing the same name.

Mr. Pelham was then Prime Minister; and not finding Lord North sufficiently malleable to his views, he obtained from the King the appointment of Lord Harcourt as governor to the young Prince. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, was appointed preceptor; Stone, sub-governor; and Scott, sub-preceptor. The Pelhams hoped that Lord Harcourt's easy temper would admit of such views being instilled into the mind of the Prince of Wales, as might suit their projects.

For reasons which will hereafter appear, Lord Harcourt did not long retain the post of governor.

The friendship, however, of the King for Lord Harcourt, thus formed in his early years, though sometimes clouded through the ill offices of false friends, was of a very lasting nature, and was continued to his son after him.

The following letters were written at this time to Lord Harcourt by the Prince of Wales, and by his brother Edward, afterwards Duke of York.



The Prince of Wales was then thirteen years of age.

*"Saville House, June 20th, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—We went to-day to Kensington, where there were a great many people. We went into the King, who was very gracious to us; Lord Greenville, Lord Holderness, Lord Anson, and Admiral Rowley were presented. I desire you will let me know what I must do about Capt. Pye's horse; if we don't send soon for it, he will be gone to grass. I desire you will give my compliments to Lady Harcourt, Lord Newnam, Lady Betty, and Mr. Harcourt.

"I am your affectionate,

"GEORGE P."

*"Saville House, June 24, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I believe Lord Albermarle set out as yesterday from Paris. It is said that Lord Fitzwilliams kiss'd hands yesterday as Lord of the Bedchamber, instead of Lord Holderness. We were last night out on horseback in Hide Park, where we saw the King walking by the Haw Haw. Brother Edward is very well, and has quite lost the marck of his fall, and desires his compliments to you and everybody.

"I am your affectionate,

"GEORGE P."

*"Saville House, June 29, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I was very glad to hear this morning that you are all well. Sunday night young Mr. Selwin died. The Colonel and Mrs. Selwin are in great affliction; he is gone to Mr. Townshend near Winsor. I hope the family remains well. I beg my compliments to Lady Harcourt and all. Mama gives her compliments to you. I am very much surprised that the pistols are not made for Clermont.

"I am, your affectionate,

"GEORGE P."

*"Saville House, August 23, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—We agreed not to begin our letters with compliments, but to write of indifferent things. The King was yesterday at Cranbourn, and took Lord Albermarl, Lord Delwar, Lady Yarmouth, and Lady Pembroock, and ordered that this and Winsor Great Parck to be laid together, for there is but a pail between them.

"In my learning, I am in the second boock of Cæsar. In French, in Richard the Second's life, who was not a very good King. They were in hopes he would have made a good King; but they soon lost there hopes, for he loved flaterers, who are the greatest serpents a Court can have.

Pray give my compliments to Lady Harcourt and Mr. Harcourt, and am

"Your affectionate friend,  
"GEORGE P."

"August 31st, 1751.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received this morning your letter, which gave me a great deal of pleasure. I am sorry to hear you had had bad sport, and hope you will soon begin to talk of coming back. Claremont is quite recovered, and I intend to ride him Monday. We walk as often as the weather will permit, and have missed riding above four nights since you have been gone. We went yesterday at nine o'clock to Kew, where we stayed till three o'clock, which place was very pleasant. The Bishop of Norwich is but a little better, and dined to-day, for the first time since his illness, with us. He is very low spirited, which is but a very bad sign. We have got very forward with the second book of Cæsar, and the life of Henry the Fourth. I would not trouble you any longer, but remain

"Your affectionate friend,  
"GEORGE P."

"MY DEAR LORD,—I was glad yesterday to hear from you, and to know that you are all in perfect health. In a few days the shooting season

will begin. Sunday last the Duchess of Richmond died of a fever, and pleurisy in her side. What is very remarkable, that a few days before she died, her finger was opened, there was found the same sort of matter in her finger as was found in the late Duke's leg. There are five guardians: the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Albermal, Lord Cadogan, Lord Kildare, and Mr. Fox. All these were named by the late Duke in his will. The Duchess has altered but one thing; that is, that when the young ladies are fourteen, they should live with Lady Carolina Fox. This is all I have heard about her death; she is to be buried as to-morrow. Lady Albermal and Lady Caroline Fox.

"I remain, your affectionate,  
"GEORGE P."

"September 5th, 1751.

"MY DEAR LORD,—We went to-day to Kensington, where there was very little company. Their is news come to-day from Paris to Monsieur de Mirepoix, to acquaint him of the Dauphiness is brought to bed of a son, and of Mr. de Mirepoix's being made a Duke, and Mr. de Pisieux having resigned his place of Secretary of State for foreign affairs; and that the Minister at the Hague has succeeded him. The Bishop of Norwich has been worse every day since Sunday, one



day in his foot, another in his hipp, another in his rist. I beg you will give my compliments to Lady Harcourt, Lord Newnham, Lady Betty, and Mr. Harcourt.

"I remain, your affectionate friend,

"GEORGE P."

"Sept. 10, 1751.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received yesterday your letter of the 8th, which made me very happy to hear that you intend to come as to-day or to-morrow seven night. We have had very dry weather for some few days, but it has been very cold. I hope you have had good sport since I heard last from you; and hope in one sence that you will have but bad sport, for fear you should neglect your business, and so stay a day or two more than you intended. The Bishop of Norwich is but little better, and flatters himself of your company in the study. I beg you will give my compliments to Lady Harcourt, Lord Newnham, Lady Betty, and Mr. Harcourt.

"I remain, your affectionate friend,

"GEORGE P."

"Sept. 14, 1751.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received your letter this morning, and was very glad to hear you intend to come on Wednesday next. I hear 'tis thought

that Captain Barnard has been married to Lady Pembroke before sold his commition. 'Tis said that when the Duke of Marlborough asked him why he had sold his troop, he answered, 'My Lord, you would thinck me very much in the right if I was to tell you my reason.' Pray give compliments to Lady Harcourt, Lord Newnham, and Lady Betty.

"I remain, your affectionate friend,

"GEORGE P."

"Kew, October 24th, 1752.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I was Saturday morning at a quarter before six in your room, for I took to be but a quarter before five. Yesterday as I was a going out on horseback, the Major told me he had seen the handsomest mare in the world. She belongs to Mr. Nassau. Lady Anne Hamilton, his daughter-in-law, came here to see the Lady Augusta; and Mr. Nassau's Postilion said that if I liked her, the groom had orders to leave her hear; but I thought it best not to take it till I heard from you. Now I will describe her to you as well as I can. She is a mare of six years old, fourteen and half, with a forreign as high as that of a stone horse, as quiet as a lamb. The groom did walk with a slack rain; the Major told me he had seen her walk, trot, and gallop vastly well. The groom told the Major that she had

never had anything but a Waimouth bit. The Major says he thinks her handsomer than the Duke of Newcastle's mare called Dayry Maid. Pray make my compliments to Lady Harcourt, Lord Newnham, Lady Betty, and Mr. Harcourt.

"I am, my dear Lord, your affectionate,  
"GEORGE P."

*"Saville House, Oct. 31, 1752.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—There was not one of us sorry at coming to London; for the weather was so bad for three or four last days, that none of could go out. I went yesterday and to-day to the Riding House. Mr. Durell says I have not at all forgot. I have both days rod Pleasant, Fidèle, and Huzar, who goes if possible ruffer than ever. I hear I am to ride Marechal in less than a fortnight. If to-morrow should prove a fine day, I shall ride Peggy for the first time. Brother Edward makes his compliments to you, and will write to you on Thursdy. Pray make my compliments to Lady Harcourt, Lord Newnham, Lady Betty, and Mr. Harcourt.

"I am, my dear Lord, your affectionate,  
"GEORGE P."

The following ten letters were written by Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of York,

to Lord Harcourt, during the time the latter was governor to the Prince of Wales:—

*"Saville House, Saturdy, 9 o'clock at night,  
"June 22nd, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I flatter myself it will give you great pleasure to hear that I am in good health. I go on very well with my Latin, as well as the history. I read this morning part of the life of King John, and must say, that though a King, he was a very sad fellow in private as well as publick life. We have had nice rides every time, litle or no dust, and I hear that the bay mare's knees are much better. I hope you and Lady Harcourt are well, and all there. I long for your return; and remain

"Your affectionate,  
"EDWARD."

*"June 27th, 1751, Saville House.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I thank you for your letter, and for the good advice you have given me, espetially in saying that Princes ought to know as much, if not more than other men, because of their great anwantages over them.

"I am now in the reign of King Henry the Third, who came to the throne in his minority; and therefore the Earl of Pembroke was Regent as well as gardian to the young King. The



Barons were very angry in John's time, that they had not got back again that which they had in-joined under the Saxon Kings; and after Pembroke's death, being disgusted with the behaviour of the Regents, they sent to Rome to have the King declared of age before the usual time; but they were not long satisfied with their master, when they found that he did not pursue the wise and good measures marked out to him by Pembroke. I hope you and Lady Harcourt are well, and everybody there.

"I am, your affectionate,

"EDWARD."

*"Saville House, July 2nd, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I thank you for your letter, which I received on Monday the 2nd. We have got some fair weather, which I have greatly wished for your sake and ours, though we have had a narrow escape this evening. The Bishop says we go on very well. I am yet in King Henry III., whose life is very long, and I think very tedious, because he was such a humble footstool to the —. I must beg leave to conclude, because Mama calls, therefore

"I am, your affectionate,

"EDWARD."

*"Saville House, August 2nd, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am very glad to hear that you was so well diverted with the fireworks which Lord Nunum had. I am extremely glad to hear that he likes writing better than he did. We write constantly when the weather will permit. The Bishop is much better. I saw him to-day, and he said, to my great satisfaction, that I went on very well with my Latin. I shall finish the reign of Henry the Fourth to-morrow, whose reign I think very intricate. Pray let me know how your shutting goes on. Pray give my compliments to Lady Harcourt, and Lord Nunum.

"I am, dear Lord,

"EDWARD.

"P.S. Pray excuse the shortness of my letter; but to tell you the truth, I am so sleepy, that I have hardly the patients to write it."

*"Leicester House, August 24th, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I long to see you very much, and thing every day an age since the time you left us. I am very sorry to let you know that the Bishop has been so bad that he has not been able to come to us but once since your absence. The Latin goes on very well. I am in the reign of Richard the Second, whose reign

I hope to finish on Monday, whose reign I detest and abhor; firstly, because he gave himself up totally to his flatterers; and, secondly, because he had no not the least grain of honour.

"I take this opportunity of letting you know that a man cauled Heath, a Mathematician, came here to-day about a wheel for mesuring miles distances, which he said you had ordered him to gett. Pray give my compliments to Lady Hearcourt and your yong family; but in perticular to Lord Nunum.

"I remain,

"EDWARD."

*"Savile House, August, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I thank you for your letter. I can tell you with great joy that the Bishop is much better, so that he has been able to come to us evry day but yesterday, because he was ordered to take some confining physick. He says that he is much better to-day, in short, wan ought to beleive; but, indeed, I did not any great diference between these twoo days. Our Latin goes on very well. I am in the reign of Henry the Forth, surnamed Bolingbrocke; but to lett you know the whole truth, I don't know him well enouf to make any remarks opon him, therefore to my, where one ant sure of the fact, I thing 'tis better to hold on's

tonge. I hope Lady Harcourt, Lady Betty, and Lord Nunum are well.

"I am, dear Lord, your affectionate,

"EDWARD.

"Pray excuse the badness of my hand."

*"Saville House, Sept. 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I thank you for your letter, and am very glad to hear that you were well diverted with the horse-race. I am very sorry to lett you know that we all think that the Bishop is worse these two days. We wride evry when the weather will permit us. The days begien to grow so short, that we have hardly above an hour for wriding. I desire you would lett me know how to conduct the following.

"You mast know that Will Cato has an exceding preatty grey gelding beetwen the highth of the bay maihr and the blak belonging to a relative of Lord Sussex, the name of which is Rafau (an Irish Bishop), which much to big and heavy for him. The horse stands at Barbays, where you may hear the full perticulars.

"Pray give my compliments to Lady Hearcourt and all the yong family.

"I remain, your affectionate,

"EDWARD."



*"Sept. 12, 1751.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am very glad to hear that you had good sport, and am allso very glad to hear what agreable company you have had; indeed, it shews that you have a great command of your countenance. So much I know, that if I had been in your place, I should have been so out of countenance and shamefaced, that I should have most run out of the room. The Bishop of Norigh is much better; but was forced to be bludded yesterday ten ounces by Doctors Heberden's advise.

"I have had all the phisiseans and surjons, who at last have given me leve to be well; they have made a long harang for want of somthing else to say.

"Pray give my compliments to Lady Harcourt, L<sup>d</sup> Nunum, Lady Betty, and Billy.

"I am,

"EDWARD.

"Lady Augusta desires her compliments to Lady Harcourt and Lady Betty."

*"Saville House, Nov. 2, 1752.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I do suppose that the weather will make you regrave leaving the country, (and espetially such a delightful place as Coxthop and Nunum with all its pleasant views). I own, I thought it a little hard to have the three last

days so bad, because we intended to have made the best use of our time in going over all our old favorite rides; and now, as soon as 'tis out of our power to be out so much, the weather chances, as if it had done so only to disapoint us; that is the way of fortune, to give us little trifeling disapointments to prepare us for greater, without which nobody can go through the world. But here we must stop, for this lets us into to great a field to reconn such trifles amonst. We have had a very fine ride over the two bridges, which I thing as fine a ride as can be. The mare proves charmingly, and brother George looks quite a different thing upon her.

"Pray give my compliments to all your family.

"I am, your most affectionate,

"EDWARD."

*"Thursday, Kew, May 28, 1752.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I long to see you again. I hope you found everything in good order in the country, and that you got safe down. I wish that Lady Harcourt may not be the worst for her journey, (as for the rest I have no doubt). I can imagine miself seeing you quite a farmer, when your company is walking or fishing, and Billy and Bully drawing togeather. We have very good riding days, and excessive prety rides. We have seen from the Park, Cleermont, Etia, and a little

of Otlands, which makes a prodigious fine prospect. I hope all your company got as safe down as you did. My brother gives his compliments to you and Lady Harcourt, and to all your family, in which I join,

"And am, my dear Lord, your affectionate,

"EDWARD.

"P.S. I beg you will send me a chain for Mr. Stone, because his chain broke last Sunday night, therefore I told him that as I was to write to you as Thursday, I would desire you to bring or send me one, if not to much trouble."

On the 20th of April, 1751, Lord Harcourt was made a privy councillor.

In the month of July, 1752, we find Horace Walpole writing thus to Sir H. Mann:—

"The tutorhood at Kew is split into factions; the Bishop of Norwich and Lord Harcourt openly at war with Stone and Scott, who are supported by Cresset, and countenanced by the Princess and Murray<sup>g</sup>; so my Lord Bolingbroke<sup>h</sup> dead will govern, which he never could do living."

<sup>g</sup> The Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Mansfield.

<sup>h</sup> Scott had been placed in his position by Bolingbroke.

The Princess Dowager of Wales had taken a great aversion to Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich. She complained that Lord Harcourt took very little notice of her; the truth being, that whilst Stone, the sub-governor, had quarters provided for him at Kew, Lord Harcourt was forced to hire a house at Brentford, and was often left waiting in the hall at Kew amongst the servants, till the Princess chose to send for him.

No wonder, then, if Lord Harcourt marked his appreciation of such treatment.

In respect to the Bishop, the Princess complained that books and logic were of no use to Princes; and that the preceptor insisted upon too much work, and allowed too few holidays.

Lord Harcourt and the Bishop, on the other hand, complained that the absolutist doctrines instilled into the minds of the young Princes by Stone and Scott were highly pernicious; and that unless the two latter were dismissed, they must resign their trusts.



The commotion caused by this question extended far beyond the narrow circle of the Court.

The ferment was increased by the circulation of an anonymous letter by Horace Walpole, to the following effect :—

That the education of the Prince of Wales was a subject of vital interest to the nation; that the misfortunes already suffered by this country had been greatly dependent upon the bad education given to the two Charleses, and to James the Second, who were early taught to believe in "the Divine right." That it was notorious books inculcating such doctrines had been put into the hands of the young Princes; that there was reason to believe that a noble Lord had accused one of the preceptors of Jacobitism; but, astonishing to say, no notice was taken of the complaint; on the contrary, the accused person was continued in his position, without any satisfaction being given to the governor and preceptor, who, though a nobleman of most unblemished honour, and a prelate of

the most unbiassed virtue, were treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family.

The matter was brought before the Privy Council, which was occupied ten days in hearing evidence; nor was it allowed to rest here. A motion was made in the House of Lords by the Duke of Bedford, for the production of papers; a debate ensued, which, however, collapsed without resulting in a decision.

Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich resigned, and the King was much put to it to find successors. Horace Walpole says :—

"Many were named, and many refused it. At last, after long waiving it, Lord Waldegrave, at the earnest request of the King, accepted it. The Earl was very averse to it. He said to a friend, 'If I dared I would make this excuse to the King, "Sir, I am too young to govern, and too old to be governed."' But he was forced to submit."

If the Princess Dowager of Wales disliked Lord Harcourt, she hated Lord Walde-

grave, whom she chose to consider as a spy set over her by the King.

Lord Waldegrave's account of his royal pupil was couched in these words :—

"I found his Royal Highness uncommonly full of princely prejudice, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bedchamber women, and pages of the backstairs. As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things; to instruct him by conversation, rather than by books; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies."

The following letters were written by Lady Harcourt, to her son, Lord Nuneham, who in the year 1751 was fifteen years of age :—

*"Bath, May 4, 1751.*

"MY DEAREST BOY,— . . . . No two poor mortals was ever so tired of a place as we are of this, for 'tis a continued round of nonsense; and had we not taken a few jaunts up into the country, we should have had no sort of entertainment. . . .

"What struck me the most was a monument that was erected to the memory of S<sup>r</sup> Bevil Gran-

ville, on the very spot where he was killed by the Parliament Army. . . .

"In this day's jaunt I contrived to get wet-shod, whereby I acquired a cough, &c., that now hinders me drinking these waters; which I do not lay much to heart, as I am convinced the effect will be much the same whether I drink 'em or let 'em alone. . . .

"You cannot conceive how much I am provoked with the account you give me of the painter's drawing of Betsey. I believe I may be allowed, without much partiality, to say that she is rather well than otherwise; and by what you tell me, he has made her into a meer Dowdy, so that 'tis hardly worth your or your brother's while to sit, except you chuse it; for I suppose he will make you into two Baboons; but I desire you wou'd do what you like best. . . .

"Now accept my thanks for the drawing you have been so kind to do for me, and I hope I shall be able to procure you a curiosity that grows here. Mr. Nash tells me there are four sorts of Orcas's, two you are acquainted with, the other two are the Butterfly and the Man Orcas; the latter resembles a child (he says) in swaddling clothes, but I think 'tis too extraordinary to be credited; if it proves as I wish it may, you may depend upon my using my utmost endeavours to get some roots of it. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."



*"Cavendish-square, Oct. 12, 1751.*

"MY DEAREST BOY,— . . . . I now will tell you some news I picked up yesterday at Kensington, where you will be surprized to hear that I have again exhibited my self; but I thought I cou'd not avoid going on his Majesty's Coronation, as he knew I was in Town. And, indeed, I am glad I did, for there was every body of any fashion in and about London, which made a pretty full Drawing-room; among the rest was Lady Pembroke, who they say is certainly married. And I hear Miss Canning's match is as certainly broke off. But what is a worse peice of news than all the rest, is an accident that has befell L<sup>d</sup> Cobham, which is intirely owing to his own inactivity.

"It seems he has used himself almost always to lean back in his chair, and at other times to sit double, which, with a favourite posture he had of leaning, and setting his feet against the wainscot, has forced out his back-bone, which can never again be replaced; and though quite a young man, will be always obliged to walk double. This account I had heard before, but had it confirm'd to me this day by M<sup>r</sup>. Reade, who had seen one of the people that attend L<sup>d</sup> Cobham, and who told it him in a more circumstantial manner than I am able to relate. . . .

"I have received a visit from M<sup>r</sup>. Powell, who

with his family, M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt's, and M<sup>rs</sup>. Ringer, we invited to partake of a Turtle, but so bad a morsel was never tasted; in my opinion, a dog wou'd not eat of it if there was any carrion in the kingdom, but some of our friends eat of it very comfortably. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"July the 12, 1754, Cockthorp.*

"MY DEAREST SON,—Your very kind and affectionate letters always give me the highest satisfaction and pleasure; and in a great measure make amends for the pangs of absence, which I am vain enough to think I have bore with more resolution than either Lord or Lady Jersey<sup>1</sup>. For by his Lord<sup>sh</sup>s account, they were both still very much depressed; which, I believe, with the addition of the return of Lady Jersey's rheumatick disorder, prevented their calling upon us in their way to Bristol. However, they have promised us to spend a few days here in their return to Middleton.

"We have nobody with us at present but Col. Vane, Major Bate, and M<sup>r</sup>. Fanquier and his two daughters, the eldest of which I think a charming young woman, not only for beauty, but behaviour; but as she is not at all in the stile of the Wests, and some other young people about the Town,

<sup>1</sup> The third Lord Jersey.

I almost doubt whether you wou'd be of my opinion. However, I hope you will pardon my hinting that they are not quite infallible. . . .

"Miss Lucy Eevlyn, who I think you knew, died lately of the small-pox, in the natural way; and I have heard of so many failing in that distemper within these few months, that my L<sup>d</sup> and my self are more and more rejoiced that we had resolution enough to enoculate you. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

"*Shifford*<sup>k</sup>, August 2, 1754.

"MY DEAREST SON,—.... This place is famous for having the first Parliament that ever was in

<sup>k</sup> A manor belonging to the Harcourt estates. In Skelton's "Antiquities of Oxfordshire," 1823, we read as follows:—"Dr. Plot thus translates part of the MS."

"There sate at Shifford many thanes, many bishops, and many learned men, wise Earls, and awful knights; there was Earl Elfrick, very learned in the law, and Alfred, England's herdsman, England's darling; he was King of England; he taught them that could hear him how they should live.

"There is a piece of ground near the present church, called at this day 'Court Close.' One of the common fields at Aston, in the neighbourhood of Shifford, bears the name of Kinsey, corrupted probably from the King's Way.

"Shifford, once so populous, and containing, as it is said, several ecclesiastical buildings, can only now be traced by its humble church, and a few rural habitations. The greater part of the solitary old church, which was very ancient, fell in 1772. The present building was not completed till some years after, when the Rev. Samuel Johnson, one of the vicars of Bampton, officiated in it." (The church has been entirely rebuilt within the last few years.—E. H.)

England, held there, which I think was in the reign of Alfred; and I wish we may be so fortunate as to find some remains of the building where our ancestors sate. . . .

"Captain Webber, who you have seen at Cockthrop, is just returned from the Indies; he has been so obliging to bring us a compleat service of china for the table. . . .

"Now I mention Oxford, I ought to tell you there has been found in the market-place there a most treasonable copy of verses, which has been taken notice of by the gentlemen of the Whig interest, and the Grand Jury of the County has presented them at the last Assizes, offering a reward of £50 to whoever shall discover the author of them; this vigorous measure has produced an additional reward of £200 more from his Majesty, which we all hope will be a means of discovering so infamous a writer. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

"*Cockthrop*, Sept. 16, 1754.

".... I told you in a former letter of his Grace the Duke of Kingston's intended match, if a divorce cou'd be obtained, and likewise of L<sup>d</sup> Walgrave's with Miss Drax; the latter I hear is declared; and I am told a person representing to him the flaw there was in that Lady's character, his Lord<sup>sh</sup> replied that nothing was worthy of consideration



in a woman but her beauty; are not these glorious principles, and is not he a proper person to form the mind of a young Prince<sup>1</sup>. . . .

*"Cockthorp, Nov. 12, 1754.*

" . . . I have been prevented writing by my old complaint, which was occasioned by a fright I received by seeing your Aunt in one of her fits; and wish I cou'd say she had used any precaution to prevent my seeing it. But she acted quite a contrary part; for though she had exceeded the usual time of being ill near ten days, yet she exhibited her self as much as ever, and at last had it amidst a circle of about twenty people, which, I believe, gave her very little concern, though she has indeed made a few pretences to it. She and Mrs. Harcourt go from hence the latter end of this week, which is a loss I shall not much regret, as I have been so lately a sufferer by their company. . . .

"Your Aunt Vernon and her family, who has made us happy with their company a fortnight, intend likewise leaving us this week. I must own I am quite melancholy at the thoughts of parting with them, as they are most agreeable, worthy people, and she in particular a most charming woman. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Lord Waldegrave was then Governor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Third.

"She intends writing to you again very soon, and desires I wou'd tell you she received a visit this summer from your acquaintance, Mr. Finch, who she thinks is not the least improved by his travels, but is the same wild creature as when he quitted Yorkshire. He has brought over a creature from Angier which nobody but himself wou'd have thought worth the carriage; 'tis a wolf, so exceeding fierce, that it has already eat of part of a servant's arm, and I suppose in a little time will make a meal of the whole family. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"Thursday evening, 11 o'clock, Jan. 2, 1755.*

"MY DEAREST SON,— . . . We did not set out from Cockthorp till last Thursday, and had a very cold journey, the roads being far better than I ever knew them at this time of y<sup>e</sup> year; but the water was so high at New Bridge, that we were obliged to boat it, which was very agreeable to me, as I am particularly fond of that element. But as it was rather cold, I am making a cloak (which will be of service to me another year) lined with the skin of a loup cervier, which I imagine will be as warm as your pelisse's, and am much surprized you have not yet got one of them; though I cannot help applauding your resolution more in not giving way to chilliness, than I do your humility in condescending to visit the more

than impertinent Duchess of Courland, whose behaviour was the most extraordinary I ever heard of; and my L<sup>d</sup>, who you know has less pride than most people, thinks you have let down the dignity of the House of Lorrain so much, that if Queen P—ll cou'd know it in the other world, she wou'd certainly make you a visit to reprimand you for it. . . .

"As I take for granted that you have heard of L<sup>d</sup> Gower's and Albemarle's deaths, I shall say nothing of them; but that there are numbers of places vacant on that account, and three blue ribbons, which are not filled up, neither do I hear when they are to be, nor by whom. However, doubtless there are many competitors for them. . .

"Miss Furnace, who I think you are acquainted with, is I hear soon to be married to a son of S<sup>r</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> Deering's; and Miss Nichols, next week, to L<sup>d</sup> Dartmouth. Surely the latter is one of the most fortunate women that ever was born; the escape she has had in one instance, and her good fortune in the other, is really astonishing. . . .

"Though I promised you to conclude with this subject, I find I am unable to do it till I have told you of an odd wedding that is soon to take place. Miss Anne Conway is going to be married to M<sup>r</sup>. Harris, an old rich gentleman, grandfather to the present L<sup>d</sup> Orford. I beg to know if this does not make good the old proverb, that Love

is blind; as is poor M<sup>r</sup>. Strobe in reality, for he can't so much as walk about his house without assistance. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

"*London, Feb. 6, 1755.*

"... Now I mention the word fortune, one of the greatest amongst that number, Lady Dartmouth, appeared, I am told, like a Goddess at Curnechow's Masquerade last night. The company in general were all very fine; but particularly Lady Rockingham and Lady Coventry, who were covered with diamonds: the former represented Night, and the stars upon her dress, it's said, were real jewells; but as I was not there my self, I can't affirm it.

"You will wonder, I daresay, why I was not; but the truth is, I had not the offer of a ticket, and I was too proud to ask for one. However, there are some few people more of the same degree that were as much neglected, w<sup>ch</sup> is a great comfort to one under the like misfortune. My L<sup>d</sup> indeed had an invitation, but as neither your Sister nor my self had the same, he declined going. Miss Liddel, who I saw before she went, look'd very pretty; she was in a Turkish habit, and was dressed by M<sup>rs</sup>. Pritchard.

"Lady Betty Spencer was dressed like one of Ruben's Wives, and danced with S<sup>r</sup> J. Lowther



which makes people conjecture that she is not disagreeable to him. The P. of W., who indeed I should have mentioned before, was a very fine mask, and looked very handsome; his partner was L<sup>d</sup> R—m, and P. Edw'ds, L<sup>d</sup> Coventry; they had both the honour to sup with the P—s of Wales. But the best mask of all was L<sup>d</sup> Delawar, his dress was taken from a picture or statue at Kensington, commonly called Queen Eliz. Porter; 'tis a figure of a prodigious size, and in order to represent it the better, he wore a pair of very high-heeled shoes, which made him appear like a Colossus. The play ran all night very deep, the Duke lost 3000 guineas, S<sup>r</sup> R<sup>d</sup>. Littleton 1100, which Dick Edgcombe won; and there were several more large sums lost and won, but I have not yet heard the names of the people who were the gainers or losers. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A Milord, Milord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Madam Valentin, a Leipsig, en Saxe, en Allemagne.*

*"London, March 15, 1755.*

"MY DEAREST SON,— . . . It is said there is a prospect of a war with France, for which we are making great preparations, having already considerably augmented both our Troops and Navy, and recalled some regiments of Scotch in the Dutch service, which they are obliged by treaty

to restore in case we have occasion for them; so that at all events we shall be provided for their reception, in case they shou'd have thoughts of honouring us with their company, as some people insinuate they have by the great armaments they are making at Brest.

"Their Ambassador is still however with us, and Lord Hertford was named to succeed Lord Albemarle at Paris; but within these few days there is nothing said of it, so that people think a war is enivitable. If it should be so, his Majesty can't go to Hanover, w<sup>ch</sup> I suppose will be some mortification to him. He has appointed Lord Rochfort to be Groom of his Stole, which has disoblged L<sup>d</sup> Paulet, who was the oldest L<sup>d</sup> of the Bedchamber, so much that he has wrote a letter in very strong terms to his Majesty, wherein among other things he says, 'to divide and govern is an old maxim in Government, but to divide his Majesty's friends is a maxim reserv'd for the Administration of the Duke of Newcastle.'

"How this has been taken I can't learn; but certain I am that truth is rarely acceptable in Courts. I shou'd have added, the letter contain'd his Lord<sup>sh</sup>s resignation, which place is filled up by the Duke of Ancaster, as is L<sup>d</sup> Albemarle's by L<sup>d</sup> Essex, and Lord Orford is added to the number. L<sup>d</sup> Hartington is certainly to go to Ireland, where people are in hopes he will be

able to compose differences, which have long been at a great height. The Duke of Dorset, some think, will succeed him as Master of the Horse; but of this I am not so certain, as that they can't venture to send him to Ireland. If you shou'd see in the publick papers that my L<sup>d</sup> is advanced to the rank of Major-General, don't look upon it as any favour conferred upon him, for 'tis nothing more than a thing of course, though I believe and hope 'tis all the acknowledgements he ever expects to receive for the many services he has done to his King and country; but no more of that, the reflection of doing what's right is reward sufficient for an honest man. . . .

"Before I conclude my letter, I must inform you of a match, namely, L<sup>d</sup> North, who is soon to be married to Miss Peek, a young lady of great fortune, and I hear of equal merit; so in every body's opinion there's a great prospect of happiness for them. . . .

"R. H."

*"A Mylord, Mylord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Madame Valentin, a Leipzig, en Saxe, en Allemagne.*

*"April 24, 1755.*

"MY DEAREST SON,— . . . The Parliament having little more now to do, rises 'tis said either to-morrow or a Saturday, and then the King, to the very great vexation of all his friends, sets out for

Hanover; which place, as you are to go to, I hope to have a description of, for I can't help thinking there must be some very extraordinary charms in it that can tempt so good a Prince to leave us at this critical juncture. We are very busy raising men, and fitting out our Fleet, which every body agrees is a very formidable one. Admiral Boscawen is already sail'd with eleven ships of the line, and his brother George is gone to his regiment in Ireland by this time. . . .

"Lady Jersey, who has been dangerously ill, is now so well recovered that she is gone to Kensington for the benefit of the air; but you had better take no notice of what I say concerning her to L<sup>d</sup> Villiers, because she pleases her self extremely with the thoughts of his knowing nothing of her last illness. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A Mylord, Mylord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Monsieur Michael David, a Hanovre, en Allemagne.*

*"Cockthorp, June 3, 1755.*

"MY DEAREST SON,—I had the pleasure of receiving from you, a few days ago, a letter dated from Dresden, where I am extremely happy to find you were so well received, and believe you will not be less so at Berlin; for just before we came out of Town (which was last Thursday sevensnight), M<sup>r</sup>. Villiers received a letter from the



King of Prusia, informing him that L<sup>d</sup> Villiers and your self shou'd have no reason to repent going to his Court, by which I take for granted you will be particularly well received. And I hope you will not be less so where I direct this letter, for there I think you may claim civility, though I very much doubt whether you will receive much of it, if one may be allowed to guess from a certain person's behaviour to my L<sup>d</sup> before he left England. He went as is usual to take leave, and I suppose might have the vanity to expect to have some notice taken of him, it being likewise immediately after the decision of the Oxfordshire<sup>m</sup> affair; but not a word was spoke, which makes me almost ready to think his M—y was displeased at an event that all the world look'd upon to be of singular advantage to him.

"However, this instance of disregard I beg may not be mentioned, for shou'd it come to the ears of the opposite Party, it would be matter of triumph to them, and therefore it had better be buried in oblivion. Ministerial affairs are pretty much in the same situation as they have been in for some time past. His Grace people seem to think is in a declining state, which I suppose must appear next winter, unless he can be prevailed upon to trust some body beside S—e and M—y.

<sup>m</sup> The election of Lord Parker, as County Member.

"Legge is extremely ill-treated by all that faction, and even by the K. himself, who they influence strongly against him; for no other reason, as I can hear, but that he is an honest man, and is possessed of greater abilities than themselves. They have lately been so injudicious to offer his place to S<sup>r</sup> Geo. Lee, without acquainting him with it, under pretence that he wou'd be content with a Peerage; but the friends of the Government hope there scheme will be frustrated, and that nothing will oblige M<sup>r</sup>. L. to quit his post, but their taking it from him. . . .

"I am sorry to find you have some doubts that my Queen Mother is not an original. I own, I was in hopes it was; but if it is not, it may certainly be allowed to be a good copy. Now I am speaking of pictures, I must tell you I had yours" brought home but the day before I quitted London, Reynolds having kept it till that time to make some alteration in it; and though I think it is a very disadvantageous likeness of you, yet I can't help acknowledging it gives me more pleasure to look upon it, than I cou'd receive from viewing the whole collection of the King

<sup>n</sup> This picture now hangs in the ante-room at Nuneham. It is noted in Horace Walpole's Catalogue thus:—"the transparent colouring of this head can scarcely be surpassed." The following entry is found in Lord Harcourt's Note-book:—"Paid Mr. Reynolds the painter, for picture of myself and the boy, £26 10s." Lord Nuneham was then eighteen years old.

of Poland, or even the pretty Angel you are so good as to wish to send me. . . .

"We have thoughts of going to St. Donat's, a place I believe my L<sup>d</sup> mentioned to you that he had thoughts of purchasing; in which, if he succeeds, I shall send you a print of the place, otherwise it will not answer paying the postage. We intend being at L<sup>d</sup> Talbot's some days, he having been so obliging to give us an invitation; which will make it extremely agreeable and convenient to us, his house being but eight miles from the Castle. . . .

"Your acquaintance, L<sup>d</sup> Euston, is soon to be married to Miss Liddel, every thing being agreed upon. And S<sup>r</sup> James Lowther is talked of for Lady Betty Spencer; but I very much doubt whether it will be a match, the Duke and Duchess being very cautious to whom they dispose of her. Indeed, they are greatly to be commended for it; for 'tis universally agreed that she is one of the most amiable young women that ever was born, and I am afraid S<sup>r</sup> James is a little wild. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A Mylord, Mylord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Messrs. Suitmer, Frères, a Vienna, en Autriche, en Allemagne.*

*"Tuesday, July 29, 1755.*

" . . . The Court of Hanover, by your account, is not a very entertaining one; but upon the

whole, your reception has been better than I expected. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitehead, I find, thinks it has been a very good one, and instances a very polite speech of his M—y's to you upon taking leave. . . .

"His Majesty, some people think, will not be long before he returns to England, his presence being undoubtedly necessary at this juncture, when we hourly expect a declaration of war from France. The Ambassador return'd thither about a week ago, much displeased it seems with our taking two of their ships before war was declared, though they have been attacking us for this year and half in America; and I hope our Fleet, which is a very noble one, will repay 'em for the incroachments they have made on our territories there. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A Milord, Milord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Messrs. Suitmer, Frères, a Vienne, en Autriche, en Allemagne.*

*"Hensol, Friday, Aug. 15, 1755.*

" . . . I did not know whether I might not become a Gentlewoman of Wales; but now I have seen St. Donat's, I cease aspiring to so great an honor. In plain English, the Castle is a very ugly one, much out of repair, has no appearance of magnificence, is very intire, but does not command the least view of any kind from it, no not



so much as a tree or a piece of grass. On the other hand, I must own that the prospect of the sea from the garden is very fine; 'tis five leagues over to the Devonshire coast, which you see with great ease, and can plainly with the naked eye discern the corn-fields. With regard to our purchasing of it, I can say but little to it at present, for S<sup>r</sup> J<sup>n</sup> Tyrwit has told L<sup>d</sup> Talbot he will not part with it; if he does, I believe we shall have the refusal. I wou'd have sent you the Print, which is a pretty exact one; but as the place has not answered my expectations, I was unwilling to put you to the expence of it. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A Mylord, Mylord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Messrs. Suitmer, Frères, a Vienne, en Autriche, en Allemagne.*

*"Cockthorp, Tuesday, Sept. 23, 1755.*

"Things are in a very unsettled condition in Ireland, whose Parliament is soon to meet, where 'tis thought there will be warm work. Some people go so far as to say that 'tis not improbable but a motion may be made that L<sup>d</sup> G. S—e may be expelled the House of Commons. If that point should be carried, 'tis likely they will then take the P—M in hand, who our ministry have hitherto supported unreasonably, and 'tis thought will continue to do so, unless they are

forced to do otherwise. M<sup>r</sup>. H. L. continues, I hear, to be very ill-treated by 'em. Not long since, it seems, at the Treasury Board some papers were presented to him to sign, which he refusing (not having been informed of the contents before, as is usual to a person in his high office), one of the Gentlemen that sate near him told him the D. of N. had signed it; he replied, very probably he had, as he knew the contents; but as he had not been informed of 'em, he should desire to be excused this behaviour. I am told that set of people take this heinously ill, and look upon it as flying in the face of his Grace. How these jumbles will turn out time must shew, and people of penetration can guess; but as I am not of that number, won't pretend to give my opinion of it. There is no better account yet arrived of Braddock's defeat than what your sister wrote you word of, only people in general condemn him for his conduct in carrying up his men to certain death, for all hands agree there was not an enemy to be seen; but that they were surrounded by fires, and had the troops stood their ground as their officers did, they wou'd have all likewise perished; this is all I am able to pick up relating to this unhappy affair. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A Mylord, Mylord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, recommandée a Messieurs Suitmer, Frères, a Vienne, en Autriche, en Allemagne.*

*"Cockthrop, Oct. 28, 1755.*

"MY DEAREST GEORGE,— . . . . At the Ball at Chipping-Norton, we had I think an acquaintance of yours, viz., L<sup>d</sup> North, who appears to me to be a pretty kind of man. And I can by no means think him so very plain as many people do; I am sure he is beautiful in comparison of the Lady the world says he's to marry. . . .

"I think I have not yet told you of a design we have of building a Villa at Newnham, and not a Seat, as was some years ago talk'd of; for beside the immense sum such a thing would cost, there is absolutely not a spot upon the whole Estate, as my L<sup>d</sup>, M<sup>r</sup>. Fanquier, and several others think, so proper for a house, as near the clump of ellms, which you are sensible cannot contain a large building. However, I think the situation will make amends for the smallness of the building, for I really think it not much inferior to M<sup>r</sup>. Morris's, which place you have heard M<sup>r</sup>. Whitehead speak so much of, and what not a little flatters my vanity, that so good a judge as he is agrees with me in thinking. . . .

"My Lord approves very much of your behaviour at the Court where you are, and says our Minister was very much to blame to suffer

the English Nobility to kiss the hands of the E.<sup>o</sup> and E—s, for that the A—ns<sup>p</sup> never do it here; but that he agrees with you that, as things were circumstanced, you could not avoid it. . . .

*"Cockthrop, Nov. 28, 1755.*

"MY DEAREST SON,— . . . . Debates ran very high in the H— of Com—s on the address, whether it shou'd be with alterations or not, and was carried in the negative. Pitt spoke for two hours together like an angel, Legg very well, and several others. Pitt, in answer to a whining speech of Mar—y's, wherein he urged the necessity there was of complying with the King's measures (for all this dispute is with regard to subsidies which, 'tis thought, is entered into merely for y<sup>e</sup> protection of Hanover), on account of his advanced age, replied that, since that gentleman was in such a melting mood, 'twas surprizing he did not deplore the state of his country, and so on, in a prodigious masterly manner; for which 'tis thought he will be plac'd, as will also M<sup>r</sup>. Legg and several others; indeed, the papers say 'tis done already, but that I believe is a mistake. It is hinted by some people that the best understanding does not subsist between his M—ty and her R. H—ss, on account, it is thought, of some of her peo—

<sup>o</sup> Emperor and Empress.

<sup>p</sup> Austrians.



ple's voting with the afore-mentioned gentlemen. . . ."

*"A My Lord, My Lord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Monsieur le Marquis Belloni, a Rome, en Italie.*

*"Cavendish-square, Jan. 24, 1756.*

"MY DEAREST SON,— . . . Poor Weston, you may, I believe, remember to have heard, was a considerable proprietor to the Eddestone Light House, which by accident was burnt down some weeks since. His loss is so considerable by this misfortune, that he is oblig'd to reduce his family, and walk on foot, which, with many other disagreeable circumstances, he bears with the utmost resignation and cheerfulness. His whole concern seems to be for his mother, who as yet knows nothing of it; neither will she, if human precaution can prevent it. His reason for concealing it from her is her being of so advanced an age, that he thinks the shock wou'd be too mighty for one of fourscore years to bear. The loss, it is thought, he will sustain will be about £500 per ann. for the term of six or eight years, after which time he will receive the usual duties; but till then, they are to be appropriated to whoever is so kind to advance the money for the necessary repairs, which I fear his share will amount to £4000,—a large sum; but your good father, who delights in assisting the distressed, has made

him an offer of letting him have it on the easiest terms, which one who is possess'd of so benevolent a disposition as you are will, I'm sure, join with me in applauding.

"He is gone this morning to pay his duty at Saville House, and proposes afterwards waiting upon L<sup>d</sup> Jersey, to endeavour to gain his consent that your stay at Rome may be prolonged<sup>q</sup>, as that place seems to be so agreeable to you. By this time, I take for granted, you have seen several of the pictures and buildings, which I expect to hear you are charmed with, for by all accounts they are glorious; and my L<sup>d</sup> tells me, were you to continue there two years, you wou'd always find fresh matter of entertainment. . . . M<sup>rs</sup>. Spencer I shall wait upon very soon; I am charm'd with him for dischargeing his father's debts, and with her for her behaviour; for I am told she does not appear the least elevated with her good fortune, which, I think, is one of the strongest proofs of a good understanding.

"R. H."

*"A My Lord, My Lord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Monsieur le Marquis Belloni, a Rome, en Italie.*

*"Cavendish-square, Feb. 24, 1756.*

" . . . I can't help telling you that Bess is not a little impatient for the flowers you are so good

<sup>q</sup> Lord Jersey's son, Lord Villiers, was abroad with his tutor, Mr. Whitehead, and Lord Nuneham was of the party.

as to promise her, and longs to have some of them to wear when she is presented, which will be in a very few days, when she is to wear the gold blonde you was so kind to give her, with a suit of cloths with gold and colours. . . .

"I must acquaint you that 'tis thought the longitude is discover'd; indeed, as I am told, it is almost arrived at a certainty; for if they can fix their instruments sufficiently steady to take their observations at sea, the affair is done. This discovery was made by one Behr, the King's Professor of Astronomy at Gottingen, which, I hope, will give you a better opinion of the Germans than you used to have. We expect some of that nation here very soon, and likewise some Dutch Swiss; in short, we are making the greatest war-like preparations of all kinds; and if the French presume to make us a visit, they'll meet with a warmer reception than they expect; for tho' we are fond of French trifles, we detest a French Government. Their governess, Madame de Pompadour, is laid aside, and is made what they call Dame de Palais;—what place or employment this is people here are at a loss to know, but as you have been so lately in France you may have heard. . . .

"I am glad to find you have no thoughts of kissing the holy toe. Those that have done it, I can't help saying, have acted with the greatest impropriety; for his power has never been ac-

knowledgeed by the English Protestants since the Reformation. S<sup>r</sup> J. Dashwood acted in character when he did it, for a great Jacobite is not far from being a very good Catholick; but as there is not many, I hope, of our Nobility and Gentry of that way of thinking, one can't help wondering they shou'd take pains to make the world believe that they are so. . . .

"R. H."

*"A My Lord, My Lord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Messieurs le Marquis Frescobaldy e Fils, a Florence, en Italie.*

*"Cavendish-square, April 9, 1756.*

"MY DEAREST SON,—. . . . My Lord, who just now finds me writing to you, desires his most sincere love, and bids me tell you he shou'd have sent you the elevation of the house that is to be built at Newnham, but has not been able to get it drawn out. He likewise desired in one of his letters that you wou'd buy him two tables<sup>r</sup> of Egyptian marble or porphyry. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"A My Lord, My Lord Newnham, Seigneur Anglois, chez Monsieur Villetes, Ministre de sa Majeste Britanique, en Suisse. Paid 2sh.*

*"Cockthorp, June 15, 1756.*

". . . . I have lately been highly amused with a little jaunt we have taken for a few days to

<sup>r</sup> These are now in the dining-room at Nuneham.



Newnham, which place, in my opinion, is always in beauty, and deservedly has more admirers than the lady<sup>s</sup> for whom you shew so much prowess as to enter the lists. . . . I never cou'd yet hear of any one that intended more than a flirtation with her, which your sex, you are sensible, does not dislike, when ours are weak enough to admit of it; so that I think no female need value herself upon what all may have, with a small share of encouragement. . . .

"Perhaps you may not yet have heard of a piece of good fortune that has befall Mr. Denny. Mr. Penn, who is the sole proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania, has, with the Duke's approbation, appointed him Governor thereof, which, tho' so advantageous as to bring him in £1500 per ann., will, I fear, at this time be a very fatiguing employment for him. Minorca, I am afraid, has by this time surrender'd, which, if it shou'd, it is thought will be owing to the pusillanimous conduct of Byng, who was sent to relieve it. The garrison has behaved gloriously, from whose courage and the Governor's conduct everything might have been hoped for; but Fate, or rather cowardice, had decreed otherwise. And what makes this event the more mortifying is, that had Fowkes, the Governor of Gibraltar, obey'd the orders he received, in sending the

\* Miss Speed, afterwards Countess de Viry.

regiment he refused, in all human probability the place wou'd have been saved. He is—which is a very small satisfaction to his injured country—superseded, and L<sup>d</sup> Tyrawley is gone Governor in his room, as is Hawk joined with Saunders to command the Fleet.

"I think I have not yet told you the message good old Blakeney sent to the K. by Lieut<sup>nt</sup> Ohara: 'Present,' says he, 'my humble duty to his Majesty, and let him know, old as I am, I have as much spirit and courage to defend Minorca as the youngest French commander can have to attack it; and if I receive the succours that I expect, I'll forfeit my head to his Majesty if I don't hold out the place till they arrive.' How amiable and how worthy of imitation is such a conduct! Were I Fowkes or Byng, I think I should die with shame to be outdone by a man of near fourscore years old; but such, I am afraid, the fact will prove. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

"*Cockthorp, July 27, 1756.*

"MY DEAREST SON,—. . . 'Tis hard to say whether people are most dejected or provok'd at the loss of so important a place as Minorca, which might have been undoubtedly saved, had it not been for the scandalous behaviour of Byng, who not only appears to be the greatest coward that

ever breathed, but also gives room for suspicion that he has betrayed his country for French gold, which that faithless nation had promised him; but as they have never adhered to the most solemn treaties with their allies any longer than it has serv'd their own purposes, 'tis not reasonable to suppose they'll keep their faith better with him; which is, however, but small consolation for the injury he has done us, but it may serve as an example to others not to trust them. . . .

"You have great reason, my dear, to reproach me with not sending you the elevation of the house at Newnham, which has not been forgot by me; but Mr. Leadbetter has been so much employ'd, that he has not had time to draw it out. And now, as you'll be here so soon, I imagine you will hardly think it worth while to have it upon paper; but I will give it you in words as well as I am able. The breadth of the house is 90 feet, the ends about 53; the Entrance a Vestibule; on one hand a Breakfast Parlour, 24 by 16, and 18 feet high; on the other a Dining Parlor, 33 by 24; out of that a room of 49 by 24; from that an Octagon Drawing Room, 30 by 24; which is all the house. Part of the Offices will be detached from it, as Stables, Landry, Brewhouse, &c., there not being room sufficient for them to be joined to the house, the hill dropping too suddenly to admit of it; but under the rooms I have

mentioned, which is the Basement Story, there will be the Steward's Room, Kitchen, Scullery, Servants' Hall, Larder, and Cellars. As we are very fond of seeing this work go on, we generally go to Newnham ev'ry week; and when I was there about a fortnight ago, was tempted to go to Oxford to be present at the celebration of the memory of the Benefactors to that University, amongst which number is the present L<sup>y</sup> Pomfret, who has given all the Statues that were the late Lord's to it, and on which occasion she came to Oxford to receive the adulation and praise that was prepared for her; but most people think she wou'd have acted a wiser part if she had declined been present at it her self; but the love of flattery was too predominant in her for reason and good sense to prevail, so she enter'd the Theatre, led in by the Vice-Chancellor, and the ladies who attended her were led by the chief of the Doctors, some of which were of the Nobility.

"At their entrance there was a most violent clap, which continued till her Lady<sup>sh</sup> and train were seated. Then the Vice-Chancellor made a short Latin speech, and immediately after the Professor of Latin Poetry spoke for an hour; after these the young Nobility declaim'd, some in English and some in Latin, which all ended about two o'clock. In the evening there were Oratorios, one of which I was at, and was very



well entertained; but what made it more agreeable to me was, that I had it in my power to return home at night, it being over at eight o'clock. . . .

"R. H."

*"Cockthorp, Sept. 10, 1756.*

"MY DEAREST GEORGE,—I am but just return'd from Newnham, or shou'd have made my acknowledgements to you for a letter that I am ashamed to say, or even think, how long ago I have received; the truth is, our going so frequently there engrosses so large a part of my time, that it makes me a wretched correspondent, even to you. . . . I shou'd be glad if I had it in my power to satisfy your curiosity, both with regard to the future operations of the French and the punishment of Byng, who is now under close confinement at Greenwich, where he is to continue till he takes his tryal, which can't be till the Captains he has named to appear for him can come from the Medeterranean. How his conduct will then appear time must shew; but appearances at present are strongly against him, tho' in general they acquit him of the charge of bribery, in which I acquiesce with you that there is nothing more base; for tho' money is in it self a good and indeed necessary ingredient

towards happiness, yet the bad use of it produces a contrary effect; so that 'tis as great a folly to set too high a value upon it, as to totally disregard what procures us so many of the blessings of life, and—what is still a greater satisfaction—enables us to assist virtue in distress, which many great people that I cou'd name, and some not far from my own neighbourhood, will for ever be deprived of, from their too great disregard and want of attention to their own affairs, which a certain Duke of our acquaintance has most severely felt. He is now building at Langley, which is rather unlucky for us, the Heddington Quarry not producing at present stone sufficient for the two houses<sup>t</sup>, which, I am afraid, will prevent our covering in this season; tho' Leadbetter still gives us hopes.

"Stewart, who I've mentioned to you in former letters, paid us a visit last week at Newnham, and expressed the highest satisfaction, both with the house and place, which he thinks the finest situation he ever saw, and which, I can venture to assure him, will appear much finer when some of the trees and hedges are taken away. I believe I have not yet told you that your good Father, to oblige me, is trying to place part of the

<sup>t</sup> This was the cause of Lord Harcourt's pulling down the old house at Stanton Harcourt, to utilise the stone in building Nuneham.

Offices on each side the house, which, if it can be done, will have a fine effect. It was at first thought impracticable; but his good nature to me makes him endeavour to obviate all difficulties. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"To the Right Honble. Ld. Viscount Newnham, at Geo. Venables Vernon's, Esq., at Sudbury, near Derby, in Derbyshire, by the Derby bag. Harcourt.*

*"Saturday Evening, Dec. 11, 1756.*

"MY DEAR SON,—. . . . I believe I have not told you that last week I made an excursion to Newnham for a couple of days; but the weather was so unfavourable, that I cou'd only walk round the house, which is much grown since I saw it last, for 'tis several feet above the windows of the first floor, and altogether appeared charming, notwithstanding the trees and ground were covered with snow. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

*"Cockthorp, Dec. 4, 1757.*

". . . . I suppose before this time your father has inform'd you of his intention of asking an audience of the P. of W., in order to recommend you to the vacant place in his Bed-chamber, which I sincerely wish for an opportunity of giving you joy of; but at present, I believe, must not hope

for that satisfaction, as my L<sup>d</sup> tells me it is more than likely that he may be already engaged; but we both hope to see you on some future occasion in his Royal Highnes's family. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

As may be gathered from Lady Harcourt's letters, an intention had long existed to replace the small Manor House at Nuneham by a more commodious dwelling. The villa, however, which was commenced in 1755, speedily assumed larger proportions; one alteration led to another; and it was not till the year 1833 that the house, as it now stands, was finally completed by Archbishop Harcourt.

A complete description of the house and its contents will be found in future pages. On February 9, 1759, Lord Harcourt was made a Lieutenant-General; and he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in the same year.

The sudden death of George the Second in 1760 brought his grandson to the throne. Lord Harcourt was one of the first who



was called to the Council Board in the new reign.

On July 8, 1761, the young King announced to his Council his intention of marrying the Princess Charlotte Sophia, second daughter of Charles Lewis Frederick, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Lord Harcourt was selected to fetch the Princess to England.

Horace Walpole says :—

"Lord Harcourt is to be at the Court of the Princess of Mecklenberg, if he can find it."

The Duke of Newcastle writes :—

"Lord Harcourt sets out this day. His Majesty seems highly pleased, and showed me the present he has sent to the Princess by my Lord Harcourt, of his own picture, richly and most prettily set round with diamonds, and a diamond rose."

On Lord Harcourt's arrival at his destination, he gives an account of his impressions respecting his future Queen, in a letter addressed to Sir Andrew Mitchell, as follows :—

"Our Queen that is to be has seen very little

of the world ; but her very good sense, vivacity, and cheerfulness, I dare say, will recommend her to the King, and make her the darling of the British nation. She is no regular beauty, but she is of a very pretty size, has a charming complexion, very pretty eyes, and is finely made ; in short, she is a very fine girl."

The marriage was solemnized in England on September 8 ; Lady Elizabeth, Lord Harcourt's only surviving daughter, was one of Queen Charlotte's bridesmaids. The bridesmaids were dressed in white and silver, with diamond coronets on their heads.

On September 5, 1761<sup>u</sup>, Lord Harcourt

<sup>u</sup> In this year a book was dedicated to Lord Harcourt, entitled "Thirty Lectures on the Principles of the Christian Religion, according to the Plan and Legacy of the late Reverend Dr. Busby. Delivered in the Parish Church of Stanton Harcourt, in the County of Oxford, by Joseph Parsons, M.A., London, 1761."

*"To the Right Honourable Simon, Lord Harcourt, &c."*

"MY LORD,—The late Lord Chancellor Harcourt, your noble ancestor, gave birth to these Essays, by recommending their Author to Dr. Friend, and other Trustees of Dr. Busby's Benefaction ; and your Lordship has encreased the obligation by condescending to lend your name and patronage, to forward and perpetuate the pious inclinations and purposes of your truly noble and worthy progenitor ; whose exemplary zeal to have his tenants and dependants built up in a holy faith and practice, according to

was appointed Master of the Horse to the Queen. He retained this appointment till the year 1763, in which year he was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's household.

The following letter from Lord Montagu to Lord Harcourt was written in September, 1762:—

"MY DEAR LORD,—I feel so guilty, and so ashamed of my neglect, that I have not the courage to write you the rules and orders of our happy Ecclesiastical Establishment, which ought to be had in grateful remembrance.

"I am, with great esteem and gratitude,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,  
"JOSEPH PARSONS."

*"To the worthy Inhabitants of Stanton Harcourt and South Leigh."*

"SIRS,—Your kind attention to my ministry among you in the early part of my life (though I have been long removed from you) is still in my remembrance; and if you will as candidly receive this late testimony of my gratitude and esteem, it will add to the pleasure of my declining age.

"I pray God these Essays, composed and now printed for your use and diligent reading, may prove profitable to you and myself in the day of the Lord, by your laying up their contents in your hearts to practise.

"That ye may be established in every good thought, word, and work, to the honour of Him who purchased and redeemed you with His Blood, is the hearty desire of

"Your affectionate Friend and former Pastor,  
"JOSEPH PARSONS."

rage to extenuate my fault, which I could in a great degree; but I will rely entirely upon your goodness for my pardon. Since I had last the pleasure of seeing you, I have never been fixed a week in a place, so I cannot give a particular account of the horrors of Buxton; but you will conceive what it must be to live under the same roof with fifty Sir William Burnabys, some of whom you must be with from morning to night, if you stay within doors: and if you go out, you find yourself immediately in a desert worse than Bagshot Heath, with the greatest probability of being wet to the skin before your return.

"After we left Buxton, we went to Knaresborough, another water-drinking place, which is as pretty as the other is detestable. Close by the town is the dropping well, the most picturesque thing I ever saw. There is a variety of tints upon it, and the different plants that grow about it, beyond the power of all the different kinds of dirt in your painting-cabinet to express. There are many other places worth seeing in the neighbourhood; amongst the rest Mr. Lascelles', which, though it neither has a charming bosom of wood, nor is *bien tetonné*, yet, I am sure, would please you much; that is, the gardens, or park,—I don't know which to call it: I believe Mr. Brown would say 'the grounds,' for as to the house, it is a universal configuration of bow-windows.



"Whilst I was at Knaresborough, I had an invitation from your friend, my Lady Bingley, as a protector of dumb beasts, to come and see her; but as I was afraid that, if I went, she would think me a dumb beast myself, and not being sure her goodness extended to two-legged mutes, I did not do myself the honour of waiting upon her.

"I cannot conceive how it is that you are not fonder of the country and of rural amusements. For my part, since I have been here, I have read the 'Complete Sportsman' two or three times over, and am now no inconsiderable one myself, though in the lowest-class fishing; but in that, few since St. Peter, I believe, have equalled me; and like him, for want, I suppose, of faith, or of a little more patience, I am often floundering in the water up to my brecs. If you are surprised to hear that I am become so great a sportsman, you will be still more so to find that I am a poet; though here I am in the lowest class too, only a translator. I am emboldened to send you my works, from knowing the great and just value you set upon the original:—

"The honour he's acquired is so extreme,  
And men for him will have so much esteem;  
That, as great kings Augustus' name do take,  
So heroes Harcourt will be called for his sake\*."

\* This is a translation of some lines in French under a picture of Henry, Duc de Harcourt, at Nuneham.

"I return you a thousand thanks for the news you were so good as to send, though it was rather unkind in letting me be indebted to the 'Chronicle' for the knowledge of Lord Tyvaly's having been all over the Spanish camp, disguised like a fishmonger,—a fact, I am sure, you must have been acquainted with long before it was public. And I must give you warning that I cannot admit of your not knowing the time of the post going out as a reason for finishing your letter; it is barely tolerable from one upon the road, who writes from a place he never was at in his life before. Sure, the Harcourts have been seated for so many centuries at Nuneham to very little purpose, if they have not yet found out the time of the departure of the post. But I have but an ill grace in finding fault with you after my own misdemeanours; so, begging you again pardon for my remissness,

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"MONTAGU."

In the year 1764, Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons for the publication of seditious libels, and general warrants were issued for the apprehension of all concerned in the transactions.

On February 14, Sir William Meredith moved,—

“That a general warrant for apprehending and securing the authors, printers, and publishers of seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law.”

On the last day of the debate, Horace Walpole says :—

“One would have thought that they had sent search-warrants for Members of Parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets, till the floor of the House looked like the Pool of Bethesda.”

The Ministers obtained so narrow a majority over the Wilkites, that it amounted to a moral defeat. The King took a great personal interest in the debate, and those who voted with the opposition were deprived of their employments. Lord Nuneham, who had the courage of his opinions, being then Member for St. Alban's, voted against the Government; and three large, well-bound volumes of the “North Briton,” including the celebrated “No. 45,” have

been left by him at Nuneham, in illustration of this early part of his career.

The following is the letter which was written by his father to George the Third on the occasion; and the King's answer is also given :—

“I am under so much perturbation of mind, and am so completely unhappy, on account of Lord Nuneham, for the part he took in the last question, so contrary to your Majestie's interest, so contrary to the welfare of this country, and so diametrically opposite to my own principles, that I am called upon in duty and honor to declare my disapprobation. Lord Nuneham has hitherto attended so little to affairs of government, that I fear he has been too easily imposed upon by those who have but too well succeeded in making him and other unwary people the dupes of faction and the tools of ambition.

“That I may not suffer one moment in your Majestie's good opinion, which I value above all things in the world, I have taken the liberty of declaring my sentiments on this occasion. The goodness and sensibility of your Majestie's heart will suggest better excuses for the great liberty I have presumed to take, than anything that can be urged by, Sir,” &c.



*"Qu. H., Feb. 18th, 1764.*

"MY LORD,—Your letter on Lord Nuneham's conduct in the last question is an additional proof of your dutiful affection to my person, which I have often previously experienced. I beg you will not one moment harbour in your thoughts any doubt of my judging of your attachment from the part your son, or any one else, may happen to take at this or any other crisis.

"GEORGE R."

On January 16, in the year 1765, Lady Harcourt died somewhat suddenly, and Lord Harcourt never contracted a second marriage.

The following letter from Mr. Bowly, Lord Harcourt's agent, was received at this time :—

*"Nuneham, Dec. 7th, 1766.*

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship will herewith receive the account of receipts and disbursements on Mr. Davis's estate in Ducklington, since I settl'd with the late Mr. Davis for all quitrents, &c., to the 1st of September, 1762, at which time he told me the estate was your Lordship's. I have not mentioned the expence of the Tenants' Dinner,

&c., at the payments of his rent ; if it be a fault it may be rectified, or any expence of my own going after or looking over the estate.

"I don't know, my Lord, what will be done with the poor people here. There is not a labouring man in the whole village that is able to do a day's work ; and there are more than 40 men, women, and children that have now the ague.

"I got a parcell of bark, salts of wormwood, and snake-root, together with som vomits, and have given it to som of them ; but I can't yeat bost of the success, and what to do farther I don't know. I have likewise kill'd an ordinary sheep this week, and distributed a bit to a house, to make a little broth for the sick.

"We have now don levelling the ground near the gate going to the Parson's, which, with making the drains, &c., have taken more time than your Lordship expected.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most dutifull Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"(Signed) W. BOWLY."

In 1768, Lord Harcourt was appointed English Ambassador in Paris. On June 20 in that year he received the following letter from the King :—

*"Richmond Lodge, June 20th, 1768,  
"20 m. pt. 2 p.m.*

"LORD HARCOURT,—Colonel Burgoyne wishes I would defer seeing the regiment he commands till towards the end of the summer; therefore I cannot see any objection to Lieutenant-Col. Harcourt's going with you abroad on Friday next. I wish to shew you the alterations I have made in my garden, before you have used your eyes to the regularity of those you will see abroad. I, therefore, wish you would call here a little after 12 to-morrow.

"GEORGE R."

On January 16th, 1770, we find another letter from George the Third to Lord Harcourt, addressed to Paris:—

*"Queen's House, Jan. 16th, 1770.*

"LORD HARCOURT,—I have, at least for the present, given up collecting pictures: therefore shall not trouble you with any commission for the Vandyke; but am very sensible of your attention in having communicated to me the intentions of Count de la Guerche. I received last night your list of the promotions that have been made in the French army, which gives me the more pleasure, as you know I am particularly anxious to know what goes forward in that profession. I should

have answered your first letter much sooner, had I not been so fully employed for some time, that I could not find time for it.

"GEORGE R.

"P.S.—I hear the late Count de Chaulnes wrote a book on a new method of dividing mathematical instruments; if you can get a copy of it, I shall be very glad to have it."

The following letters were received by Lord Harcourt from his son, Lord Nuneham, between the years 1770 and 1776:—

*"Bath, Dec. 25, 1770.*

"MY LORD,—... Bath is not now full, as it was some time since; but some of the fine people, who have not courage to support the town during the ungenteel fortnight at Xmas, are expected here. The Duchess of Buccleugh is come to see the Duke and Duchess of Montagu, during the absence of the Duke, who is gone to Scotland to vote for Lord Bredalbane to be one of the 16 peers, to which the Ministry had nominated Lord Dysart; but, to the astonishment of everybody, the peers had the proper spirit to assert their own undoubted right of choice of members, on which the Ministry have named Lord Stair to oppose L<sup>d</sup> Bredalbaine. This, I believe, is almost an un-



exampled event; for L<sup>d</sup> Dysart's family thought him as secure as all others have been after the nomination."

*"Feb. 1st, 1771.*

"MY LORD,—There is to be to-night, if possible, a more crowded assembly than usual at Northumberland House; and whilst all the women in London are screaming at their chairmen, with the glasses broken around them, and the men are damning their coachmen and horses, I shall be fixed by my fireside, and passing time in the more agreeable occupation of writing to you.

"The duel I gave you an account of in my last, as only determined on, was last Monday decided. Lord Paulet escaped unhurt, and Lord Milton has only a slight contusion on the breast, which, but for a button which the ball hit on, must have been pierced. Lord Milton's behaviour was such to Lord Paulet, that had the latter fallen by his hand, he could not possibly have escaped a cord. Lord P. has shewn great decency, coolness, and proper resolution in this affair. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Kelly was his second (for Sir Charles Tyte only accompanied him home after the blow was given); and Lord J. Cavendish, and not Lord George, was second to Lord Milton. Now peace is agreed on with Spain, and the duel over, we have no one thing at present to talk of here but the Harmonic Meeting

and the Opera, about which the partys are carried to as great a length, and as much violence and ill-nature shewn, as at a contested election, or whether one gang of rogues or another gang of rogues shall govern the nation.

"Lord Hinchbroke is appointed Vice-Chancellor to the King. . . .

"Your dutifull Son,

"NUNEHAM."

*"Feb. 21, 1772.*

"MY LORD,—Though I must thank you for your letter, I need not, I am certain, tell you how much pleasure it gave me, for of that you cannot doubt. I am entirely of your opinion on the subject of honours, and yet, in your particular situation, I was anxious for you having the Garter; but you have received in your own country more honour by missing it, than by having it confer'd on you; since you have learnt by that means the high esteem the world has of your character, by the displeasure they shew at the late disposal of the ribband, and the astonishment that is generally expressed at your not being decorated with it. As to your being appointed Governour to the Prince of Wales, I can easily conceive that you would not like it; though I cannot by any means be of your opinion in thinking you unfit for the employment. Look over the list of Earls (for to an

inferior rank it could not be given), and pray tell me on whom it can be bestowed; for either on account of party, illiberal manners, or immorality, is there not an objection to be made to the greater part of those who are of an age to undertake so difficult a place?

"The D— of Gloucester gave a ball on Wednesday to the Prince of Wales (who, they say, dances astonishingly). Most of the children of rank were there, besides the Court, and most of their wives, and the mothers of all the children. The King danced a Minuet and Country Dances; the Queen could not be prevailed on to shew herself in a Minuet, but danced a Country Dance. Amongst other dances the King danced the Hemp Dressers, in company with Ladies Effingham, Hertford, Holderness, Egremont, and Litchfield, and with the Lords Pomfret, Boston, Litchfield, and Denbigh, who, moreover, danced a French Country Dance.

"My brother and Lady N. are well, and present their duty. I hope you will keep your resolution of returning to England at the usual time, and that your embassy will then conclude. It is time it should, we think.

"I am, my Lord, your dutiful son,

"NUNEHAM.

"The ratification of the Spanish Convention came yesterday."

"*March 19, 1772.*

"MY LORD,—In the last letter you favoured me with, you mention a map and a scheme of Mons. de Croye for finding the Antipodes, &c., &c.; but as neither the map nor the scheme were in your packet (at least, I could not find them), I apprehend that they are either lost, or that you in a hurry forgot to send them.

"As to getting our cousin's nonsense conveyed to the King, I am the most improper person living to undertake an affair of that sort; for, being connected and applied to frequently by the artists to convey their works to the royal eye, I am better acquainted than anybody with the very surprizing difficulties that attend the shewing anything at Court; and from so frequently failing, have desired them never more to apply to me on these occasions. The King either will not or can not receive any thing, unless it is recommended by, or passes through the hands of that supreme critic in the arts, Dalton, who not unfrequently retains for his own collection or his own profit the drawings and proof-plates that are intended for his master, without even shewing them. As to my Lord Holderness, I had almost as willingly speak to the King himself as to his Lordship, who is so altered a person, that notwithstanding our former intimacy, and having in my youth been a child of his house, his Court favor has thrown a reserve



and a coldness on his behaviour perceptible to every body, and to me is so strongly marked, that it's quite ridiculous. After this state of the case, I am sure you will see how impossible it is for me to assist Mons. de Croye in exposing himself.

"I wish I could send you any account of the never-ceasing debates in the Commons House on the King's bill; but where party-spirit enters, it is impossible to give a true relation, because one cannot receive one. Gen<sup>l</sup> Conway fights against it, inch by inch; the Speaker votes for it, but speaks so strongly against it, that his arguments have lost many votes to the Court. This in Sir Fletcher cannot be either folly or ignorance, but something worse. I quite agree with you, and always did, in your opinion of Lord Camden; and if you had been ten times more severe on his conduct and character, I would readily have subscribed to it. His attic eloquence I can never sufficiently praise; but the mean court he pays to that arch-mountebank, Lord Chatham, and his interested endeavour to regain Court preferment, is detestable, because contrary to his *real* principles, which are certainly neither monarchical nor aristocratical. . . .

*"Friday.*

"I forgot to mention that the Duke of Saxe-Gotha is at last dead, and that there seems no doubt of Lord North succeeding to the vacant

Garter. This will make the Duke of Ancaster more angry, and a worse courtier than he was before. I hear it whispered about as a fact that Mon<sup>sr</sup>. de Guynes' embassy is to end in May; so that, if it should prove true, you have a very good chance of seeing England earlier this summer than the last, and perhaps of being fixed here for ever, though I have not heard of any person for your successor, as I did last year.

"There is a terrible and alarming insurrection in Ireland, which I am not surprised at, considering the oppressions of the people from the rapaciousness of their landlords."

*"Tuesday, 1772.*

"MY LORD,— . . . It falls so seldom in my way to hear anything of the disposal of Court favours, that I have not once, except in the papers, during the whole winter heard it hinted that you were to succeed to Lord Townshend's employment, in case of his removal. It is a post, everything considered, that I would only wish to the man I hated most; and I should imagine so few would covet the honor, that it will not be easy to get anybody to accept as a favor a six-years' banishment amongst an oppressed, a wrong-headed, and an almost rebellious people. . . .

"The Marriage-bill was carried in the House of Commons by only 18, and was in fact only car-

ried by 7; for 10 of the minority were too late to divide, and were shut out, and Col. Hay, thinking it all over, was gone into the country."

"1772, Wednesday Night, April 29.

"MY LORD,— . . . . Play ran higher, if possible, at Newmarket this meeting than at any of the former; even rouleaus were despised, and nothing but bank-notes seen on the table. They say a £10,000 was carried from London; even Lord Carmarthen, after all his sage resolutions not to game, was there drawn in to lose £1200—a mere trifle in these days, but more than either he or the Duke of Leeds can afford to pay. Even the women play more than the men at White's did 12 years ago, and Miss Pelham on Sunday last lost £400 at a sitting. . . .

"I fancy there is now no doubt but that the appointment to Ireland will end with you, if you chuse to accept of it. It is from very undoubted authority that I can inform you it has already been offered to Lord Rochfort, who, after particularly acquainting himself with the state of affairs in that kingdom, has refused the employment. . . .

"Thursday night.

"Nothing having happened in the course of this day, I am come almost to the conclusion of my letter, which I shall, however, leave open till to-

morrow, that I may inform you how the masquerade succeeded. . . . Lady N. and Miss Vernon are just gone, and do not seem fatigued with the tedious but pleasing toils of the toilette. For their sakes and my own I begged a dinner at Col. Hay's, and I was not more glad to be out of their way than they were to get rid of me.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your dutifull son,

"NUNEHAM.

"Friday morn.

"Lady Nuneham tells me that nothing could equal the brilliancy of the scene, and the magnificence of the *coup d'œil*, of the Pantheon filled with masks. The illumination of the dome with the transparent paintings, and the festoons of different coloured lamps hanging between the columns, must indeed have had a glorious effect. There were but 1500 tickets issued out, so there was no crowd, and, by means of ventilators, no extreme heat."

"May 17, 1772.

"MY LORD,— . . . . I am sorry to find my brother is so desirous of going into Russia, particularly as he must necessarily run such risques before he can arrive at the army, perhaps greater than in an engagement; and should he be taken prisoner, he may never see England again. As



I neither profess to love nor to admire the profession, I can be no judge of what is to be learnt in fighting against the Turks; but this I know, that I have heard officers of distinction and reputation laugh at those who have entered themselves as volunteers in the armies of Russia. If my brother goes, I shall not be inclined to laugh, but I shall lament his mistaken ideas, and the dangers he will incur, without benefiting either himself or others by so absurd and trifling an ambition. I heard Sir James Porter (who, you know, long lived among the Turks) endeavouring to dissuade Mr. Falkener from going into the Russian army, and representing to him all the dangers he would be exposed to if he fell into their hands, though those of passing to Poland should be escaped. I hope, therefore, you will not consent to this scheme, which makes me very uneasy, and will make you positively unhappy. I never heard of it till to-day, or should have written immediately to desire you to prevent it.

"Lady N. presents her duty.

"I am, my Lord, your dutifull son,  
"NUNEHAM."

"Monday night, 1772.

"MY LORD,—We dined to-day at Mr. Walpole's in the country, and had a very agreeable day, though the weather was not good enough

to allow of walking. Our company was the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord and Lady Temple, Miss Vernon, Miss Fanquier, and Mrs. Clive. On Sunday we passed the day at Clive's charming cottage. At my return that evening, I had the pleasure of finding your obliging letter (for which I return many thanks). . . .

"Wednesday, May 27.

".... Lady Waldegrave's marriage was declared on Sunday, by her writing to her father, with the Duke of Gloucester's permission, to acquaint him that she had been married six years, and that he might publish it; but that, as she was forbidden to assume the title of Gloucester, she subscribed herself as his dutifull daughter, Maria Walpole. . . ."

"Nuneham, June 10, 1772.

"MY LORD,—I take the first opportunity of congratulating you on your new dignity, and allow me to assure you how ready I shall be to contribute to the utmost of my ability to the passing the private part of your life agreeably; tho' you must be well convinced that I have neither spirits nor constitution to engage in the hurry and bustle, nor to support the constraint of a public scene. I shall, therefore, submit it to your consideration, what part of the year you

would have me attend you in Ireland; and, if you chuse it, will be at Dublin as soon after your arrival as you wish to have me there, and every succeeding year be ready to obey your summons whenever you call upon me. . . .

"I do not wonder that you are so tormented with letters and applications, for even I come in for my share, and *j'ai beau dire* that I will not apply for anybody, for the sollicitors will not take an answer; and some have been very importunate, which, added to the mean court I have had payed to me of late, and which I from my soul detest, made me in a hurry to fly from London. . . .

"Your dutifull son,

"NUNEHAM."

"The Chevalier de la Plegniere sent some time since a magnificent book on horses<sup>y</sup>, for which I have written to thank him in your name, as it is designed for your library. I believe I need not say that I am not particularly interested about Dr. Dodd<sup>z</sup>."

"Nuneham, June 22nd, 1772.

"MY LORD,—If I had wanted to be strengthened in my resolution of attending you to Ireland, your letter, which I last night received, was sufficient to have decided me, and to make me un-

<sup>y</sup> This is now in the Nuneham library.

<sup>z</sup> He was executed for forgery.

dertake that journey with cheerfulness. I cannot tell you how happy it made me, nor need I tell you if I could; for I must have been devoid of every amicable feeling not to have been touched by it. I must, therefore, beg leave to insist on following you to Dublin as soon as the first hurry of your reception is over, or at least to pass all the Parliament months there, the winter after next. Thanks to the garden here, my strength (on which my shyness depends, for it is not natural to me) is very much increased, and I am very likely to live till October twelvemonth; indeed, shortness of life I never had any reason to apprehend, for I am not an age to be paralytic, and I have no other disorder to dread.

"The going to Dublin will not be so disagreeable to me as you seem to imagine; nay, the private part of the life may be agreeable and comfortable. The appearing at the assembly, the ball, and the drawing-room will be nothing to me; and if I can avoid the long-men dinners of the Castle, and, what will be worse, the dining abroad, I shall be more than paid for my journey, and the trifling circumstance of living rather more in public than perhaps I should chuse, by the pleasure of living with you in private, and flattering myself that I may be of use to you in the few hours you will have of relaxation from business. I have fairly, and without aid or disguise, layed before you my



real sentiments; and therefore, unless you order me to be fired at from the port, go I will to Ireland. . . ."

The following letter was written by Lord Nuneham to Mr. Whitehead, on his first arrival at Dublin Castle:—

" . . . . Till yesterday we did not receive our baggage, so I have had the misfortune of not being able to go to the ball, the levée, the drawing-room, or Lady Nuneham's assembly; however, I saw from a box, in company with a dirty *valet de chambre*, and behind three rows of chambermaids, his Excellency's royal march into the ball-room. I saw him mount his chair of state, and staid till the 1st minuet was concluded, which was performed with all the humiliating forms that are practised at St. James's, and which did not please me enough to make me desirous of seeing them 20 or 30 times repeated.

"This is the most dirty, the most gloomy, the most stinking, and the ugliest city I ever was in. Most of the streets are narrow; all that are paved are paved like the most neglected and unfrequented streets of London before the improvements; several are half-paved only; many not at all. Added to this, every kind of filth is thrown into the deep stream of black mud that gently

flows through the town; so you may imagine what a villanous place this is. Half the inhabitants are in absolute rags, and one-third of them without shoes or stockings, and almost naked. There are no flat pavements for foot-passengers, therefore I shall never attempt walking in the streets; and you cannot stop in a carriage without being surrounded with such crowds of importunate beggars, that, compared with Dublin, the towns in Flanders are, in that respect, free from those nuisances.

"All the lower people are idle, drunken, and universally thieves, but the Castle is where they shine the most in their profession; there are, perhaps, 4 or 5 false keys to every room, and to every table and chest of drawers in those rooms, for which reason the locks are very frequently obliged to be changed. The night we arrived, the Master of the Ceremonies was robbed of all his cloaths and some money; and the following night, Mr. Miller, who came with us, lost out of his drawers 6 pair of new silk stockings. Are not these proofs of the bad government of this country? And how shocking is the contrast between the regal pomp of the Vice Roy and the wretchedness of the people! Were they less oppressed, they would be more virtuous and more industrious.

"The pageantry of the procession to the House of Lords, and the sort of homage paid to the

L<sup>d</sup>.-Lieut., did not enchant me, for it exceeded even what I had expected; and the guards on horseback, the principal Officers of the Household with their wands, and the pages in their liverys, paddling on foot through the mud, with grooms of the chambers and footmen, through streets lined with soldiers, had an air of absolute monarchy, and of military force to support it, that, had I been an Irishman, I am certain I could not have endured the sight of. . . ."

The following extract of a letter from Lord Nuneham to Mr. Whitehead, on the eve of his departure from Dublin, shews what a change had been wrought in his ideas:—

" . . . . I fear I am of a temper born to be uneasy; for the thoughts of leaving Ireland, probably for ever, give me as many pangs as I felt at the idea of coming here. I do love this people, and shall ever remember them with gratitude."

Lord Nuneham to Mr. Whitehead:—

" *Dublin Castle, May 15.*

" . . . . There is an enchanting and a respectable warmth of heart and good humour, in the good

company of Dublin, that no other good company can boast of. You would love them, if you knew them, as sincerely as I do.

"My correspondence with Walter<sup>a</sup> has been kept up as usual, and not a tree, not a shrub in the beloved spot has been forgotten. *Fair Quiet*<sup>b</sup> will still be the object of my adoration; and after the life I have passed during eight months, I shall return to her with additional pleasure; for, if possible, the refined inhabitants of London and their refined nonsense will be more hateful to me now than ever. . . .

"Since my writing the above, a piece of intelligence from London, which brings a doubt on the subject of Leicester House<sup>c</sup>, as if it was not *absolutely* disposed of to the Spanish Ambassador, makes it at present uncertain whether I shall be so soon in London as I thought and designed; for if it is not let, and the time for the Ambassador's going into it not settled for the beginning of July, I shall not go to London, but remain at Newnham till birth-days, masquerades, and *fêtes champetres* are all over, and the fine fools all dispersed."

The following letter was also written

<sup>a</sup> Walter Clark, the gardener at Nuneham.

<sup>b</sup> Referring to some verses in the garden at Nuneham.

<sup>c</sup> At that time in the occupation of Lord Nuneham.



from Ireland by Lord Nuneham to Mr. Bowly<sup>d</sup> :—

“1776, *Saturday*.

“You were very humane in having thought of the wants of the poor, before I mentioned my wishes on that head; indeed, conscience (which was given to be our guide) would not let me rest in peace, when I reflected that I bestowed on unfeeling trees an attention and expense that I denied to my fellow-creatures in distress,—my great fondness for my orange-trees was the very reason why I was resolved to make a sacrifice of them; for the merit is but small in doing good, when one can bestow benefits without the most trifling inconvenience to oneself. I confess that article in my letter to you cost me a pang; but, thank God! the moment the idea occurred to me, I did not hesitate about my duty<sup>e</sup>. I am glad, however, that on this occasion Duty can be reconciled with the indulgence of my fancy, and that the conservatory will not suffer.

“I can conceive and approve of Walter’s<sup>f</sup> feelings; but if he had kept in the same opinion after the first shock was past, and he had time to reflect, I should have thought that he had not so much

<sup>d</sup> Lord Harcourt’s agent.

<sup>e</sup> Lord Nuneham had counter-ordered some orange-trees from abroad, that he might expend the cost of them in charity.

<sup>f</sup> The gardener.

charity as devotion, which, I am sorry to say, is too frequently the case; but so it is, and things apparently made to go hand in hand with each other are for the most part at variance, and the most devout are often the least benevolent. It is a so much easier road to heaven, in the opinion of mankind, to go to church without attention, to mumble over prayers unintelligible to them, and to keep to outward forms, of no consequence beyond meer decency, than to do the duties prescribed to us, that one can hardly wonder at the choice that is made to avoid trouble. . . .

“NUNEHAM.”

Lord Nuneham to his father, Lord Harcourt :—

“*Oct. 3, 1776.*

“MY LORD, — Lord Buckingham<sup>g</sup> will certainly, I fear, not leave England till a few days after the birthday; but for very good reasons, you need not fear that he will stay with us one moment longer than he thinks absolutely necessary.

“He is in high spirits, they tell me, and expects nothing but sunshine; although the world is convinced that, all things considered, he will in a very short time see threatening clouds, which will burst

<sup>g</sup> He succeeded Lord Harcourt as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

in thunder over his head; the wicked wits of London make an absolute joke of his being appointed your successor, and say he will quarrel with any old dowager who does not curtesy to him as low as he expects. His Secretary I hear well spoken of as a man of sense and strict probity; and what is no small advantage, his fortune is considerable and independent. They say, too, that he is modest and civil, which will add a lustre to his abilities, if he has any; and if he has not, will go far towards concealing the deficiency. . . .

"Lady Nuneham's party went off very well, and was thought extremely agreeable; though as the two Ambassadors, and several foreigners and others who had never seen the house<sup>h</sup>, were here, I was vexed at the very shabby way it was shewn in; but Lady N. being half a Harcourt, there was no prevailing on her to change a plan once formed. . . .

"Yet with this disadvantage it was admired. She is to have another party on New Year's Day, when the small drawing-room will be opened. We should have opened all the six rooms last spring, which is the time for a great assembly, on account of the size and beauty of the garden, had it not been for the necessity of giving ices on such occasions, which, made by a shop-keeping con-

<sup>h</sup> Harcourt House.

fectioner, would have been for us too heavy an expense."

*"Sudbury, Oct. 25, 1776.*

"MY LORD,— . . . We found Lady Temple at Stow, grown moped, low-spirited, and extremely deaf, and many years older in appearance than when I saw her last. The great pond is completed, and some further improvements are making to the front of the park, which since you saw it has had the addition of a beautiful colonnade, like that in the court of Burlington House. The garden front, in my opinion, surpasses in majesty and beauty everything I have seen; and considering its extent (450 feet), and the richness of the design, and the alteration within doors, the £25,000 it has cost is not dear. All this has been done, as Lady Temple repeatedly mentioned, out of his income; and besides this great work, and the re-improvement of the North front, he has altered the Temple of Friendship, rebuilt on an entire new plan Nelson's seat, and is now making a great improvement to the ladies' building, by adding a flight of steps and a portico. Altherop, where I had not been for eighteen years, and which I dreaded on account of the crowds, I liked most extremely; for though there was much company, yet I knew and liked most of them; besides, there is so much ease, and such entire liberty, that one is no more constrained than if one were



at home and alone. Though we set out very late from Altherop, we reached Nottingham by 7 o'clock; but we were too late to see the fine view near the town, or that of or from the Castle, and all we know of Nottingham is that it is very dirty and noisy, and the streets very narrow. It is a dreary part from Nottingham to Mansfield, nothing but barren heath and sand, without trees; and I was much disappointed at Newstead Abbey, where the timber has been entirely destroyed, and the park converted into a farm, so that the end of the Abbey Church which remains has lost much of its picturesque effect, for want of proper objects to accompany it.

"We saw Hardwicke the same morning, with which I was more pleased than with anything I had seen in this island, the Castles of Conway and Carnarvon excepted. There was everything to please me at Aston<sup>1</sup>, which is the very temple of genius and good taste. We had delightful music, and the servants as well as their master are artists.

"Some excellent etchings and copies in oil have been produced by Mr. Mason's young footman, whom he instructs. The butler can turn, and model, and carve, and do a thousand other things; the blacksmith of the village can tune the piano-forte and celestinet; and the shoemaker's boy

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mason's living.

has the very finest voice I ever heard, and sings with taste, and by note.

"Miss Fanquier was invited by Mr. Mason to come to him from Blithe; and she passed Tuesday with us at Aston, and accompanied us hither, where she will remain as long as we shall, and go with us to London on Wednesday sennight the 6th October. ....

"Your dutifull son,  
"NUNEHAM."

In the year 1772, Lord Harcourt returned from his embassy in Paris, and was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was at the same time promoted to be a general in the army.

On the occasion of his going to Paris, Lord Harcourt had been furnished, according to the custom of the day, with services of gold and silver plate from the Royal plate-chest. At the termination of the embassy, he received a formal release, authorising him to retain the plate for his private use: this plate still exists at Nuneham. An option used to be given of taking £3000, with which to purchase plate from the Court-

jeweller. Lord Harcourt availed himself of this alternative when he went to Ireland.

Before leaving Paris, we find Lord Harcourt addressing the following letter to his daughter-in-law, Lady Nuneham;—

“Paris, June 16, 1772.

“DEAR LADY NUNEHAM,—Though I have wrote to Lord Nuneham this morning, I cannot help indulging myself with the pleasure of thanking you for the very kind offer you make of making me happy with your company during some part of the time I may have occasion to reside in Ireland. I consider the offer which Lord Nuneham has made as the greatest sacrifice he can pay to duty, respect, and friendship; but, as I don't love to be behindhand with my friends, it is the first, and ever will be my principal, consideration, not to abuse the goodness of those I love; and therefore, taking the will for the deed, I shall be almost peremptory in insisting upon his not undertaking a journey that can afford him no amusement and pleasure, for the great risk and danger to which his health must necessarily be exposed.

“Should you, after all, go to Dublin, the time I could wish to have you there would be during the sitting of the Parliament, which cannot happen before October, 1773. The town is then full and

gay, and the Castle would be much gayer if you should be there to do the honours, which, without compliment, you would do better than any one. . . . Upon the whole, your purchases in France will be for winter gowns rather than summer clothes, as the Parliament commonly rises in March or April, though it happened to set later this year. . . .

“I own I was a little out of humour with you for over-fatiguing yourself, but it was that kind of out of humour that one never feels but for those one loves most. I shall hope the dressing-plate<sup>k</sup> will please. You say much more about so trifling a thing than it deserves; if it pleases you, it more than answers my purpose. I own I thought Madame de Montemart's dressing-plate looked charmingly *le lendemain des noces*.

“I have only time to say how very affectionately

“I am, dear Lady Nuneham,

“Yours,

“HARCOURT.”

The person whom Lord Harcourt followed as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was Lord Townshend.

“Ireland,” we read in Knight's “History of England,” vol. v. p. 153, “continued in an uneasy state,

<sup>k</sup> A handsome silver-gilt set, which is still at Nuneham.



although Lord Townshend had been succeeded as Lord-Lieutenant by a much more popular nobleman, Lord Harcourt."

Indeed, Lord Harcourt appears to have been sent to Ireland on account of his amiable character and easy disposition. He went there in October, 1772; but it was not till October 12, 1773, that he met his first Parliament. His speech consisted chiefly of a promise to administer the supplies with justice and economy.

Lord Harcourt found a debt, £265,000, which necessitated the imposition of additional taxation to the amount of £100,000 per annum. He had the boldness to propose an absentee tax, to be paid by all persons who should not reside actually in the kingdom six months in each year. It is only surprising, considering the powerful interests that were hit by this measure, by how small a majority Lord Harcourt's proposition was defeated. The numbers were, for the tax 102, against it 122.

The next matter which occupied Lord

Harcourt's attention was the question of relaxing the severity of the penal code. A bill was brought in to enable Roman Catholics to take leases for lives of land, and to secure to them the repayment of money lent by them to Protestants on mortgages. Matters, however, were not ripe for the passing of these measures; and all that was accomplished at the time was the carrying an Act, which passed both Houses of the Irish Parliament without opposition, to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance upon oath. This was accepted by the Roman Catholics as a first recognition by the Government of their status as subjects, and upon this foundation they hoped to build their future complete emancipation.

At this time we find the following letters addressed by Lord Harcourt to his daughter-in-law, Lady Nuneham:—

*"Dublin, Dec. 25.*

"DEAR LADY NUNEHAM,—I am obliged to you for a very kind letter which I received yes-

terday, and for the account you sent me of the proposed enclosure at Stanton Harcourt. If Mr. Bosvill comes into the scheme, it will facilitate greatly the execution of it, tho' Bedwell should out of perverseness stand out. I have ever found him obstinate and adverse to anything that has been proposed for the real benefit of the estate; but possibly he may be brought by your management to do more for you than he would consent to do for me.

"You send me a piece of news that is really news to me,—the creation of a certain Marquis. I cannot think there is any foundation for the report, especially as I never applied for that additional honour. Lord Townshend<sup>1</sup> has, I believe, some views of that kind, which he has in a manner owned, tho' not to me; and I think Lord Hertford is not unlikely to have the same views. If you

<sup>1</sup> Jesse, in his "Memoirs of the Life and Times of George the Third," 1867, vol. ii. p. 250, quotes a passage from a letter of the King's to Lord Bute, dated March, 1776:—

"I cannot but express my astonishment at L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt's presumption in telling Lord Drogheda there would be no difficulty in making him a Marquis. I refused to make Irish Marquises to Lord Hertford and Lord Townshend. I desire to hear no more of Irish Marquises. I feel for English Earls, and do not choose to disgust them."

Lord Harcourt was too good-natured to be the subject of much personal enmity; yet, from being placed in a conspicuous position, he was subject to the misrepresentation of Court parasites; and there is abundant evidence that he did not escape altogether from the annoyance of ungenerous usage.

should hear anything more about it, I should be glad to be informed of it, as well as from what quarter your intelligence comes. . . .

"The hurry of public dinners is over, which I am not a little glad of. Though they live in general very well here, there are few dinners worth the trouble of going to them, with such attendance as the Lord-Lieutenant is obliged to have: a squadron of horse by way of guards, and the battle-axes, who are like our yeomen of the guard, vulgarly called Beef-eaters, walking on each side the chariot; and this is constantly the case when the Lord-Lieutenant goes to publick dinners. This is the place for a person who loves *La Representation*. To the chapel (though it is in the Castle) the Lord-Lieutenant is attended by his pages, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, gentlemen at large, and other officers, and has a closet better fitted up, though not so large, as his Majesty's at St. James's. I could very willingly dispense with some of this state on my own account, but that would be improper. We have had the most delightful weather ever since I landed, much better than I ever saw at this season in England or France. The climate is less cold, but more moist, tho' not so since my arrival. . . .

"I shall order Bowley to forbid the young gentlemen shooting any more at Nuneham after Xmas, more especially as they make so improper a use



of it. If they come afterwards, the best way is to send to the Heads of the Colleges they belong to, or to their tutors, who will prevent it.

"My love to Lord Nuneham, and to my daughter and Lady Evelyn. The Colonel desires his love to you and his brother.

"I am, dear Lady Nuneham,  
"Most affectionately,  
"HARCOURT.

"I am glad your taste for the flower-garden is not abated."

"*St. Woolstan's, May 28, 1773.*

"DEAR LADY NUNEHAM,—I received your letter yesterday, just as I was setting out for Mr. Conolly's, where we dined; which prevented me, however, answering it immediatly, as I could wish to have done, lest any delay should defeat my design to purchase Mr. Boyce's estates at Sutton<sup>m</sup>. The two estates are as well as I can recollect of about the value of sixty pounds. I have a particular of them, but it is not here; but Bowley knows pretty well the value of them. I should lately have been glad to have purchased them at thirty years' purchase; but rather than not have them, I would give a year or two's purchase more. I think it will be full as well,

<sup>m</sup> A hamlet of Stanton Harcourt.

if I purchase them, and then add them to the estate, as that Lord Nuneham should borrow the money for that purpose; it will make a pretty little addition, more especially as these estates will be proportionably benefitted with the other estates by the new enclosure. I leave the transaction to you and your coadjutor Bowley, and shall be ready to ratify any engagements you shall enter into during the course of your negotiations.

"I am delighted with St. Woolstan's, and so is every one that sees it. The house is far from being a large house; and yet what appears to be a paradox, we can lodge a great many people. I have in all, ten *lits de maitre*; few houses in Ireland have so many. I have an admirable dining-parlour, and the pleasantest drawing-room in the world, except the octagon at Nuneham.

"My drawing-room commands a charming view of the Liffey, which runs very rapidly, forming a pretty cascade within about sixty or seventy yards of the window. I am just going to Dublin to do some busyness, after which I shall dine with Sir Henry Cavendish, who never fails to toast your health. Sir Harry has behaved towards me in the most friendly manner, and I am really much obliged to him; all which I set down to the account of my good friends at Sudbury, to whom I desire my love when you write to them, for

I understand they have left London. My love to Lord Nuneham and the Colonel.

"I am, dear Lady Nuneham,

"Y<sup>rs</sup> most affectionately,

"HARCOURT."

The following letter, from Lord Harcourt to his agent, is interesting only as giving a history of parts of the family estates.

Earl Harcourt to Mr. Bowley:—

*"Dublin Castle, May 31, 1773.*

"BOWLEY,—I am sorry to hear you have had such floods, which at this season must have done great damage to the low grass grounds. If you think the hay crop in Lord's meads and the adjacent grounds is likely to be spoilt, it might be adviseable to put the cattle into those meads, provided you think the cattle would eat the grass; which I fear they would be unwilling to do, on account of the scum which the floods will leave behind them. The upland ground will probably bear a bulky crop this year, that may make some amends for the loss of the meads, where I apprehend the flood will be a great while before it runs off, on account of the forwardness of the grass.

"I leave it to you to make such allowance to the tenant at Morton as may make him some

amends for the loss he may have sustained from this very unseasonable rise of the waters; it is better to do anything rather than to have that paultry estate in hand. I have wrote to Lady Nuneham, to let her know that I leave it to her and you to settle the value of Mr. Boyce's estates.

"I should hope that the Stanton Harcourt estate might upon the whole be improved about one-third by the enclosure; for if the land in the field exclusive of the Commons used to be rated at about 6<sup>s</sup> and 8<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> acre, I should think it worth 10<sup>s</sup> p<sup>r</sup> acre when enclosed. I know the measure was small in general; but allowing for the small measure, I think it cannot improve less than one-third.

"The gravelly ground will make good turnip land, or will bear clover, or S<sup>t</sup>. Foin; and the deeper or richer land will be greatly benefitted, so as to make the improvement very considerable. If the charge of the enclosure should make any of the people willing to part with their estates, rather than embark in an undertaking that some of them may have been averse to, as well from an apprehension of the trouble, as for fear of the charge, I should be willing to purchase them. I shall be very curious to know the admeasurement of the whole, when the survey has been taken.



"It will be adviseable to learn the sentiments of Brazen Nose College with regard to an enclosure at Hinksey; if that College is at all reasonable, an enclosure might perhaps be brought about, without even the charge of a Bill for that purpose. When you go to Oxford, I wish you would call upon the Bursar of the College, and that you would tell him my intention of inclosing, and that you would desire him to sound the Principal and Fellows about it. You may inform him that there is no doubt as to the expediency and advantage arising from an inclosure; all the advantages of which may be obtained at a very easy rate, if the College will agree to do it in an amicable manner.

"I wish to have the last made plantations in Windmill-field kept clear of weeds this year; which I hope will secure them for the future. I want to know how they grow. I desire the young beech plantation in Coneyberry Hill, near the house, may be attended to, and that the weeds there may be kept down; and that the nettles below the church in the parson's old orchard may be pulled up, and the thistles and docks cleared away. Let Joseph keep a watchfull eye to the mounds<sup>a</sup>, that the cattle may not get into them. . . ."

<sup>a</sup> Fences.

*"Dublin Castle, Feb. 13, 1775.*

"DEAR LADY NUNEHAM,—I was happy to see your letter dated from Harcourt House, where Lord Nuneham's letter, which I received yesterday, said you intended to be on Tuesday last. . . .

"I flatter myself you will have the additional comfort of being free from apprehension of house-breakers, from whom you are certainly more secure than in almost any other house in London. But what is still of more consequence, and gives me more pleasure, is the account which Lord Nuneham sends me of your attention to your health; which at your age will, I trust, fully answer your purpose, and the expectations of your friends."

The following letter was written to his sister, Lady Vernon, by the Lord-Lieutenant :—

*"Kilmore, July 1, 1775.*

"DEAR SISTER,— . . . It gave me great uneasiness that Lady Nuneham's health, even before this misfortune in the family, was such as made it very unadvisable for her to undertake another journey to Ireland; and therefore I was determined to forego any prospect of advantage that I might expect to reap from her return and Lord Nuneham's to Dublin, where their behaviour and conduct was such as gained the esteem and good-

will of every one that knew them ; but it was purchased at too dear a rate, for Lady N.'s earnestness to please, and to do me all the credit and service that was possible, was attended with a degree of fatigue that was more than she could well support ; and I fear that another such winter might have been fatal to her. But as she is young, and disposed to pay a deal of attention to her health, I make no doubt that care and your good management may restore her to that perfect state of health which her friends so sincerely wish.

"I am sure it would give you great pleasure and satisfaction to hear what people say of Lady Nuneham here ; there is but one opinion of the propriety of her conduct and behaviour, which upon the whole was so satisfactory to this nation, that they own they never yet saw anything like it, nor ever expect to see it equalled.

"I hope Lord Vernon finds the same amusement in the country that Sudbury always used to afford him. Air and gentle exercise are the best restoratives ; and he may be sure of them in attending to his improvements.

"I am now upon a visit to the Bishop of Kilmore (D<sup>r</sup>. Jones), who is situated very agreeably in a pleasant country about seventy miles from Dublin. I shall stay here till Monday, and then return to St. Woolstan's. I shall soon find time

to trouble L<sup>d</sup> Vernon with a letter ; in the meantime you will assure him of my love, and

"Believe me, dear Sister,

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"HARCOURT.

"I have just received a very kind letter from Harry<sup>n</sup>. My love to my nephews and neices. I take for granted Lord and Lady Nuneham will soon be with you."

Lord Harcourt alludes in the last letter to the fatigues to which Lady Nuneham was subjected. The following official list will illustrate Lord Harcourt's statement :—

"His Excellency arrived at the Castle, Nov. 30, 1772.

1772. (The winter without a Parliament).

*Public Nights.*

Dec. 11. A Drawing Room.

1773.

Jan. 15. A Drawing Room.

" 18. Queen's Birth Day kept, an Ode, a Ball, and a Supper.

Feb. 5. A Drawing Room.

" 23. A Ball.

" Afterwards third Lord Vernon.



- March 19. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 23. A Ball.  
 June 4. King's Birth Day kept, a Levée, an  
 Ode, and a State Dinner.

*Parliament Winter.*

- Oct. 8. A Drawing Room; Lord and Lady  
 Nuneham arrived the 7th.  
 „ 12. A Ball.  
 „ 14. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 22. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 26. A Ball.  
 „ 29. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 Nov. 2. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 4. King William's Birth Day, a Ball.  
 „ 12. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 16. A Ball.  
 „ 19. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 23. A Ball.  
 „ 26. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 30. A Ball.  
 Dec. 3. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 7. A Ball.  
 „ 10. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 14. A Ball.  
 „ 17. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 21. A Ball.

1774.

- Jan. 21. A Drawing Room.

- Jan. 25. Queen's Birth Day kept, an Ode, a  
 Ball, and a Supper, 411 Ladies.  
 „ 28. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 Feb. 1. A Ball.  
 „ 4. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 8. A Ball.  
 „ 11. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 15. A Ball.  
 „ 18. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 22. A Ball.  
 „ 25. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 March 1. A Ball.  
 „ 4. A Drawing Room.  
 „ 8. A Ball.  
 „ 11. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 15. A Ball.  
 April 29. A Drawing Room.  
 May 3. A Ball.  
 „ 6. Lady Nuneham's assembly.  
 „ 10. A Ball, being the last Public night for  
 the season."

From Earl Harcourt to Right Honble.  
 Henry Flood :—

*"Dublin Castle, Aug. the 20th, 1776.*

"SIR,—I am sorry to hear that the Nocturnal  
 meetings are not discontinued, as they may be  
 productive of great discord and riot. The Sherrif

of the County has, I apprehend, already sufficient authority to call out a *Posse Comitatus* whenever the emergencies of the case may require it; and the army when called upon, is obliged in common with all other subjects, to assist the Sheriff in the preservation of the peace. Upon enquiry at this office, it does not appear necessary to issue out any particular order to the troops on this occasion. But if you know any two neighboring Justices, either of the County of Kilkenny or Tipperary, a General Order shall be lodged in their hands, empowering them jointly to call upon the troops for their assistance whenever it shall be deemed necessary. If you think such an order would be of use, you will send to Mr. Waite (in Sir John Blaquiere's absence), the names of the two gentlemen in the commission, in whose hands you would wish to have it lodged, and an order shall be dispatched without loss of time.

"I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Warden Flood, who called upon me the day before yesterday at St. Woolstan's. I heard yesterday from Sir John Blaquiere, who seems now to entertain rather a more favourable opinion of *the affair* which he is soliciting, than he did for some time. I am sorry, however, it is not in his power to write with more certainty of success; but that depends on others, not on him. I was

in hopes the matter would have been decided before now; but in a transaction where more persons than two are unavoidably concerned, delays will happen in spite of all Blaquiere's diligence and activity, which have been fully excited on this occasion.

"I am, Sir, with the greatest regard,

"Your most humble, obed<sup>t</sup> servant,

"HARCOURT."

From Earl Harcourt to the Right Honble.  
Henry Flood, M.P., Ireland:—

"*Dublin Castle, Feb. 2, 1776.*

"DEAR SIR,—I wrote yesterday to Lord North, and I hope my letter may have some weight, if it is in his Lordship's power to comply with what you seem so earnestly to wish at the outset of this Parliament. I had reason to believe he was under engagements to some of his friends, to bring them into Parliament when proper opportunities should offer; but I cannot pretend to say how he stands circumstanced at present with regard to these engagements. From the Report of the Commissioners it will be impossible for me to make any provision for Sankey, without the greatest dishonour to my administration, and a manifest detriment to the publick re-



venue, to which it is my duty to pay a proper attention.

"I am, dear Sir, with the greatest esteem,  
 "Your most humble and obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>,  
 "HARCOURT."

In 1776, Lord Harcourt proposed to the Irish House of Commons to send out of the kingdom four thousand men<sup>o</sup>, and to accept in their stead an equal number of foreign

<sup>o</sup> Copy of the order on this subject issued by Lord Harcourt. The original is in the British Museum :—

"I have His Majesty's command to acquaint you, that the situation of affairs in part of his American dominions, is such as makes it necessary for the honor and safety of the British Empire, and for the support of His Majesty's just rights, to desire the concurrence of his faithful Parliament of Ireland, in sending out of this kingdom a force not exceeding 4,000 men, part of the number of troops upon this establishment appointed to remain in the kingdom for its defence; and to declare to you His Majesty's gracious intention, that such part of his army as shall be spared out of this kingdom to answer the present emergency of affairs, is not to be continued a charge upon this establishment so long as they shall remain out of this kingdom.

"I am further commanded to inform you that as His Majesty hath nothing more at heart, than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, it is his intention, if it shall be the desire of Parliament, to replace such forces as may be sent out of this kingdom, by an equal number of foreign Protestant troops, as soon as His Majesty shall be enabled so to do; the charge of such troops to be defrayed without any expense to this kingdom. H.

"A true copy; compared and examined.—C.M.

"Directed to Mr. P. Tombelle,  
 at the Earl of Shelburne's, London."

Protestant troops, to be maintained without any expense to Ireland. The House reluctantly assented to the first part of the proposition; but absolutely refused to receive the foreign troops.

"Almost immediately after the Christmas recess," we read in Knight's "History of England," "these embarrassing matters were brought before the English Parliament, where Mr. Thomas Townshend moved for a committee of inquiry, on the allegation that Lord Harcourt had made a disposal or offer of public money without consulting the British House of Commons, thereby being guilty of a breach of privilege. Ministers were greatly embarrassed, and no two of them agreed in their modes of defence. It was clear that they or Lord Harcourt had been at fault; but even the opposition admitted the great merits of Lord Harcourt's administration in Ireland, and the motion was quashed by a majority of 224 against 106."

Lord Harcourt remained for five years in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant.

Early in the year 1777, he established himself at Nuneham, hoping to enjoy some repose after a life spent at Court, and in the

service of his country. The improvement of his property, and the embellishment of Nuneham, at once afforded him occupation and amusement. His son, Lord Nuneham, who during the long absences of his father had taken charge of the family estates, ably seconded Lord Harcourt in all his views.

On the morning of September 16, 1777, Lady Nuneham joined the party at breakfast with an unwonted sadness of expression on her countenance. Lord Harcourt rallied her upon it, and jokingly asked her what miserable dream she had had. After breakfast she confided to her husband that she dreamt she had seen Lord Harcourt's dead body extended upon the kitchen dresser at four o'clock that very day. Lord Nuneham treated the matter lightly. She could not, however, shake off her gloomy forebodings.

Lord Harcourt had a favourite dog, which generally accompanied him on his rambles; on this particular day the occupation he was engaged in was that of marking trees in the

Park, and setting out plots for planting. He had arrived at a spot which is now occupied by a yard behind the head-keeper's house, when his dog leaped over some bushes, and fell into a well which they concealed. The well was not deep, and was full of mud at the bottom.

Lord Harcourt leant over the side of the well, and endeavoured to extricate the dog. In so doing, he lost his balance, and himself fell in. The thick mud in which his head became imbedded, quickly smothered him. The dog made its way on to its master's heels, which were leaning against the side of the well. The piteous wailing of the dog in time attracted attention. Some labourers heard the sounds, and on approaching the well, perceived a hat and a right-hand glove; a further search soon revealed the dreadful nature of the accident. A ladder was procured, and the body having been extricated, was placed upon a gate, and conveyed to the house. The offices were first approached, and accordingly the bearers de-



posited the corpse upon the kitchen dresser, where, in exact accordance with Lady Nuneham's dream, it was lying at four o'clock, on September 16, 1777. Lord Harcourt was sixty-three years of age.

The event is thus noticed in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1777 :—

"Humanity, indeed, was the characteristic of this amiable Peer, no man being more justly beloved, or more generally regretted by his family, friends, and dependants. Among his friends, and consequently his mourners, may be reckoned the two greatest personages in this kingdom, of whom one esteemed him as a parental friend, and the other lamented him, she said, as her husband by proxy."

The matter is thus alluded to by Horace Walpole, in a letter addressed to Sir Horace Mann :—

*"Strawberry Hill, Sept. 18, 1777.*

"... A strange accident has happened. Lord Harcourt was missing the other day at dinner-time at his own seat; and at last was found suffocated in a well with his head downwards, and his dog upon him. It is concluded that the

dog had fallen in, and that the Earl, in trying to extricate him, had lost his poise and tumbled in too. It is an odd exit for the Governor of a King, Ambassador, and Viceroy."

Another letter, from Horace Walpole to the Rev. William Mason, also mentions the accident :—

*"Strawberry Hill, Sept. 18, 1777.*

"... This is not my immediate motive for writing; but to tell you an amazing piece of news that I have this moment received from town. The dinner-bell had rung—where? at Nuneham. The Earl (Lord Harcourt) did not appear. After much search, he was found standing on his head in a well, a dear little favourite dog upon his legs, his stick and one of his gloves lying near. . . ."

The same writer, corresponding with the Countess of Ossory, says :—

*"Strawberry Hill, Sept. 20, 1777.*

"... What a strange exit Lord Harcourt's! I am sorry for anybody's misfortune, though I cannot dislike to see Lord Nuneham Earl; it is an addition to my concern for the poor father, as in all probability he perished by trying to save his dog. You know how that must teach *me*. . . ."

In writing a few days afterwards to Lord Nuneham, Horace Walpole says :—

“I flatter myself my zeal will not appear too prompt in assuring your Lordship and Lady H. of the part I take in your late terrible shock. I wished to express it at the first moment; but trusted you both knew me too well to doubt of what I felt for you. I still write in pain lest I should be importunate, and beg you will not trouble yourself to answer me, as all I mean is to shew that I can never be insensible to anything that affects you.

“It may be some satisfaction to your Lordship to know that every letter brings a better account of the Duke of Gloucester. I will answer for the Duchess, that she is too sensible of your Lordship's friendship not to share with me in all I have felt for you.”

The following letter was written by Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, to Lady Nuneham, upon the occasion of Lord Harcourt's death :—

“*Winchester, Sept. 24, 1777.*

“MADAM,—I received last night at this place the letter with which your Ladyship has honoured me. I will not tell your Ladyship all I feel on

this unhappy occasion: I will not add to your sorrow by dwelling on my own. I will only say, I have lost the oldest, and kindest, and dearest friend I had in the world; my mind is so full, that it is with difficulty I contain my feelings. It would have become me rather to offer arguments to console your Ladyship; but of this I am at present absolutely incapable. I beg my respects to the representative of my deceased friend; I shall be happy to live in the closest connection and friendship with him; and when I return to Town, I will take the very first opportunity of waiting on your Ladyship and his Lordship.

“I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and regard, Madam,

“Your faithful and obedient humble servant,

“C. JENKINSON.”

Letter from Mrs. Montagu to Lady Nuneham, on the same occasion :—

“*Sept. 19, 1777.*

“DEAR MADAM,—In your Ladyship's and dear Lord Nuneham's present situation, perhaps the most sympathizing friend is the best comforter, which is y<sup>e</sup> only consideration that can give me a hope of being of any use. Time's lenient hand will heal in some degree the wound; but you will both feel your best comfort in what makes the



principal joy of your lives, exerting your power of doing good. Providence has established such equitable laws, that whoever alleviates the sorrows of others, cannot himself be left the prey of melancholy. So the tears you dry, will at length dry up your own.

"I hope you will at present consider that, however sad this event is to you both, as Lord Harcourt had fulfilled every noble purpose of living, nothing of this would be to him untimely. Age, and infirmities the consequence of age, were not very distant. The philosopher who denied the epithet of happy to Cressus in his power and prosperity, would now bestow it on him whom you lament.

"This evening I will wait upon you, and shall bring with me a heart that, as long as it beats, will truly feel everything that can affect your Ladyship and Lord Nuneham. . . .

"I am, dear Madam, with many unalterable sentiments, yours and your dear Lord's most affectionate, and faithful humble servant,

"E. MONTAGU."

The following address was presented to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and adopted by the Corporation. The picture which is referred to, was painted by Hunter of Dublin,

and is a copy of one which still hangs in the dining-room at Nuneham.

"To the Hon. the Lord Mayor, &c.

"We feel with the utmost concern and regret the loss which this kingdom hath universally sustained by the death of our late amiable and respectable Ch.-Governor, Simon, Earl Harcourt; whose sincere attachment and uniform zeal for the true interest of this country in general, as well as the particular attention he paid to the welfare of this city, have frequently been experienced by our magistrates during the Earl's residence amongst us.

"Your petitioners are therefore desirous, by some public testimony of their gratitude, to perpetuate their just sense of the many eminent virtues and amiable qualities of that much lamented nobleman. May it therefore please your Lordship and honor, to cause a portrait of his Lordship to be obtained, and placed in the Mansion House of their city, to testify to posterity our affectionate regard for the memory of so faithful and sincere a friend to this kingdom; and we would pray that the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor should in the name of the city apply to the present Earl Harcourt, to permit an original picture, which we are informed is in his Lordship's possession, to be copied for the purpose."

The following answer was sent by Lord Nuneham to the Lord Mayor of Dublin:—

*"Nov. 1, 1777.*

"MY LORD,—The great and almost singular honor done to the memory of my late much lamented father by the city of Dublin, and communicated to me last post by your Lordship, demands my warmest acknowledgements.

"Such a testimony of his public virtues is now peculiarly grateful to a son, who has ever before held his parental and domestic ones in the justest estimation.

"I shall immediately put the original portrait into the hands of the best copyist I can find; and as soon as he has executed it, transmit it to your Lordship for the honorable purpose that the city requests it.

"At a time when so fair, and in all probability the only, opportunity offers of expressing in so publick a manner my own particular gratitude to a nation from which I experienced so many repeated marks of regard, when it was my happiness to visit my father during his Vice Royalty, I should be wanting to myself, and to the sentiments of obligation which I sincerely feel, if I did not beg them to believe that through the course of that private life, which the mediocrity of my

abilities, my love of independence, and the distressed state of public affairs will prompt me to adopt, I shall ever retain the most affectionate esteem for them; that I shall uniformly rejoice in every augmentation of their prosperity, and sincerely lament if any sinister policy here should tend to diminish it.

"Allow me, my Lord, the honor of assuring your Lordship of my most perfect regard."

Simon, Lord Harcourt, was buried at Stanton Harcourt, and a marble tablet was erected by his son in his memory.

Lord Harcourt had four children: George Simon, Viscount Nuneham, born August 1, 1736; the Hon. William Harcourt, born March 20, 1743; Lady Elizabeth Harcourt, born Jan. 18, 1738, married June 20, 1763, to Sir William Lee, Bart., of Hartwell in Buckinghamshire; and Lady Anne Harcourt, who died young, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

George Simon, who succeeded his father as second Earl Harcourt, was of a delicate constitution, and of a nervous temperament. Like his father, he was sent abroad to com-



plete his education, and the following letters—written by him to his grandmother, Mrs. Harcourt (*née* Elizabeth Evelyn), and to his aunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Harcourt, (his father's unmarried sister)—will give a better notion of what he was at the age of nineteen, than could perhaps be obtained in any other way.

As Lord Nuneham, he represented the Borough of St. Alban's in Parliament; and in the year 1765 he married his first cousin, Elizabeth Vernon, daughter of Lord Vernon and of Martha Harcourt (his father's sister).

His delicate health debarred him from the more active pursuits of hunting and shooting, in which his father delighted. He was a great devotee to art, both as a patron of others, and as an artist himself.

He was also a great student of antiquities; a lover of *belles lettres*, and of refined society; and very amiable in disposition.

“*Berlin, May 18, 1755.*

“DEAR MADAM,—... Our recommendation to Gotha (which was from the Prince of Wales) was such as could not fail of procuring us the reception

we could wish; we stayed there three days, and were not a little wearied of it; for at those little courts, you have no publick diversions nor assemblies in the town; so that your whole life is spent at Court, where you go in the morning, and stay dinner, afterwards drink coffee, then return home for an hour, and go again to the card-parties, and then sup; this, though a very honourable, you are sensible must be the most stupid life in the world; one is so wearied with Royal personages, who talk of nothing but the weather, and their horrid old fribbly gentlemen ushers, that I could with difficulty keep myself sometimes from sleeping.

“At Dresden I stayed eight days, where, as I knew all the Court, I passed my time perfectly well, and thought myself quite at home; as to the Court you are not plagued with that, for there is only a drawing-room, where neither the King or Queen come; for they are like Persian monarchs, and hardly ever shew themselves in publick. The King's whole amusement is smoaking with his fools, and beating them; and he every day finds some new torture for the poor devils.

“I went a heron hunting with their Majesties (as I was asked). I found it more disagreeable even than I was told it would be; to get to the place early, you are obliged to travel all night;

and when you are come, the whole amusement consists in staring as far, or rather farther than you can see, at the falcons following the herons; and this, from an open gallery in the midst of a most extensive plain at six in the morning, is tolerably cold, particularly as the King being allways in the gallery, prevents your putting on a hat. Sometimes you are hours without seeing a bird; but are continually staring to find one.

"The Queen sets in a hut, round which the gallery is built, and works with the ladies, from whence she often retires into a closet to her devotions; the fools are all the time with some of them; and the King, the ministers, the courtiers, and the ladies, amuse themselves with eating sauciges, and beating, kicking, pinching, and throwing things at the poor wretches, who are obliged to suffer everything from them. Then they pretend to quarrel with one another and fight, which diverts the company, who are greater fools than those who make a profession of it. After the excess of cold, your brains are turned with the sun before you come away, which is at noon; before which you have a wretched, dirty dinner, dressed round the building by bad cooks, and the countrey people.

"I had the honour of dining with the King, where the fools behaved most indecently; they quarulled, fought, threw everything about, were

very impertinent to the King and Queen, and the company; for the which he beat their legs most terribly with the napkins, and hit their heads and hands with the spoons. It was a more noisy, dirty, disagreeable dinner, than one at a county election; indeed, it shocked me to see such great people amuse themselves so shamefully, and to keep a set of poor animals, some without legs, some with an eye out, some deformed, others monstrous, for the sake of laughing at their infirmities; these seem to be merits, for there are but a few of the number who are really idiots, the rest are lazy, impertinent rascals, who pretend to be so, and often tell his Majesty disagreeable truths, for which he half murders them. I did intend to have put this letter up singly; but found I had wrote too much. Comp<sup>ts</sup> to M<sup>r</sup>. Vernon and my cousins."

*"Magdebourg, May 29, 1755.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I hope my grandmama received a letter I wrote to her from Berlin a few days ago, in which I told her of the civilities which were shown me; indeed, I must say, I think myself uncommonly fortunate, that wherever I am, I should be treated with so much politeness. I supped at the Queen Mother's every night that I was not engaged in the town; which I believe in all was five or six times. I always



preferred passing my evening there, as I was as much at my ease as at home. I talked with every one, walked in the garden with the Princesses, and was very often quite alone, which was to foreigners a surprising thing, for they think it is impossible to prefer one's own thoughts to those of others, even if disagreeable to one; so that they teased me on those occasions with having the spleen; on my denying of which, they said they would not believe anything that I said on that subject, as there never was yet an Englishman that had not that distemper.

"Can you conceive the absurdity of laying down general rules for the temper of a whole nation? though, as their ignorance of our customs, &c., renders their talking of them with such confidence the more insupportable, so it gives them the greater desire of showing how little they know about us. Their idea of an Englishman is this:—A creature that whenever he speaks says 'G—d—n;' that is very rich, but very awkward; that goes to court and the House of Peers in a bob-wig and English frock; that has no politeness to woman; that eats nothing but 'ros beef' and 'bouding;' and gets drunk every day after it with 'poanch,' which they think to be our only liquor."

"Nov. 8.

"DEAR MADAM,—It was on the 29th of October, 1755, that we left Vienna, and set out for Trieste, in the way to Venice . . . and I hoped to find the people and customs, at a place so very near Italy as Trieste, more civilized; but such was our misfortune, that after having travelled from five in the morning till eight at night that day, and flattering ourselves with being tolerably off at a place so much frequented by merchants, they were so brutal as not to receive us at the best inn, though they had no company in the house; and we were reduced to go to a little miserable sailors' ale-house, which was full of all kinds of the worst of the mob. Mr. Denny would never have survived the noise they made under us; for unhappily there was a ball, and you know that the mirth of soldiers and sailors is none of the most quiet or best conducted; besides which, our room opened into the common drinking-room, which was stuffed with people, some of whom were quarelling, some talking all at once, and others laughing *à gorge déployée*; add to that the shrillness of the women's voices, with whom they were playing, the screams of a child and the quarelling, and you may have some idea of our concert.

"I had near omitted one most agreeable circumstance, which was, that our room was the only one

that had a stove in it, so that they never ceased coming in to dry their sprinkled sheets and napkins, and fetch out plate, knives, linnen, and all the other things that the guests demanded."

"DEAR MADAM,— . . . . I quite agree with you in giving the preference to antient Rome; for what beauties modern Rome can boast, are merely what it owes to the splendor and magnificence of its antient inhabitants; for every house and church that is rich in marble, is what they have torn from antient buildings; for so very gothic are they, that they pull down the paintings from the baths, the pillars and ornaments from the temples, and the porphery sarcophagus from the mausoleums, as soon as they discover any, to saw to pieces for the churches, or to sell for tables.

"I have heard that Livia's mausoleum was quite intire, and had a great number of fine porphery urns and ornaments in it, when it was discovered; but that they immediately pulled everything down to sell."

"Rome, Dec. 15, 1755.

"DEAR MADAM,— . . . . I have been so very highly amused since I have been in Italy, that I have almost forgot the twelve horrid months I passed in Germany, which, seriously speaking, were disagreeable to me beyond conception; and I allmost began to have *la maladie du pais*. I lived all the

time either at Leipzig, where a rational animal was not to be found, or at petty courts, which has such an etiquette that wearies you to death, and at the same time are in such an aukward, sneaking manner, that I was shocked at their nonsense. . . .

"At first I thought I might be excused going again to sup at Court, after having been there three or four hours at dinner with eating; but I unhappily found my mistake, and that I must not only submit to that, but retire from dinner to drink coffee with old maids of honor, dressed just like the eldest Miss Cope, the strangest of all mortals; from thence either go to play at shilling whist, or threepenny quadrille with the old Duke or Duchess, or the Duchess's mother, when there was one, or else stand formally to see them play (which I preferred); then at eight sup as I dined, and from thence retire to a Court circle of about eight or ten strange figures.

"Pope's description of a certain family in the waxwork, suits most of the royal personages I have seen:—

"Such waxen noses, stately, staring things,  
No wonder some folks bow and think them kings."

"Yours dutifully.—I have no more room."



*"Rome, April 9, 1756.*

".... I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have had with regard to my friend M<sup>rs</sup>. Pritchard<sup>p</sup>. I must own, I have a regard for her; and cannot help feeling for the poor woman and her family, which will be greatly injured if she is so ill-treated by that inhuman monster, Garrick. He is certainly the vainest, most spiteful, covetous puppy, that ever existed; and is jealous of every one that gains applause, which he thinks no one but himself and Cibber deserve.

"I have been some years astonished at the blindness of the world in thinking him so great; for myself I look upon him as our best, but, except in two or three characters, a vulgar false player, and who has spoiled the stage by substituting the rant, stare, and squirt, in the place of just speaking and common sense, which he hardly ever yet arrived at, either in tragedy or comedy. ....

"My duty attends my grandmama."

*"Saturday.*

"HONORED MADAM,—.... To a young person nothing but a convent can be worse than the life of this family<sup>q</sup>, in the months of November and December. For there are few visitors then; and this year it will be worse than ever, as they will pass them at Newnham, in an unfurnished house, and without room for company. I have promised

<sup>p</sup> The actress.

<sup>q</sup> At Cokethorp.

to make them a visit in December with Col. Evelyn; as they will be at a reasonable distance from London, and as it is an inhabited country, and the roads are the whole way excellent, it will be no great affair; but I had always a horror of quitting the gay London for the dreary Cockthorp, and of going the last twelve miles, four of which for dirt and sloughs do not yield to the agreeable Westphalia.

"I suppose you must know of my brother's quitting the Guards, and of the advantageous permission he has obtained to raise a light troop. We expect him here every hour; we breathe nothing now but military strains, and were my Aunt here, I do not know but that our warlike conversation might have such an effect on her as to induce her to fire a gun herself for amusement, and to drink in a bumper confusion to the French and their blondes.

"I am, your most dutiful and very affect<sup>d</sup> grandson.

"My duty to my Aunt.

"M<sup>r</sup>. Byng is not yet executed, nor is it known when he will; various are the reports concerning him; some say the King has left it to the Lords of the Admiralty to pardon or confirm the sentence of the court martial, as they shall think proper. But I must own, I do not think his Majesty would ever give up his right to them."

When Lord Harcourt died, his son, Lord Nuneham, imagined that the King did not pay sufficient respect to his father's memory; and this, he being of a sensitive nature, led to his absenting himself from the Court for a period of six years. His pique exhibited itself in various droll manners. His self-chosen banishment was brought to an end by an act of grace on the King's part, when, as is often the case under such circumstances, it was made to appear that many of the supposed causes of complaint were due to the workings of a morbid imagination.

It is, however, quite likely that the Wilkes' episode in Lord Nuneham's career, was not entirely effaced from the royal memory. Be that as it may, the reconciliation proved to be the commencement of a sincere and worthy friendship on either side, between the King and the subject.

In illustration of Lord Nuneham's (or as we must now call him Lord Harcourt's) vagaries during his retirement, it may be

mentioned that he made a present to Lord Jersey of pictures of the King and Queen, which the King had presented to his father; these pictures now hang in the hall at Middleton; he also caused the coronet to be removed from the pannel of his carriage; this absurdity gave rise to the following playful copy of verses from the pen of Countess Talbot:—

"Ye femmes savantes, ye beaux esprits lament,  
(As sure ye will) the sad, the dire event;  
Weep, weep ye arts, let taste her fate deplore,  
Her patron's gone, Lord Nuneham is no more.

"Where can we now the Virtuoso find,  
Or sentiments so soft, polite, refined;  
Who now remains that's able to explore,  
Le vrai bon ton? Lord Nuneham is no more.

"'Tis true a gentle youth his air assumes,  
Affects his dress, his manners, his perfumes;  
In hopes those arts that charmed us heretofore  
May please—though now, Lord Nuneham is no more.

"And as his car we pass, he brings to mind  
Our Viscount in that attitude reclined;  
But when we see no coronet on the door,  
We sigh, and say, 'Lord Nuneham is no more.'"



Horace Walpole, writing to Mason, in a letter dated Berkeley-square, Feb. 2, 1784, says :—

“I am surprised that you expected me to take notice of Lord Harcourt's turning courtier. It did not astonish me in the least, as I have known for near two years that such an event was by no means uncertain, and did myself try to contribute to it, when I thought it not at all irreconcilable with his former conduct; nor do I wonder at your announcing in effect the same of yourself. Were I surprised, I should contradict one of my own maxims, which I have never or scarce known fail, and which is that men are always most angry with those with whom they quarrel least, which generally produces reconciliations between those whose hatreds agree; but, in truth, I concern myself with no man's politics but my own; first, because I have no more right to dictate to others than I will allow anybody to dictate to me; and, secondly, because I can see into no heart but my own, nor know its real motives of action. It made me smile, indeed, when I heard that Lord Harcourt, on his change, had given away his ring of Brutus, who died 1700 years before the coalition was thought on. I am glad, however, that if I change, I may keep my Caligula without committing treason. . . .”

Mr. Cuningham, in his edition of Walpole's Letters, gives an explanation of the foregoing letter, by quoting an extract from a book called “Walpoliana.”

The following is Walpole's explanation, given in his own handwriting. Side by side with this, I shall place a letter which Walpole had previously written to Lady Harcourt, together with Lady Harcourt's notes upon the subject. Walpole's anger against Lord Harcourt was of short duration :—

“Mr. Mason, George Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Horace Walpole were intimate friends, and agreed in condemning the King's severe measures; but at the end of the year 1783, when Mr. Charles Fox produced his famous India bill, Mr. Mason and Lord Harcourt, without even the slightest notice to Mr. Walpole, changed sides totally. And though Mr. Walpole dined with the Earl in private but the very day before Lord Harcourt voted against the bill, he did not drop a syllable of his intentions, nor his design of going to Court, which he had not done for some years; yet he had acquainted Mr. Mason, or rather, I believe, had been persuaded by him secretly to take those steps;

and when they were taken, Mr. Mason wrote an authoritative letter to Mr. Walpole, approving his conduct, and presumptuously flattering himself, even without giving any reason for their total tergiversation, that he should influence Mr. Walpole to take the same part. Mr. Walpole thought it became him to treat such treacherous and impertinent behaviour as it deserved; and to let Mr. Mason see that with all his admiration for Mr. Mason's satiric abilities in poetry, Mr. Walpole neither feared his anger, nor would suffer him to govern his principles.

"Mr. Walpole's answer received none, and though Mr. Mason continued to visit him for a year or two, a total coolness ensued, and all correspondence by letters ceased. Lady Harcourt, who, during Lord Rockingham's short administration, had overwhelmed Mr. Walpole with letters, two or three in a day, to get her Lord a place, which he had tried in vain to do, was made Lady of the Bedchamber, and she and her Lord became a proverb even to courtiers of the most servile attachment to their Majesties, though both had fore-sworn St. James's on the King's and Queen's neglect of them on the unfortunate death of the Earl's father; and his Lordship, besides wearing a ring of Brutus, with the dagger and Ides of March, had given away the portraits of the King and Queen, their presents to the late Earl. The

Opposition had for many years complained of that knot of devotees to the Court, who affected to call themselves the King's friends; and nobody had been more determined against them than Lord Harcourt and Mason."

Walpole's letter to Lady Harcourt:—

"I think it impossible, Madam, that something should not be offered to Lord Harcourt; though they who do not ask will be thought on last. They who have lost places will be very clamorous, and some who deserve none will not be less vociferous.

"Though I had got Mr. Conway all ready to name the jewel office to the Duke of Richmond, the moment I received the honour of your Ladyship's first note this morning, I wrote to his Grace myself, and begged something proper might be offered to Lord Harcourt, and that it might not be the bedchamber. I told him I asked nothing for myself; on the contrary, I begged no favour might be shewn to me about any places, if they found it necessary to make any re-formation. The Duke was not at home, nor have I heard from him; but I am as satisfied as if I had the most favourable answer, that he will do all in his power to please Lord Harcourt; though I know enough of Lord Rockingham, by what I saw in his former administration, to forget that he will engross all



the power he can to himself, and communicate as little as possible to the Duke and Mr. Conway, though so much greater men than himself.

"I am sorry that, on this occasion, they are the only two of whom, insignificant as I am myself, I would condescend to ask a favour. It is I feel, Madam, presumptuous in me to talk of asking a favour for Lord Harcourt; but I knew he would not ask one for himself, nor have allowed one to be asked for him. Being sensible of those two points, and knowing that in such a scramble a minister cannot refuse many who are pressing, for one who does not intimate a wish, (which I must, in fair justice, conclude is Lord Rockingham's case), I did take on me to remind the Duke of Richmond, though perhaps Lord Harcourt may think I had taken an impertinent liberty with his name. I shall certainly not be ignorant or vain enough to ascribe any share to myself, should my idea succeed; as Lord Harcourt's virtues, rank, and zeal in the cause, entitle him to every distinction; while I am nobody, nor can claim any interest but with my relation and oldest friend, Mr. Conway, and in the goodness the Duke of Richmond has long had for me. Indeed, so far from pretending interest with the party, I shall, as I did in former administrations, have as little as possible to do with any one of them, but with my two most virtuous friends, of

whom I am indeed proud, but who will have, I am sure, no power beyond their own provinces.

"The Marquis and Lord Shelburne will have a constant struggle for favour and power, and will probably aid the King to recover the ground he has lost either by their flattery or their quarrels. Something I hope will be done for the nation before this happens; but what is not done soon, is not done at all.

"I am so apprehensive of having gone too far in my zeal for Lord Harcourt, that I wish him not to know it. Your Ladyship may be assured that I am too conscious of my indiscretion not to keep it an absolute secret; nor shall a soul know it but your Ladyship, and the two persons I have mentioned. I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect,

"Your Ladyship's most obedient servant,

"H. WALPOLE.

"*Berkeley-square, March 17, 1782.*"

What follows is Lady Harcourt's note upon the above letter:—

"At the time the Ministry was changed, Mr. Walpole, who was much attached to Lord Harcourt, wished to have some compliment paid to him; and hoped that the offer of some honourable situation, whether he accepted it or not,

might be the means of drawing him a little out of the retirement he was too much inclined to indulge in. Mr. Walpole spoke to me on the subject, desired me to consider it, and write my opinion to him; finding that it agreed with his, he took the step mentioned in this letter.

"No offer was then made to Lord Harcourt; but, when Mr. Pitt came into the Ministry, in the year 1783, he, unsolicited, proposed to him the embassy to Spain. Lord Harcourt declined it; but, thinking the King had been ill-treated by the old Ministry, and that the new one ought to be supported, he returned to Court, from whence he had absented himself for six years."

In the following year, Mr. Pitt asked Lord Harcourt to move the address in the House of Lords:—

*"Downing Street, May 14, 1784.*

"MY LORD,—The liberty which I am going to take, your Lordship will, I hope, attribute to the just sense I set on the support with which, I flatter myself, you honor the present Government. You will forgive me if I am anxious to avail myself, as far as you will permit me, of a circumstance so flattering and honorable. I should, therefore, esteem it a particular obligation if you will allow me to hope that your Lordship would undertake

to move the Address in the House of Lords on the opening of the session. Lord Sydney will be happy to have the honor of communicating to you the intended Speech, if you will permit him.

"At such a moment as the present, such a mark of your Lordship's confidence and favorable opinion, would indeed afford me singular satisfaction.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and regard, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

"W. PITT."

The Memoir of George Simon, Lord Harcourt, will be continued in another volume.

The wealth of correspondence is so great between Lord and Lady Harcourt, and various distinguished personages, that the only difficulty lies in selecting typical letters to illustrate the times, and to preserve family records, and in abstaining from printing letters of minor importance.

A moderate degree of success in this endeavour is all that can be looked for; indeed, any very rigid observance of such



a salutary maxim, need not be insisted upon in private volumes of family history.

A digression must now be made for the purpose of giving an account of Nuneham, which will occupy the concluding chapter of this volume.

Lord Harcourt's own printed account of Nuneham will be first given; then extracts from various writers will be quoted; and, lastly, a complete list and description of the pictures will be added.

The two following volumes will be occupied with the special subjects of the King's illness, and Mrs. Harcourt's letters from abroad; and in the sixth volume, the thread of the family history will be resumed.

In the meantime, a correspondence is inserted between Lord and Lady Temple, and Lord and Lady Nuneham: two letters from William, Duke of Gloucester, and a strange document of the Duchess of Queensberry's, are also added.

Earl Temple to Lady Nuneham :—

"MADAM,—With great pleasure I obey your Ladyship's commands; and have the honour to inform you that Lady Temple's gout is vanished, and has scarce left any other remains than the pleasing recollection of the kind interest which you take in her welfare. In this light she sees it; and for myself, I am most happy in having this opportunity afforded me of telling your Ladyship in very good earnest, under my hand and seal, how much I *love* and honour you; as I can, with great truth, make use of the same expressions towards your imperious lord and master.

"You will not be offended at this honest effusion of my heart; and you will permit me, under that cover, to add, that I am very unhappy at your long continuance in the country; that I protest most vehemently against this tyranny of Flora; and that I ardently wish you would bring all your own *natural* roses to town, most lovely when unassisted by any hands but those of health and modesty, and far surpassing the product of any parlour, French or English.

"In this rapture, I formally offer myself as your true, sworn, and gallant knight, instantly to come down, with a flying chaise and four, to deliver you from captivity, and from the cruel hands of the merciless enchanter; you shall be brought in

triumph to town; I will invest you with full command over me and mine; and I will show that I am master over every thing else in my own house. If she does not like it, e'en let her take your place at Nuneham.

"Though I am not yet quite so vain as Malvolio, when he cross-gartered, yet I have assurance enough to tell you, with all the warmth of an enamoured swain, and with all the sincere respect of an elder who has almost reached his grand climacterick, that I am most entirely your Ladyship's, and may I add, however ungallantly, his Lordship's,

"Most devoted, and obedient humble servant,

"TEMPLE.

"*Pall Mall, Dec. 1, 1772.*"

Lady Temple to Lady Nuneham:—

"*Pall Mall, December 16, 1773.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I take the first opportunity of returning thanks in my Lord's name, as well as my own, for your very kind letter to Elizabeth concerning us. We came home last night from Lord Clare's, where we have been a fortnight. We spent our time very agreeably; we went out a dozen or fourteen miles every morning; had our party every evening, and music whenever we called for it; the master of the house in high

spirits; the daughter in high beauty, and always amiable. He was miserable to part with us, so that I was not sure we might not have staid there for the next seven years, for we doubled the time we intended. However, we had an alloy to our pleasures, for my Lord got a fever, which was removed by James' Powder and asses' milk in three or four days; it is the first time he has taken it, but will not be the last upon the like occasion.

"I hear you please mightily in Ireland; as to your good Lord, he does not care a farthing whether he pleases or not, except myself, therefore I am very willing to monopolize him; but you are a common woman, and bestow your favours upon everybody. However, go on and prosper, for I would have you admired; and, like charity, cover a multitude of sins, not of your own, but of your husband's.

"Now, assuring your Ladyship we are in perfect health, we remain, dear Lady Nuneham's, and dear Lord Nuneham's, most affectionate, obedient humble servants,

"TEMPLE.

"ANNA TEMPLE."

Lady Temple to Lady Nuneham:—

"*Bath, October 18, 1775.*

"MY dear Lady Nuneham's letter gave me great comfort in telling me you were getting



better. Time is indeed a great physician; but not able to do anything without the assistance of his patient. I therefore beg you will make use of all your fortitude to keep up your spirits, and drive away as much as possible melancholy ideas. The waters agree with my Lord very well; he really fattens every day. As to myself, I have lost the use of one hand; as you are my friend, I will tell you it is with hard drinking. You are to understand by this that I have the gout in my hand, a very good excuse when I have not a mind to write letters; but I cannot avail myself of it to you, it would be too great a self-denial; I therefore put my best hand foremost. I should have been happy to have seen you at home, because I thought change of scene might have been of use to you; but we would not press it.

"The Bath is excessively agreeable—for it is very empty. I can say nothing about a fixed time for London, because I do not know when we leave this place. Good Lord! I have not said a word of Lord Nuneham; to be sure that is a sign *I do not love him so well as I do you*; however, give the kindest of all compliments to him, both from my Lord and myself; and my Lord says a million of affectionate things to you, and of you. My paper will not hold out for more than assuring you I am ever yours,

"A. TEMPLE."

Earl Temple to Lord Nuneham:—

"*Pall Mall, April 16, 1777.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—One, who to my irretrievable misfortune is now no more, having entertained the highest esteem, love, and respect for your Lordship and Lady Nuneham, was desirous of leaving a small token of it to both. I am therefore, on her part, to beg your Lordship's acceptance of a picture of me, done by Rosalba<sup>†</sup>.

"As she set a value, from the partiality of her friendship, on the original, she thought it might not be unwelcome to you, especially as she was no stranger to the sentiments I have always entertained with regard to you, and the real honour I have for you. A ruby ring, set round with diamonds, she hoped Lady Nuneham would please to accept. I will have the honour of sending both, and remain to both the dear friends of poor Lady Temple and myself, most unalterably and affectionately devoted,

"TEMPLE."

From William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, to Lord Nuneham:—

"*Gloucester Lodge, July 18, 1773.*

"MY LORD,—As we are very desirous of seeing Nuneham and Oxford, I shall be much obliged to

<sup>†</sup> This is an exquisite example of the master; it hangs in the North Corridor at Nuneham.

you if you will fairly tell me what day within these ten days will be most convenient to you and Lady Nuneham for us to come to you. We propose bringing L<sup>d</sup>.-Coll. Heywood and M<sup>rs</sup>. Heywood with us. The Dutchess and myself join in compliments to L<sup>y</sup> Nuneham.

"Yours, &c.,

"WILLIAM HENRY."

From William Henry, Duke of Gloucester,  
to Lord Nuneham :—

*"Gloucester Lodge, July 21, 1773.*

"MY LORD,—Since you say you are not engaged at present, we will be with you on Friday evening next between eight and nine o'clock. We desire both our compliments to L<sup>y</sup> Nuneham. I am sure, my Lord, I feel myself much obliged to you for your many attentions to me.

"I am, yours, &c.,

"WILLIAM HENRY."

DUCHESS OF QUEENSBURY.

1769.

The Duchess of Queensbury was daughter to the Earl of Rochester, and the greatest beauty of her time. She was the friend of Gay, and was forbid the Court on account

of her patronizing the Opera of "Polly," in which the Government was satirized. When she received the message, she returned in answer,—

"The Duchess of Queensbury is *surprised*, but well *pleased*, at receiving so agreeable an order as that to forbid her appearing at Court, where she never went for her own amusement, but to bestow her great civilities upon the King and Queen."

She lived to see the Opera revived in the reign of George the Third, and to see him and the Queen at it. She considered this as a triumph; and her great exultation, added to the heat of the weather, brought on a fever that occasioned her death. She had a great deal of wit; and, having lived in the best society, and been very intimate with Pope, Swift, Gay, and the most celebrated men of their time, was full of anecdotes, which, added to the singularity of her character (of which the note on this paper is a proof), made her very entertaining. She was celebrated in the ballad "Kitty, beautiful and young." In another copy of verses



as "Blooming Hyde, beyond compare." She died at a very advanced age, and retained great remains of beauty to the last.

"DEAR LORD AND LADY NUMAN,—Prepare yourselves for a strange proposall without plea—more than that necess'ty has no law, and you are good; & ho, it is in a word, to desire you to be of our ball intended immedi ally after the Holliday; & that you will be quit off the Ball for next tuesday the 21<sup>st</sup>, for we have not room for you & some others. You are so good to suffer *postponment*. Keep this to yourselves pray, & pray pray pray pray forgive,

"CATHERINE QUEENSBURY."

## A DESCRIPTION OF NUNEHAM.

### A Description of Nuneham.

THE original scheme for the building of the house appears to have been simple enough. Leadbeater was desired by Lord Harcourt to make a plan for a house in one block; to consist of a basement for cellars and offices, a ground floor for vestibules, a first floor for parlours, a second floor for bedrooms, and an attic for servants.

In this plan everything was sacrificed to the development of the spacious apartments on the first floor. The entrance-hall was dwarfed, the offices were sunk under ground, and the bedrooms were contracted into insignificance.

Great care had been bestowed upon the selection of a site; and the only exception that could be taken to it was, that the falling nature of the ground afforded but little scope for the operations of the architect. It became evident, even before the original house



was completed, that the accessories were wholly inadequate to the requirements of the principal parts of the building.

Much ingenuity was exhibited in adding what was required; but the proceedings tell their own tale, and the result is seen, in a house without pretensions to beauty, which covers a large quantity of ground in a very irregular manner.

The first addition was made in the shape of two wings, united to the centre by corridors running north and south. These wings were, in the first instance, supposed to contain simply the offices, and the corridors were intended to consist of only one story.

It was soon found that the wings would be required for the accommodation of a library, of sitting-rooms, and of bedrooms; and that the corridors also must be raised. This made it necessary to add another building at right angles to one of the wings for kitchens and other offices<sup>a</sup>. Again, more ser-

<sup>a</sup> These alterations were made under the advice of "Capability" Brown.

vants' bedrooms were required, and a space was found for them in a separate block beyond the offices. Then came a proposition to build a handsome entrance-hall, with additional lobbies. Mr. Carr, of York, furnished a plan for the purpose. This scheme, however, was abandoned on account of the expense.

Lastly, Archbishop Harcourt built an entirely new wing, terraces, parapets, and out-buildings of various descriptions.

The stables, laundry, and dairy, were erected at some little distance from the house.

The house is approached from the Park by a slight declivity, which gives it the appearance of being placed in a hole. On arriving, however, at the terraces upon the other side of the house, the visitor is at once disabused of this idea, and sees an extensive prospect opened out, with the river some sixty feet below him.

On entering the house, a low vestibule formed with arches leads to an oval staircase of an ornamental character; upon as-

cending this staircase, the ante-room is found on the right hand, the dining-room in front, and the octagon drawing-room on the left hand. The ante-room is thirty feet long by sixteen feet broad, and eighteen feet six inches high. This room is generally used for meals, when the party staying in the house is a small one.

The aspect of the ante-room is east, looking into the Park, with several fine elm-trees in the foreground; a door on the right hand leads into the great drawing-room, a door on the left hand leads into the north corridor, and one on the east side of the room opens on to a back staircase. The walls are ornamented by various pictures, which will hereafter be described.

The great drawing-room is forty-nine feet long, by twenty-four feet broad, and eighteen feet six inches high; the ceiling was designed by Stuart, and the mantel-piece by Paul Sandby. The walls are hung with crimson damask. The view from the window is very beautiful; a balcony in front of

the drawing-room leads by steps down on to the terraces. On the right hand as you enter the great drawing-room, a door leads into the octagon drawing-room, whilst a door opposite leads into the south corridor. The octagon drawing-room is thirty feet by twenty-four, and eighteen feet six inches high; a pleasanter room it would be impossible to find, and the views from the windows are very fine; the walls are painted a light green with gold decorations. A door opposite leads into the great dining-room, and one on the right opens on to the central staircase. The great dining-room is forty-one feet long by twenty-four feet broad, and eighteen feet six inches high in the centre, fifteen feet high under the columns,—the aspect of the dining-room is north. The south corridor, which is also hung with pictures, leads out of the great drawing-room to the library.

The library is thirty-three feet long by twenty feet broad, and fourteen feet high; above the books are pictures of the poets,



many of them presents from themselves. Beyond the library is the inner library; and beyond that, again, are the state apartments, hung with crimson velvet; here her Majesty Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, Queen Adelaide, and other members of the royal family were lodged when they came to Nuneham. Turning to the left is the centre south corridor, out of which a staircase opens, which leads upstairs to numerous bedrooms, and downstairs to the offices.

The centre corridor is hung with pictures, and contains cabinets of old china. Bedrooms also open out of it. The north corridor, which is likewise hung with pictures, and ornamented with cabinets, leads into what is called the family wing of the house; the first room that is reached is a very pleasant sitting-room, thirty-two feet long, by nineteen feet broad, and fourteen feet high. A balcony leads down from it by some steps into a private garden, which adjoins one of the terraces. Beyond this sitting-room are bedrooms and dressing-

rooms, with a pleasant view into the gardens. A staircase here leads upstairs and downstairs to bedrooms; and below is another sitting-room of smaller size, with a door into the gardens.

Passing now along the lower corridor, the smoking and billiard-rooms are found; and a passage leads out on to the terraces. The lower south corridor leads to the numerous offices, and another flight of stairs to the cellars. From this corridor there is also access to the front approach on one side, and to the terraces on the other.

Above the principal apartments are suites of bedrooms, and over these again are the servants' attics. The house is throughout lighted by gas, and warmed by hot-water pipes,—it is capable of accommodating seventy persons.

Lord Harcourt begins his description thus,—

“Description of Nuneham Courtenay in 1806, by George Simon, Earl Harcourt :—

“Nuneham Courtenay being situated near a very public road, and at the distance of only five

miles from Oxford, is visited by most of those persons who travel to see that beautiful and celebrated city (which can boast of a combination of magnificence with picturesque scenery not to be met with in any other); and Nuneham is likewise an object of curiosity to many of the invalids, who in the beginning of summer (which according to the new edition of Fashion's Kalendar, commences when the days are shortening, and the Opera-house is shut up) fly for relief from imaginary disorders, and real *ennui*, to the rural delights of crowded card-rooms, suffocating balls, and ill-acted plays, at one of the most frequented of the all-healing springs<sup>b</sup>, the road to which passes through the village.

"Among such a variety of persons, there may possibly be a few to whom a more circumstantial description than is to be found in the Oxford Guides may be acceptable, and for their use is this now printed: for we should be sorry to delay any of those hasty travellers, who desire to be shewn only just as much of the place as can be hurried over in a quarter of an hour, or who glance at the pictures when it is dusk, or view the prospects from the gardens, after candles have been for some time lighted in the house.

"The Catalogue of the Pictures, with the observations upon them, was drawn up by the Hon<sup>ble</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Cheltenham.

Horace Walpole, (afterwards Earl of Orford), and Sr Joshua Reynolds; for the possessor of them, though he may have daubed half-a-dozen paultry landscapes in oyl, have etched a few tollerable plates, and made not a few intollerable drawings, has not therefore the presumption to so fancy himself a judge of painting.

"At the general Survey this manor belonged to Richard de Courcy; afterwards to the family of Riparys, or Redvers. Mary, youngest daughter of Wm. de Redvers, Earl of Devon, (who, as well as his uncle William, was surnamed de Vernon,) married Robert de Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, in 1214; it is probable that by this marriage the manor of Nuneham passed into the family of Courtenay, and thence assumed the name of Nuneham-Courtenay.

"After them succeeded the Pollards; Sir John Pollard of Devon. From them it passed to —. Audley of the Court of Wards, called the rich Audley.

"From him to Robert Wright, Bishop of Lichfield, whose son, Calvert Wright, sold it to John Robinson of London, Merchant (temp. Ol. Cromwell), Knighted in 1660, and made Lieutenant of the Tower.

"From the Robinsons it descended to David, Earl of Wemys, (who married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Robinson, Baronet,) from



whom it was purchased in the year 1710, by Simon, first Lord Harcourt, Lord Chancellor of England.

"THE PARK.

"In which are 'scenes worthy of the bold pencil of Rubens, or to be subjects for the tranquil sun-shines of Claude de Lorrain<sup>c</sup>,' contains twelve hundred acres; and from a drive that leads round the inner part of it, are views of the Wittenham hills, of those of Buckinghamshire<sup>d</sup>, and the range of hills which rise above the Vale of White Horse:—the drive is also continued through the wood, that falls with a steep descent towards the Thames, which flows at the foot of it; and in this part, the right-hand bank is very abruptly and picturesquely broken by bold and steep projections. To the left, the river is sometimes seen between the stems of trees, and sometimes concealed by the intervening underwood, which in one part is kept low, in order to admit a view of the river, of the house, with the knoll upon which it is placed, and of the mass of trees that form its back-ground<sup>e</sup>. On quitting the wood, there is a different view of the house and of the river,

<sup>c</sup> Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painters."    <sup>d</sup> The Chiltern Hills.

<sup>e</sup> "A little farther to the left, a path leads to two picturesque cottages, situated near the river; of which, and of the bold woody bank that rises above it, the bridge commands an advantageous view."

and the prospect is terminated by Shotover-hill; the drive then circles round a grove, and passes by the ancient Conduit of Carfax, of which the following extract from a MS. in the Bodleian Library is a description:—

"This Conduit was erected in the year 1610, by Otho Nicholson, M.A., of Christ Church; he was afterwards Treasurer to King James I.

"The building is an exact square; the arms of the University, City, and Founder, are under the cornice; at each corner above it are placed as many sun-dials, and between each are carved in open-work the initials of the Founder's name, with a sun, and mermaids holding mirrors and combs. From the angles of the base spring four arches, which, uniting at the top, support a small octagon; beneath it is a cistern, above which is Q. Maud riding upon an ox over a ford, in allusion to the name of Oxford; the water being conveyed into the cistern through the ox; from it proceeds a pipe, which runs wine upon extraordinary occasions.

"Above the foot of each arch is one of the supporters of the arms of England, viz.—the Antelope, used by K. Henry VIII., the Dragon by Q. Elizabeth, and the Lion and the Unicorn: each holds a banner, with the quarterings of the royal arms. Between the supporters are various ornaments, such as boys, obelisks, &c. Upon the

outside of the four arches are the four cardinal virtues ; and in each niche of the octagon is a statue with a gilt crown and sceptre. They represent the seven Worthies, with our worthy K. James I., who made up the eighth, and are as follows :— K. David, Alexander, Godfroi de Bouillon, Arthur, Charlemagne, Hector, Julius Cæsar. Each figure bears a shield, containing his device, or coat of arms. Between the niches are the figures of women upwards, and scales of fish below ; and beneath them are placed interchangeably the royal badges of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Above the cornice of the dome are smaller figures representing the liberal sciences, one of which is Orpheus with his harp, and other musical instruments. On the top of the building stand two figures under a canopy, back to back, to represent Janus ; the one is of an old man holding a shield, whereon is carved a bat with wings displayed ; the other, of a young woman holding a sceptre. Above this is a vane, and over that a cross.

“N.B. The name of the building is probably a corruption of the French words, *quatre faces*, or of *carrefour*, from the situation in which it was placed, where four streets met. It originally stood at the end of the High-street, Oxford ; and having been taken down in the year 1787, was presented by the University to Earl Harcourt,

who caused it to be removed to its present situation.’

“On returning towards the house, in one particular spot, Oxford is seen to more advantage than from any other part of the drive—the point of view is, where the ground falls abruptly towards a large groupe of trees, in a hollow bottom, whose tops uniting, form a broad base to the town, and give it an artificial elevation. The immediate approach to the house being on a descent, has no other beauty than what it derives from three groupes of large spreading elms, which being connected by side-screens of trees with the wings of the building, every distant object is excluded, and from that circumstance, the rich and extensive prospect from the apartments in the back front appears more striking. . . .

#### “THE GARDENS,

“Which (except the north terrace and flower-garden) were laid out and planted by Brown<sup>f</sup>, contain thirty-eight acres ; and from the ‘knoll’<sup>g</sup> on which the house is situated, command an extensive prospect over all the intervening flat, as far as the towers of Oxford. In another direction, it overlooks the windings of the Thames towards Abingdon. These grand views, terminated by

<sup>f</sup> Lancelot Brown, commonly called “Capability” Brown.

<sup>g</sup> Gilpin’s “Tours,” vol. i.



the Berkshire hills and other rising grounds, compose the distance, and are presented from different places around the house, and in the pleasure-ground. The accompaniment also of noble trees on the foreground, sets off the distant scenery to great advantage.'

"In passing the arcade on the north side of the house, the west end of the church, the entrance to which is a semi-rotunda of columns supporting a dome, is seen through an opening in the trees, and appears like a small temple; the path then rounds the top of a slope, broken with groups of trees, over which Radley, the seat of Sir George Bowyer, is seen, with the church, and some of the scattered houses of that village. A grove of elms succeeds, which rises to the west end of the church, and the walk is continued through the principal portico of that beautiful building; it consists of six large Ionic columns, that support a pediment, above which a dome rises in the centre.

"It was erected at the sole expense of the late Earl Harcourt, who himself gave the original design, which received a very slight alteration from Stuart. The inside has been fitted up by the present Earl; the interior form is simple and pleasing; its only ornaments are two tablets with the Harcourt arms<sup>h</sup> in French tapestry; another

<sup>h</sup> These have been removed to the house.

piece of tapestry of large dimensions, representing the chiefs of the twelve tribes of Israel at the Passover; and a picture in the altar-piece (which was also after his design) painted by the Rev. Mr. Mason; the subject, which is the Good Samaritan, is well conceived, and has considerable merit.

"In the church there is a barrel-organ<sup>i</sup>, upon which is set Mr. Mason's music for the responses to the Commandments, and his Sunday hymns. The adjoining flower-garden was formed by him, and he suggested the alterations on the north terrace. So that in a very small space we have specimens of his genius in music, painting, and poetry; of his taste in improving the beauties of nature; and, what is most soothing to those who loved him, a proof that he applied his talents to the noblest purpose, that of celebrating the praises of Him from whom he received them.

"This building stands on the brow of a hill, which takes a circular sweep to the right; and the grove that has been passed occupies the declivity to the left. In its front the ground falls, with inequality of surface, between trees towards the meadow; large elms, feathering down to the ground, form in the bottom an irregular boundary; and the distance is terminated by the hill, and part of the village of Headington. The path

<sup>i</sup> Gone long ago.

now proceeds through trees, and from it are seen the towers of Oxford, and the village of Radley. A little farther on the right, on a seat placed beneath a very large and spreading elm, is the following inscription by M<sup>r</sup>. Whitehead:—

“ ‘This tree<sup>\*</sup> was planted by a female hand,  
In the gay dawn of rustic beauty's glow;  
And fast beside it did her cottage stand,  
When age had cloath'd the matron's head with  
snow.  
To her, long us'd to Nature's simple ways,  
This single spot was happiness complete;  
Her tree could shield her from the noontide blaze,  
And from the tempest screen her little seat.  
Here, with her Colin, oft the faithful maid  
Had led the dance, the envious youths among;  
Here, when his aged bones in earth were laid,  
The patient matron turned her wheel and sung.  
She felt her loss; yet felt it as she ought,  
Nor dar'd 'gainst Nature's general law exclaim;  
But check'd her tears, and to her children taught  
That well-known truth, 'their lot would be the  
same.’

<sup>\*</sup> This tree is well known to the country people by the name of Bab's tree. It was planted by one Barbara Wyat; who was so much attached to it, that on the removal of the village of Nuneham Courtenay to where it is now built, she earnestly entreated that she might still remain on her old habitation. Her request was complied with, and her cottage not pulled down till after her death.

Though Thames before her flow'd, his farther shores  
She ne'er explor'd, contented with her own.  
And distant Oxford, though she saw its towers,  
To her ambition was a world unknown.  
Did dreadful tales the clowns from market bear  
Of kings, of tumults, and the courtier train,  
She coldly listen'd with unheeding ear,  
And good Queen Anne, for aught she car'd, might  
reign.  
The sun her day, the seasons mark'd her year,  
She toiled, she slept, from care, from envy free:  
For what had she to hope, or what to fear,  
Bless'd with her cottage, and her fav'rite tree.  
Hear this, ye great, whose proud possessions spread  
O'er earth's rich surface, to no space confin'd;  
Ye learn'd in arts, in men, in manners read,  
Who boast as wide an empire o'er the mind.  
With reverence visit her august domain;  
To her unletter'd mem'ry bow the knee;  
She found that happiness you seek in vain,  
Bless'd with a cottage, and a single tree.'

“ The walk now takes a more terrace-like form, and ascends into a thick grove, from which there is an opening into a sequestered part of the park; it continues round the hill<sup>1</sup>, and returns into the

<sup>1</sup> From the further end of this walk a path diverges leading to the Parsonage, which is situated upon a bold and lofty eminence, commanding a view of Radley over a woody bottom, of the Thames, and of Oxford in the distance; and these different objects, seen from a hill planted with coppice, are rendered the more striking,



same path; from a seat towards the middle of which Oxford is seen in a particularly advantageous point of view: at the entrance of what may be called the church-glade, that building produces its best effect; the convex form of the ground immediately before it, uniting with a concave sweep, gives to the hill a most pleasing outline; and when all the surrounding features are brought into one view, from a station where every external object is excluded, the whole forms a striking piece of garden scenery.

"The walk now repasses the portico, descends to the house, and is continued round it to the south side of the garden. A broad walk, between a plantation on one side, and tufts of shrubs and detached trees on the other, is continued through a thick wood, planted on the upper part of a lawn that declines toward the meadow; from hence every distant object is excluded, but it is enlivened in one place by a view into the park.

"A little onward is Lady Harcourt's oak; which is rendered striking from the circumstance of its far-extended branches resting upon the ground.

"Farther to the left is a highly-ornamented seat of the Corinthian order, designed by Saun-

from the eye being confined on the left by a steep bank covered with wood, and by another fringed with trees, and equally abrupt, on the right.

ders; beyond it is another oak called Whitehead's, near which is an urn dedicated to his memory, with the following inscription by M<sup>r</sup>. Mason upon the pedestal:—

"Harcourt and friendship this memorial raise,  
Near to the oak where Whitehead oft reclin'd,  
Where all that Nature robed by Art displays,  
With charms congenial, sooth'd his polish'd mind.  
Let Fashion's votaries, let the 'sons of fire,'  
The genius of that modest bard despise,  
Who bade discretion regulate his lyre,  
Studious to please, but scorning to surprise;  
Enough for him, if those who shar'd his love  
Through life, who virtue more than verse revere,  
Here pensive pause, while circling round the grove,  
And drop the heart-paid tribute of a tear.'

"In a recess in the plantation on the opposite side is a seat<sup>m</sup>, placed there by the advice of M<sup>r</sup>. Repton, who first discovered the picturesque view from that point. From the eminence upon which the urn is placed, the eye commands a prospect of Oxford, and of the Thames that flows through the intervening valley below; of Radley with the woods beyond it, and of Abingdon and the Berkshire hills; Farringdon hill, with the clump of trees upon its summit, is distinctly seen at the distance of eighteen miles; to the left the ground falls abruptly into a glen in the park,

<sup>m</sup> This is now replaced by a rustic arbour.

but immediately rises into a brow covered with oaks, which in the distant view of them form a mass; yet so detached, as on a nearer approach to shew the turf beneath them.

"The walk now returns toward the house through a closer part of the plantation; on the left there is a narrow opening, that admits a view over the underwood; and the trees on the fore-ground, apparently uniting with a clump in the garden below, lead the eye to other masses of wood, till it reaches Oxford, which is framed by the trees and shrubs through which it is seen.

"A little farther, the prospect in front is viewed beneath the branches of detached acacias, from a treillage seat covered with roses and honeysuckles; and the path, after being carried through a very thick and close part of the plantation, unites with the upper walk.

#### "THE FLOWER GARDEN

"Has no visible connection with the pleasure-ground; the entrance is from the path which ascends towards the church, beneath the pediment of a Doric gate", on which the following sentence from J. J. Rousseau, so beautifully allusive to the world of flowers, is inscribed:—"Si l'Auteur de la nature est grand dans les grandes choses, il est très grand dans les petites."

<sup>a</sup> This is now done away with.

"A gravel walk enclosed with shrubs leads to the right; when a view soon opens on the left to an irregular slope, enriched with tufts of flowers, seen beneath the branches of trees; a wide-spreading elm, whose boughs touch the ground, is a kind of central object. The walk then continues between detached trees, till the eye is confined on either side by a thick shrubbery, that unites to the right with a plantation in the park.

"The path now becomes narrower, and passes through an arched rock covered with ivy, which is designed in imitation of a natural cavern. On one side, on a piece of marble, are these lines from Milton's "Comus":—

"Musing Meditation most affects  
The pensive secrecy of desert cell;  
And Wisdom's self  
Oft seeks to sweet retired Solitude;  
Where with her best nurse, Contemplation,  
She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings,  
That in the various bustle of resort  
Were all too ruffled, and sometimes impair'd."

"The front of the grotto is partially concealed by ivy and other creeping plants; and through an opening before it is caught a glimpse of the garden. On a long slanting stone, which appears to be the smooth part of a crag, is the following



inscription to the memory of Walter Clark, Florist, by Mr. Whitehead :—

*“To the Memory of Walter Clark, Florist; who Died suddenly near this spot, 1784.*

“On him, whose very soul was here,  
Whose duteous, careful, constant toil  
Has varied with the varying year,  
To make the gay profusion smile;  
Whose harmless life in silent flow  
Within these circling shades has past;  
What happier death could Heaven bestow,  
Than in these shades to breathe his last?  
'Twas here he fell: nor far remov'd  
Has earth received him in her breast;  
Still fast beside the scenes he lov'd,  
In holy ground his relics rest.  
Each clambering woodbine, flaunting rose,  
Which round yon bow'r he taught to wave,  
With ev'ry fragrant brier that blows,  
Shall lend a wreath to bind his grave.  
Each village matron, village maid,  
Shall with chaste fingers chaplets tie;  
Due honours to the rural dead,  
And emblems of mortality.  
Each village swain that passes by,  
A sigh shall to his mem'ry give;  
For sure, his death demands a sigh,  
Whose life instructs them how to live.

If spirits walk, as fabling age  
Relates to childhood's wond'ring ear,  
Full oft, does fancy dare presage,  
Shall Walter's faithful shade be here:  
Athwart yon glade, at night's pale noon,  
Full oft shall glide with busy feet,  
And, by the glimmering of the moon,  
Revisit each belov'd retreat.  
Perhaps the tasks on earth he knew,  
Resume,—correct the gadding spray,  
Brush from the plants the sickly dew,  
Or chase the noxious worm away.  
The bursting buds shall gladlier grow,  
No midnight blasts the flowers shall fear,  
And many a fair effect shall show,  
At noon, that Walter has been here.  
Nay, ev'ry morn, in times to come,  
If quainter ringlets curl the shade,  
If richer breezes breathe perfume,  
If softer swell the verdant glade,  
If neatness charm a thousand ways,  
Till nature almost art appear;  
Tradition's constant, fav'rite theme  
Shall be—poor Walter has been here.'

“From this spot there is another opening into the interior part of the garden.

“The walk then winds to the left, where a rude and romantic elm over-canopies a bench. The temple of Flora is the next object; it is after a design of a Doric portico at Athens: in the

centre of the back wall is a medallion of Flora from the antique, in white marble, with the following inscription from Ariosto:—

“Vaghi boschetti di soavi Allori,  
Di Palme, e d'amenissime Mortelle,  
Cedris et Aranci, c'havean frutti e fiori,  
Contesti in varie forme e tutte belle,  
Facean riparo a i fervidi calori,  
De' giorni estivi con lor spesse ombrelle:  
E tra quei rami con sicuri voli,  
Cantando se ne giano i Rossignoli.’

“It is placed on a gentle rise, from which there is an inclining glade, terminated by a cinerary urn erected to the memory of Mr. Mason. The lines are by Elizabeth, Countess Harcourt:—

“The Poet's feeling, and the Painter's eye,  
In this thy lov'd retreat, we pleas'd descry:  
Ah, Mason! in the scene thy fancy drest,  
Oft shall the sigh of sorrow heave the breast:  
Oft recollection picture to the mind  
The various talents that in thee were join'd;  
And while thy lofty genius well may claim  
The brightest guerdon from the hand of fame,  
Thy simple manners, that disdain'd all art,  
The genuine piety that warm'd thy heart,  
Thy steady friendship, justly might require  
Numbers like those that once inform'd thy lyre.  
Ah, fruitless wish! for ever mute that strain,  
And “Numbers worthy thee” we ask in vain.’

“The urn is placed in a kind of recess, overshadowed by the drooping branches of a large spruce-fir. This glade is formed by an irregular line of the beds of flowers and shrubs on either side, with single Swedish junipers, which have the effect of cypresses, projecting before them. From the temple, the path bends to the right between large elms.

“On an ornamental seat is,—

“Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,  
With Innocence thy sister dear!  
Mistaken long, I sought thee then,  
In busy companies of Men.  
Your sacred Plants, at length I know,  
Will only in retirement grow;  
Society is all but rude  
To this delicious Solitude;  
Where all the flowers and trees do close  
To weave the Garland of Repose.’

*And. Marvell.*

“The path, as it descends, takes a bolder sweep; and within a recess in the shrubbery is an urn placed upon an altar, on which is the following inscription by Mr. Whitehead:—

“‘Sacred to the Memory of Frances Poole,  
Viscountess Palmerston.

“‘Here shall our ling'ring footsteps oft be found;  
This is her shrine, and consecrates the ground.



Here living sweets around her altar rise,  
And breathe perpetual incense to the skies.

Here, too, the thoughtless and the young may tread;  
Who shun the drearier mansions of the dead,  
May here be taught what worth the world has known:  
Her wit, her sense, her virtues were her own;  
To her peculiar — and for ever lost  
To those who knew, and therefore lov'd her most.

O! if kind pity steal on virtue's eye,  
Check not the tear, nor stop the useful sigh;  
From soft humanity's ingenuous flame  
A wish may rise to emulate her fame;  
And some faint image of her worth restore,  
When those, who now lament her, are no more.'

"George Simon Harcourt, and the Honourable Elizabeth Vernon, Viscount and Viscountess Nuneham, erected this urn in the year 1771.— William Whitehead, Esquire, Poet Laureate, wrote the verses.

"The Conservatory next appears; orange-trees of various kinds are planted in the ground; and during the summer, the front, sides, and roof of the building are removed; the back wall is covered with a treillage, against which are planted exotic jessamines, &c.

"This garden contains no more than an acre-and-half of ground; but such is the irregularity of its form and surface, the disposition of its shrubs and flowers, and the conduct of the sur-

rounding path, that it appears very considerably larger than it really is. In description it may appear overcharged with artificial ornaments; but they are so placed as to be seen only in unexpected succession. A flower-garden being professedly a work of art, admits of all the embellishment that art can bestow. But taste alone could not have formed this spot, in which so much of invention and fancy is displayed, that it is apparent the genius of poetry must have assisted in the composition °.

#### POEMS WRITTEN AT NUNEHAM.

"LINES LEFT IN THE FLOWER-GARDEN,

*By the late Dr. Bacon, Author of the 'Snipe,' &c.*

"Could Milton be restor'd to sight,

He might, at good Lord Nuneham's cost,

See here, with exquisite delight,

The Paradise his Adam lost.'

"TO WALTER CLARK,

*By the Hon. Horace Walpole, 1773.*

"Your pinks and tulips live an hour,

A fortnight bounds your utmost pow'r.

° "Mr. Repton, in his very ingenious and instructive work on 'the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening,' observes, that 'the flower-garden at Nuneham, without being formal, is highly enriched, but not too much crowded with seats, temples, statues, or other ornaments; which being works of art, beautifully harmonize with that profusion of flowers and curious plants, which distinguish the flower-garden from natural landscape, although the walks are not in straight lines.'

Flora, the niggard Goddess, pays  
 With short-liv'd joys the toil of days.  
 But, Walter Clark, your happy lot  
 Is fallen in a fairer spot ;  
 A Muse has deign'd to view your bow'r,  
 And stamp'd immortal every flow'r ;  
 Her breath new perfumes can disclose,  
 Her touch improve the damask-rose ;  
 And ages hence, the buds you raise  
 Shall bloom, to Nuneham's <sup>p</sup> living lays.  
 The lilies of the field, that shone  
 With brighter blaze than Solomon,  
 Shall beg to quit their rural stations,  
 To mix with Walter Clark's carnations."

Since the foregoing description by Lord Harcourt was written, alterations have naturally taken place. When the additions to the house were made by Archbishop Harcourt, formal terraces were constructed, to afford dryer walks near home ; a rosary was added, an ornamental dairy built, opening into the gardens ; much surplusage of busts and verses was removed ; ornamental houses for the agent, bailiff, masons, carpenters, gardeners, &c., were constructed ; and large quantities of glass were added

<sup>p</sup> Lady Nuneham.

to the kitchen-gardens. Recently a new church has been constructed near to the removed village, for the convenience of the inhabitants.

The parish of Nuneham comprises 1,740 acres ; the rateable value is £1,882 ; the assessed property is £3,408. The population is about 300. The Park itself includes portions of four different parishes<sup>q</sup>.

Next follow extracts from Horace Walpole's letters, alluding to Nuneham.

To the Rev. William Mason :—

*"Strawberry Hill, Aug. 8, 1780.*

" . . . . Pray tell me when you are to be at Nuneham ; I should like to meet you there. Lady Jersey says the plan of alteration of the house is laid aside ; and all I could understand was, that the approach to the house is to be changed ; but she is too fine a Lady to explain how that will produce their being better lodged. . . . "

To the Rev. William Mason :—

*"Nuneham, Oct. 13, 1780.*

" . . . . P.S. This place (Nuneham) is more Elysian than ever ; the river (the Thames) full to the

<sup>q</sup> Nuneham, Toot Baldon, Culham, and Burcote.



brim; and the church, by one touch of Albano's pencil, is become a temple, and a principal feature of one of the most beautiful landscapes in the world. . . ."

To the Rev. William Mason :—

"*Berkeley-square, Nov. 1, 1780.*

" . . . . I wish you had told me, if you did not find Nuneham in more beauty than ever. I do not know the Paradise on earth I prefer to it, with its Adam and Eve; who may comfort themselves with having no children, when they recollect that the first-born committed murder *with the jaw-bone of an ass*; a deadly weapon I am sure! . . . ."

To the Rev. William Mason :—

"*Strawberry Hill, Oct. 9, 1781.*

" . . . . I go to Park-place the day after to-morrow; but think I shall not proceed to Nuneham. I have not heard from Lord Harcourt; but M<sup>r</sup>. Stonehewer called here a few days ago, and says the house is pulled to pieces, and consequently in great disorder; which I conclude is the reason of my not being summoned. . . ."

To the Rev. William Mason :—

"*Berkeley-square, Feb. 7, 1782.*

" . . . . How could you forget to tell me of M<sup>r</sup>. Whitehead's verses on Nuneham<sup>a</sup>; I am charmed with them: they are the best he ever wrote, except *Variety*. . . ."

To the Rev. William Mason :—

"*Berkeley-square, Feb. 14, 1782.*

" . . . . I want you to send me a correct copy of your replicatory 'Ode to the Duchess of Devonshire.' I have at last, after some years of solicitation, prevailed on Lady Harcourt's modesty to allow me to print a small number of copies of some of her poems. . . ."

To the Rev. William Mason :—

"*Strawberry Hill, Aug. 4, 1782.*

" . . . . Nay, I do not perceive that your presence at Nuneham advances any work there. I have neither received Lady Harcourt's MS., nor a design for the Gothic building which my painted glass is to deck. Does your being within the vortex of Oxford benumb all your faculties? . . . ."

<sup>a</sup> "On the late improvement at Nuneham, the seat of the Earl of Harcourt," (Whitehead's Works, iii. 75).

To the Countess of Ossory :—

*"Strawberry Hill, Aug. 30, 1790.*

".... Of Nuneham, I doubt you were not half so fond as I am. It is not superb; but so calm, *riant*, and comfortable, so live-at-able, one wakes in a morning on such a whole picture of beauty. ...."

### OUR OLD HOME.

BY NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, 1864.

".... By the time these matters had been properly attended to, we had arrived at that part of the Thames which passes by Nuneham Courtney; a fine estate belonging to the Harcourts, and the present residence of the family. Here we landed; and climbing a steep slope from the river side, paused a moment or two to look at an architectural object called the Carfax; the purport of which I do not well understand. Thence we proceeded onward, through the loveliest park and woodland scenery I ever saw, and under as beautiful a declining sunshine as heaven ever shed over earth, to the stately mansion-house.

"As we here cross a private threshold, it is not allowable to pursue my feeble narrative of this delightful day with the same freedom as heretofore; so, perhaps, I may as well bring it to

a close. I may mention, however, that I saw the library; a fine, large apartment, hung round with portraits of eminent literary men, principally of the last century, most of whom were familiar guests of the Harcourts.

"The house itself is about eighty years old, and is built in the Classic style; as if the family had been anxious to diverge as far as possible from the Gothic picturesqueness of their old abode at Stanton Harcourt. The grounds were laid out in part by Capability Brown; and seemed to me even more beautiful than those of Blenheim. Mason, the poet, a friend of the house, gave the design of a portion of the garden.

"Of the whole place, I will not be niggardly of my rude Transatlantic praise; but be bold to say that it appeared to me as perfect as anything earthly can be,—utterly and entirely finished; as if the years and generations had done all that the hearts and minds of the successive owners could contrive for a spot they dearly loved.

"Such homes as Nuneham Courtney are among the splendid results of long hereditary possession; and we Republicans, whose households melt away like new-fallen snow in a spring morning, must content ourselves with our many counterbalancing advantages for this one, so apparently desirable to the far-projecting selfishness of our nature, we are certain never to attain. ...."



In giving a list of the pictures which now hang on the walls at Nuneham, the Catalogue which was drawn out by Horace Walpole and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and printed in 1806 by George Simon, Lord Harcourt, three years before his death, will be taken as a basis.

Many additions, however, have since been made to the collection, and the positions of the pictures have been so much changed, that, as they had neither names nor numbers attached to them, it was often difficult to recognise them in the old Catalogue.

The numbers prefixed to the descriptions in this Catalogue are also affixed to the pictures themselves.

The order which will be observed, will be the order of the rooms in which the pictures hang, rather than the numbers which the pictures themselves bear.

To begin with the ENTRANCE HALL :—

133. "Sir Robert Harcourt, Knight of the Bath 1495, and Banneret 1497; son of Sir John and Anne, daughter of Sir John Norris. He was standard-

bearer to King Henry VII. at the Battle of Bosworth. The picture is taken from his monument at Stanton Harcourt."

134. "Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byron, and widow of Sir William Atherston, wife to Sir Robert Harcourt, Knight of the Garter; as she is represented upon her curious monument at Stanton Harcourt, with the garter, with its motto, above the elbow on the left arm. This is one of the only three known examples of female sepulchral effigies decorated with the insignia of that Order: the others are those of Constance, daughter of John Holland, Duke of Exeter; first married to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; and, secondly, to Sir John Grey, Knight of the Garter (temp. Henry V.), on her monument (now much defaced) in the church of St. Catharine near the tower: and of Alice, daughter of Thomas Chaucer, wife of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, in the church of Ewelme in Oxfordshire. On this garter there is no motto, though the monument is in perfect preservation."

Margaret was grandmother of the above-named Robert.

135. "Sir Robert Harcourt, son of Sir Thomas, and of Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Francis. He was Sheriff of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, 1445; Governour of Vernon, &c., in Normandy, 1446; and elected High Steward of the University of Oxford the same year; Knight of the Garter the third year of Edward IV.; Commissioner, with the Earl of Warwick and others, for the treaty between

England and France, 1467; slain by the Staffords of the Lancastrian party, 1471. The picture is from his monument at Stanton Harcourt."

136. William de Vernon, from a monument in a church in Normandy. It was copied by Thane at a cost of 15*l.* 15*s.*

137. "William de Harcourt, son of Robert, and Isabel, daughter and heir of Richard de Camville. Queen Adeliza, daughter of Godfrey, first Duke of Brabant, and second wife of Henry I., granted the manor of Stanton to her kinswoman, Milicent, wife of Richard de Camville; on the marriage of their daughter Isabel to Robert de Harcourt, it assumed the name of Stanton Harcourt, and has continued 700 years in the Harcourt family in direct descent. William de Harcourt adhered to King John in the Barons' wars; was at the siege of Damietta in the Holy Land, An. 1216; and Governor of Tamworth Castle, 1219. He married, by the King's appointment, Alice, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Noel, of Ellenhall, in the county of Stafford. The picture is from his monument in the cathedral of Worcester."

138. "Maud, daughter of John, Lord Grey of Rotherfield, by his second wife, Avice, daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Marmion, (which Maud, with her two brothers, assumed the name and arms of their mother,) wife of Sir Thomas Harcourt, son of Sir Richard and Johanna, daughter of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor. Died the seventeenth year of Richard II. The picture is from her monument at Stanton Harcourt."

139. "A Head of one of the Harcourt family. A present from Mr. Harcourt Powell to George Simon, Earl Harcourt."

140. "A Head of one of the Harcourt family in the reign of Charles I."

#### PRINCIPAL STAIRCASE.

104. Noah and his family, with all the different animals preparing to enter the ark. It is said to be by "Imperiali" in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue. Whether it should not have appeared as having belonged to the "Imperiali" family is a question: I cannot discover such a painter as Imperiali. The picture was purchased by Simon, Earl Harcourt, in the year 1740. He paid 28*l.* 7*s.* for it to Mr. Langford.  
*No number.* A Cattle-piece, said to be by Dirk Vanden Bergen.

116. George Bussy, Lord Villiers, afterwards fourth Earl of Jersey, by Brompton. This picture was a present from himself.

40. Sarah Jennings, first Duchess of Marlborough, after Kneller. This picture was given by the Duchess to the first Lord Harcourt.

29. Ferdinand, Infant of Spain, and Cardinal, Governor of the Netherlands, by Hunneman; from the collection of Viscountess Galway. The Infant, Don Ferdinand, received from the Pope a Cardinal's hat at the age of ten, and was raised by proxy to the See of Toledo—the Primacy of Spain, and one of the richest benefices in Europe. He was the third son of Philip III. The painter, Adrian



Hunneman, was a native of the Hague: he passed sixteen years in England: he studied the works of Vandyck, and died in the year 1680. This picture is nicely painted, but it has been cleaned to the quick.

70. A Farm-yard, attributed in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue to Murillo; it was bought from the collection of Mr. Bagnot by Lord Harcourt in the year 1740 for 16*l*.
71. A Woman on horseback, attended by several figures and various animals; described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a well-painted picture by Watteau."

#### THE ANTE-ROOM.

32. Queen Henrietta Maria, attributed in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue to Vandyck. The original is well known; this is, however, a carefully-studied and well-painted picture, whoever it may be painted by.
38. Louis XIV., King of France, by Peter Mignard; a good picture, said to be one of the ten which he painted for his Patron, Louis IV. Mignard was born at Troyes, 1610: he studied at Rome, and obtained the name of the Roman: he died 1695, aged 85.
37. The Nativity, by Bronzino; this picture is dated 1547. Bronzino was born in Florence, 1511. The picture was somewhat marred by its "restoration" by Thane in 1836, who charged 41*l*. for the operation.

41. This picture is thus described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue:—"The Holy Family, a celebrated picture of Barocci, known by the name of La Madonna colla Gatta, from the cat in one corner; it has been etched by himself, and was in the collection of the Earl of Pomfret." This picture was bought by Simon, Earl Harcourt, in the year 1740, for 24*l*. 3*s*.; it was mercilessly cleaned and repaired by Thane in the year 1836. He charged 15*l*. 15*s*. for the operation; which, in his bill, he describes as a singular success. Barocci was born at Urbino, 1528; and died 1612, aged 84.
39. A Holy Family, by Le Sueur, described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "in his best manner, and extremely fine." Eustachius le Sueur was born at Paris, 1617; and died 1655, aged 36.
42. Aubrey Vere, twentieth, and last Earl of Oxford, of that house. This picture is by Walker, and is a fine example of the master. Robert Walker died in the year 1658: he was much patronized by Cromwell.
43. Christ driving the money-changers out of the Temple, by Bassano, painted on black marble. Rebecca, Countess Harcourt, in writing to her son, (vid. letters,) Sept. 23, 1755, says of this picture,— "I think I mentioned a Bassano that we had bought for six guineas of Deard; luckily he knows nothing of a picture; if he had, we must have paid a large sum for it. 'Tis painted on marble; the subject,—Christ driving away the people out of the Temple; very finely painted, as Mr. Fanquier

says, upon whose recommendation we bought it, neither of us having seen it; but the price was so low, there was no withstanding the purchasing of it." It came from the collection of Dr. Peters. Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, was born 1510; and died 1592, aged 82.

44. The meeting of Ulysses and Nausicaa; noted in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "capital;" painted by Salvator Rosa. A present from the Duc de Harcourt to Lord Harcourt, in acknowledgement of the kindness shewn to him when he was a refugee in England, at the time of the French revolution. He received an asylum and a pension from Lord Harcourt, until he was enabled to return to France. Salvator Rosa was born at Naples, 1614; and died in 1673, aged 59.
45. A Landscape with a decayed cottage, by Decker; noted in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue, "one of the best of that Master."
46. Baron Rhynewick, by Pourbus; a well-painted picture. Pourbus was born in 1570; and died 1622, aged 52.
47. Ruins and figures, by Paul Bril. P. Bril was born at Antwerp, 1554; and died 1626, aged 72.
31. Another similar subject, by the same artist.
30. Dogs and Game; noted in Lord Harcourt's book as "a capital Snyder." This picture was bought by Simon, Earl Harcourt, from Mr. Lamb, in 1757, for 55*l.* 13*s.* Snyder was born at Antwerp, 1579; and died 1657, aged 78.
59. George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, at

the age of 17, by Reynolds; in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue the description runs thus,—“the transparent colouring of this head can scarcely be surpassed.” It was painted in 1755, at a cost of 12*l.* 10*s.*

63. Simon, Earl Harcourt, by Reynolds. A note appears in Lord Harcourt's account, “Paid Mr. Reynolds, the painter, for picture of myself and the boy, 26*l.* 5*s.*”
36. “Lettice, daughter and co-heir of Henry, son of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G., wife to William, fourth Lord Paget, by Mark Gerards.” This painter was born at Bruges, 1561; and in 1580 came over to England, where he was appointed painter to Queen Elizabeth; he died 1635, aged 74.
320. Musical memories, by Miss A. E. Donkin; bought in 1874 by E. W. Harcourt in the Royal Academy for 75 guineas.
327. E. W. Harcourt, by W. B. Richmond; painted in 1875, cost 150*l.*
328. Lady Susan Harcourt, by W. B. Richmond; painted in 1876, price 150*l.*
329. Medora, by Miss F. Tiddeman, painted in 1876; bought by E. W. Harcourt in the Royal Academy, price 40*l.*
333. Aubrey Harcourt, by Miss Taylor; painted in 1878, price 21*l.*
334. Florie, by Arthur Hacker, painted in 1879; bought by E. W. Harcourt in the Royal Academy, price 25*l.*
48. “Maurice, Prince of Orange, by Mirevelt.” Maurice



was Governor of the Netherlands, and son of William, the protector of Belgic liberty; he was born 1567, and died unmarried in 1625, at the age of 58. Michael Jansen Mirevelt was born at Delft in 1568; and died in 1641, aged 73. This is an admirably-painted picture, said by some to have been painted by Velasquez.

A bust of Edith Harcourt, daughter of E. W. Harcourt and Lady Susan Harcourt, married to the Hon. Murray Finch Hatton; by Noble, in 1873; one of the last and best works of that master; the price was 150*l*. Noble was an artist of the greatest refinement, and of a very sensitive nature; he died in 1877.

#### LARGE DRAWING-ROOM.

1. "George Simon, second Earl Harcourt; his wife, Elizabeth, second daughter of George Venables Vernon, first Lord Vernon, in coronation robes; and the Hon. William Harcourt, afterwards third Earl Harcourt, in the uniform of Aide-de-camp to the King; by Sir Joshua Reynolds; richly and harmoniously coloured. This picture is generally considered one of the most perfect of its kind." There are six oil-paintings by Sir Joshua Reynolds at Nuneham; some of them have been irretrievably damaged under the hands of those who have undertaken to *reline* them, owing to their ignorance of an artifice which Sir Joshua latterly employed. The writings of Caylus on the use of wax in painting, by the painters of antiquity, led Reynolds to

introduce this medium into his own practice. Now, on relining a picture, *heat*, it seems, as well as pressure is needed; so that, whilst undergoing this process, the surface of one of the greatest of Reynolds' works was left behind in the mould. In the case of the present picture, George Granville Harcourt, the then possessor of Nuneham, in the year 1859, at the instigation of Anthony, the picture-cleaner, allowed the rich crimson background of the picture to be removed; beneath this was found a green surface, which now forms the background of the picture. The operation was a bold one, and a very doubtful improvement.

- o. The picture without a label was purchased in Rome by George Granville Harcourt in the year 1848; the subject is the Flight into Egypt; it is the work of a copyist, and is without merit; it was bought simply to occupy the space formerly filled by a picture of Susanna and the elders, which was considered an unfit subject for a drawing-room.
2. Beggar-boys, described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as being by Murillo, and having come from Penshurst. No doubt the latter part of the story is true: the picture is not a good one.
3. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a Landscape, by Gaspar Poussin, in his first manner. Figures by Nicholas Poussin." Duguet was born in France, 1600; he died 1663, aged 63: he assumed the surname of his brother-in-law, Poussin, and is best known by the name of Gaspar Poussin.

4. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a Landscape, with a cart overturning by moonlight, a capital picture, by Rubens; well-known by Bols-waert's print called 'La charette embourbée,' from the collection of the Comte de Guiche at Paris." Lord Harcourt, in writing to his wife, says,—  
 "Amongst various distant visits I have called on Sir Joshua, and seen the Rubens; which he talks over, and looks at with delight; it has been cleaned, and once varnished, in his house, and under his eye; and he has kindly offered to repair it after the next coat of varnish is laid on, which is necessary to prevent the further peeling off: it is much brighter than it was before, and has lost all that harshness which threatened further decay, which Sir Joshua thinks it will not be liable to; but to be sure it has peeled very much, and none but Sir Joshua himself could be trusted to mend the defects, though they are not in any way the material parts of the picture."

Rubens was born at Cologne, 1577; and died 1640, aged 63. This picture was transferred from panel to canvas by Thane in the year 1835, by whom it was not improved.

5. By G. Poussin, a pair to No. 3, *vid.* note on that picture.  
 6. A Landscape, with large figures, dogs, and game; attributed to Gio. Francesco Grimaldi, called Il Bolognese, a disciple of A. Cracci. He died 1680, aged 74.  
 7. A Landscape, described in Lord Harcourt's Cata-

- logue to Claude le Lorrain: Lord Harcourt gave 7*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* for it in April, 1754.  
 8. A Landscape, with figures and cattle, by Nicholas Berchem. Berchem was born at Haerlem, 1624; and died 1683, aged 59. This is a nice picture, in good order: it was a present to Lord Harcourt, from Sir John Blaquiere, K.B.  
 9. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a fine Landscape, by Nicolas Poussin:" it was bought for Lord Harcourt, March 15, 1756, by Mr. Fanquier, from the collection of Mr. Houlditch, for 52*l.* 10*s.* It has been engraved by Vivares.  
 10. St. Margaret. This is described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a most capital picture, by Titian, of St. Margaret. It was in the collection of King Charles I., and has been etched by Howard, the painter."

The original manuscript account of Charles I.'s pictures, includes one of St. Margaret, by Titian; the measurements of the picture are variously given on the same page, as 6 ft. 2 in., and 6 ft.; the figure is described as holding a little red cross in her left hand; upon the right light, upon cloth; Van der Doort always reverses right and left; and what he calls right, we should call left. In the Nuneham picture, the light comes in from the left, according to our ideas. A clear 11 in. has been added to this picture at the top; without which it would accord with the required measurement. The piece added at the top is wretched in execution and colour; some ugly blue has been daubed over the



old greenish blue, to hide the line of the addition; the arm and knee have been roughly and thickly coloured over the old paint; and the green of the drapery has been restored to a tint far different from any Titian ever employed. The cross is brown; but there is a red reflection in the left hand, which might have proceeded from a red cross. It was said to have been bought at the Hague; but it has been so embellished by picture-cleaners, that the present picture gives very little idea of the original. The last operation performed upon it was by Thane in 1837, for which he charged 31*l.* 10*s.*; whether Titian ever had a hand in it, whether Paris Bordone was its author, or whether it came from Charles I.'s collection, must be left open questions.

11. Moonlight on the water, by Aart van der Neer. This picture was bought by Lord Harcourt, March 23, 1758, for 34*l.* 13*s.* It is a very excellent picture. This painter was born 1627; and died 1690, aged 63.
12. A Landscape, by Jacob van Ruysdael; very good example of the master. This picture was bought by Lord Harcourt, April 16, 1756, for 10*l.* 10*s.* Ruysdael was born at Haerlem, 1636; and died 1681, aged 45.
13. This picture is described as "a Landscape by Rubens, figures and cattle by Teniers; an engraving from it has been done by Van Uden." Rubens was born at Cologne in 1577; Teniers studied under him; and Van Uden was often em-

ployed by him to paint his backgrounds for him; Rubens died in 1640, aged 63.

14. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "Mars, Venus, and Cupids; a very capital picture by N. Poussin, from the collection of Mr. Furnesse." This picture was bought by Lord Harcourt, Feb. 4, 1758, for 105*l.* N. Poussin was born at Audel in Normandy, 1594; and died 1665, aged 71.
15. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "Moses sweetening the waters of Meriba, by N. Poussin; and more highly coloured than those of that master generally are."

Rebecca, Countess Harcourt, writing to her son, Sept. 1755, says,—“I must tell you we lately bought one of N. Poussin's pictures (Moses sweetening the waters of Meribah). 'Tis painted after the manner of Raphael; and, though a little dark, is esteemed by the best judges to be a capital picture; for those who are not so, Reinholds<sup>r</sup> says, would not like it. Knapton sold it some years ago for Dr. Hickman to Blackwood for 150 guineas, he sold it to Lord Royden for 250; and, after passing through several hands, my Lord was so fortunate as to get it for 50*l.*”

16. A Landscape with figures, by Both; described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue, and rightly so described, as "one of the best pictures of that master." J. Both was born at Utrecht, 1610; and died 1650, aged 40.
17. Maria, second daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, K.B.,

<sup>r</sup> Reynolds.

Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, and Duchess of Gloucester, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The curious remark about the picture in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue (considering by whom that Catalogue was drawn up) was this: "It is worthy of Guido, and the subject such as Guido would have chosen." We may be disposed to substitute the name of Reynolds for Guido; either painter might be proud of having painted the picture. It has unfortunately suffered much at the hands of picture-cleaners; but if placed in a suitable light, the picture exhibits all the powers of the master at his best period. About the year 1730, Edward Walpole, son of the minister, took under his protection a very beautiful young woman, who lived as a dressmaker above his lodgings in London. His father prevented the marriage with her which his son desired. Miss Clements was daughter of the postmaster at Darlington; she bore three daughters to E. Walpole, and herself died at the birth of the youngest. The eldest of these daughters married the Hon. and Rev. F. Keppel; the second daughter, Maria, married Lord Waldegrave, who was considerably her senior in age. There were three daughters, the issue of this union; Elizabeth Maria, who married her cousin, the fourth Earl of Waldegrave; Charlotte Maria, who married George, Duke of Grafton; and Anne Horatia, who married Lord Hugh Seymour. Lord Waldegrave died in 1763, of small-pox. His widow received several offers of marriage after his death; amongst others from the Duke of Portland. She

eventually married Henry, Duke of Gloucester; the marriage was not made public for six years after it was solemnized. William, Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, were the children of this marriage. William, Duke of Gloucester, married his cousin, the Princess Mary, daughter of George III. In the succeeding volumes, letters will appear from Maria, Duchess of Gloucester, which will illustrate some of these events.

18. "The embarkation of King Charles II. at Scheveling, An. 1660, with English and Dutch yachts:" it is described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a capital Vander-Veldt," and it merits the description. William Vander Velde was born at Leyden, 1610; and died 1693, aged 83.

At the end of the room are two busts: the one, of the Hon. Ed. Harcourt, Archbishop of York, by Noble,—the first commission given to that artist; the second, of the Rev. W. Harcourt, son of Archbishop Harcourt, by Noble, after Chantrey. 80*l.* was paid to Noble for the copy in 1872; Chantrey was paid 300 guineas for the original in 1836, which is now in the Yorkshire Museum in York.

In a small table-cabinet in the Drawing-room are several articles of curiosity; such as an exquisitely-finished and very small watch belonging to the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., and given by her to Frederick Harcourt, brother of Sir Simon Harcourt. A watch, cased in blue enamel, and set with diamonds, given by George III.



to Elizabeth, Countess Harcourt. A small edition of Tasso, carried by J. J. Rousseau in his pocket, and at his death given to Lord Harcourt by his widow; the pocket-book which belonged to Rousseau, given in the same way. A portion of the oak in which Charles II. concealed himself, from Sir Hans Sloane's collection. A purse which belonged to Charles I. A piece of the oak from which tradition says that the arrow glanced which slew William Rufus. A miniature of Queen Charlotte; a miniature of Simon Harcourt, Lord Chancellor; two miniatures of Elizabeth, Countess Harcourt; a miniature of Louis XIV. of France. A small case which formerly contained a portion of the heart of Louis XIV., obtained at Val de Grace, when the spoliation took place during the French Revolution. The case still remains; but the contents came to an extraordinary ending in the year 1848. Queen Charlotte's snuff-box, light-blue enamel, set with pearls, and still containing some of the Spanish high-dried. A snuff-box, the present of the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth to Lady Harcourt. A snuff-box, the present of the King to Lord Harcourt. A piece of glass from Stanton Harcourt, upon which Pope scratched an inscription when he finished translating one of the books of the Iliad. A snuff-box, with a miniature of Queen Victoria set in diamonds, presented by Her Majesty to Colonel F. Harcourt; together with many other things.

## OCTAGON DRAWING-ROOM.

19. George Granville Leveson Gower, first Duke of Sutherland; a present from himself to his brother-in-law, Archbishop Harcourt.
21. Lady Elizabeth Harcourt, daughter of the Earl of Lucan, and first wife of George Granville Harcourt, eldest son of Archbishop Harcourt, by Sir Thomas Lawrence; a good example of the painter.
22. Mary, eldest daughter of William Danby, D.D., and widow of Thomas Lockhart, Esq., of Craighouse, Scotland; married, Sept. 21, 1778, Colonel the Hon. W. Harcourt, only brother of Lord Harcourt. Horace Walpole writes thus of this marriage:—"I must not omit my compliments on Colonel Harcourt's marriage; and yet it is not with perfect cordiality. It is not thence I wish for a Lord Nuneham; pray forgive me in friendship. I am a Tory, and love the right line; though I desire the house of Harcourt may reach to the end of the world, as it has reached from the beginning." The picture is painted by Opie, and is the best that can be seen by that master.
20. Ruins at Rome, by Panini. Painted for Simon, first Earl Harcourt, in Feb. 1754; he paid 21*l.* for it. Paolo Panini was born at Placentia, 1691; and died 1758, aged 67.
23. A pair to No. 20, with the same history attached to it.
24. Granville Leveson Gower, first Marquis of Stafford; a present from him to his son-in-law, Archbishop Harcourt.

25. "A Landscape, with figures and cattle, by Cuyp; from the collection of Lord Kingsland, at Dublin." Cuyp or Kuyp was born at Dort, 1606.
26. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a Landscape with Ruins, by Patel; from the collection of Mons. de la Live, at Paris, which was composed of the choicest specimens I could procure of the several masters of the French school." This picture, a pleasing one, is very justly and delicately painted.
27. Mr. Pope, by Kneller; described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "the best portrait of him, and one of the best works of that master." At the back of the picture was transcribed (until the picture was relined by Rutley) the following letter to Simon, Lord Harcourt:—

"August 22, 1723.

"MY LORD,—It is a satisfaction to me to tell your Lordship that I shall not be any way disappointed of the honour you intend me, of filling a place in your library with my picture. I came to Town yesterday, and got admission to Sir Godfrey Kneller, who assured me the original was done for your Lordship; and that you, and no man but you, should have it. I saw the picture there afterwards; and was told by his man that you had sent and put a seal upon it. Give me leave, my Lord, with great sincerity to thank you for so obliging a thought, as thus to make me a sharer in the memory, as I was in the love of a person, who was justly the dearest object to you in the world: and

thus to be authorized by you to be called his friend, after both of us shall be dust. I am ever, with all good wishes to your Lordship and your family, (in which, too, I must do my mother the justice to join her,)

"My Lord,

"Your most obliged and most faithful servant,  
"A. POPE."

Lord Harcourt, writing to Lady Harcourt, Dec. 1792, says,—“Pray order Jacob to see that Mr. Pope's portrait be *carefully* placed in a packing-case, and brought to London with the waggon; for Lord Onslow wants a copy of it, and has a right\* to have one.”

28. Described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a Portrait by Velasquez; fine, and very rare."

Don Diego Velasquez De Silva, was born at Seville, 1594; and died 1660, aged 66.

#### DINING-ROOM.

52. Frances, daughter of Geoffrey Vere, fourth son of John, Earl of Oxford, and sister to Sir Francis, and Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; wife of Sir Robert Harcourt. Mother of Simon Harcourt, who was killed in the civil wars, and who was grandfather of Lord Chancellor Harcourt. A full length elaborate picture, painted in the time of James I.
53. "Battle of the Boyne by John Wycke," commonly

\* This was because he allowed Lord Harcourt to have a copy of his picture of Milton, which copy, now that the original is lost, has become a picture of much value.



called the younger. This picture was bought by Simon, Lord Harcourt, for nine guineas.

John Wycke was born at Haerlem, and died 1702.

54. Sir Robert, eldest son of Sir Walter Harcourt; the following description is given in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue,—he was "the principal adventurer with Sir Walter Raleigh, in his voyage to Guiana, for which expedition he built and fitted out at his own expense three vessels, by which means (in addition to his costly buildings at Ellen Hall, county of Stafford) he dissipated a large fortune, and was reduced to sell that ancient possession, as well as that of Wytham in Berkshire, now the Earl of Abingdon's; both of which had remained in the family from the reign of King John."

This picture forms a pendant to that of his wife, before described.

49. "View of part of the Quay and Bay of Naples, by Gasparo Occhiali." This picture shews the top of the Grotto of Pausilippo over the houses. It is signed Caes Van Witt, 1710. The family name of the painter was Witel; he died in 1736.
51. View of part of Rome and the Tiber, by the same artist.
55. Infant Samuel; a copy of the picture at Knole, by Sir Joshua Reynolds.
56. A Boy; a copy of a picture at Cobham, by Sir Joshua Reynolds.
57. Lady Anne Harcourt, daughter of the first Marquis of Stafford, and sister of the first Duke of

Sutherland, wife of Archbishop Harcourt; by Jackson; a very excellent picture.

58. "A Boy with a vase with flowers, an asp hanging to his finger, by Murillo;" described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a present from Dr. Jones, Bishop of Kildare, from the collection of Sir Paul Methuen."
60. "A Landscape with a waterfall, by Ruysdael; the figures by Wouvermans." Rebecca, Lady Harcourt, writing to her son, Sept. 1755, says,—"We have lately purchased a Landscape by Ruysdaal; the water prodigiously finely painted; the landscape, figures, &c., extremely well done; and what is very fortunate, with turning in a part that was damaged, it exactly fits the frame over the dining-parlour chimney." Lord Harcourt paid 14*l.* 14*s.* for the picture in 1755; and in 1835, Thane was paid 15*l.* 15*s.* for repairing the part of the picture which Lady Harcourt alludes to as having been turned in, and for supplying a new frame. Philip Wouvermans was born at Haerlem, 1620; and died 1668, aged 48.
61. The Hon. Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York; third son of George, Lord Vernon, and of Martha Harcourt his wife. Succeeded to the Harcourt estates 1830, on the death of his cousin William, last Earl Harcourt, without issue. The picture is painted by Hayter; it is a hard painting.
62. Philip Duc de Vendome, Grand Prieur of France, 1710, by Mignard. In Lord Harcourt's Catalogue we read,—"This fine portrait was a present from

the Hon. Horace Walpole." Horace Walpole's letter to Lord Harcourt, when he sent him the picture, was as follows:—

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am delighted to find that Philip de Vendome was the famous Grand Prieur, who had so much wit and spirit, as the inclosed note from Anderson proves. How lucky that a Prince who had so interesting a countenance when a boy should have had common sense afterwards. I cannot say his beauty remained. Lord Dacre has a whole-length of him, later in life, in a habit-de-chasse. It looks like one of those drunken, red-faced old women who follow a camp, and half of whose clothes are scoured regimentals. . . .

"I have such numberless obligations to your Lordship, and so little power of returning them, that you must allow me to take the first of shewing that, at least, I wish to prove my gratitude; and you will, I am sure, not refuse the testimonial, as you know it is of no other worth. You liked the picture I take the liberty of sending; yet it is so indifferent, that I would not presume to offer it if I did not like it too, which proves I have more pleasure in pleasing your Lordship than myself; and that I hope will give it a little value, though it has none else."

64. "King William III., and several attendants, hunting; by Wotton." Wotton was a disciple of Wyck, and died 1764.

65. Georgiana Poyntz, Countess Spencer; from a picture by Gainsborough, at Althorp.

Whitehead, writing to Lord Nuneham, from Middleton, under date, Dec. 6, 1758, says,—“We have a painter here, who takes the most exact likenesses I ever yet saw. His painting is coarse and slight; but has ease and spirit. Lord Villiers set to him before he left Bath, and I hope we shall be able to bring his picture to Town with us; it is he himself, and preferable in my opinion to the finest unlike picture in the universe, though it might serve for a sign; he sate only twice. The painter's name is Gainsborough.”

66. Queen Charlotte, copied from Gainsborough's picture at St. James's Palace. A present from King George III. to Lord Harcourt; a large full-length picture.
67. “A very large Landscape with cattle, by Rosa da Tivoli;” the note in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue says, “not in his usual style.” Lord Harcourt bought this picture, March 10, 1758, at Mr. Blackwood's sale, for 22*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Philip Roos, called Rosa da Tivoli, was born at Frankfort, 1655; and died 1705, aged 50.
68. King George III., a pendant to No. 66, and with the same history.
69. “Simon, first Earl Harcourt, in royal robes, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the head by Hunter of Dublin, the figure by Doughty.”



## BILLIARD-ROOM.

155. "Louis XIV. on horseback, attended by several of his courtiers; the Prince de Condé is on a dark grey horse, the Viscomte de Turenne on a dun horse, between the Prince and the King; by Van der Meulen;" born at Brussels, 1634; died 1690, aged 56.

The following letter was written by Lady Harcourt to her son, in reference to this picture:—

"*Cavendish-square, Thursday Morn. 1751.*

"DEAR NEWNHAM,— . . . I now must tell you I have examined the picture your Papa has lately bought, and think it a most charming piece; it represents a beautiful landskip, with a large groupe of figures on horseback; of which the three principal ones are the King of France, and two great men of his Court; the others appear to be servants conversing together at a little distance, but so well disposed, that you may plainly distinguish every face; and is upon the whole as agreeable a picture of the kind as I ever saw. . . .

"R. HARCOURT."

156. "Domestic Chapel at Stanton Harcourt; by Rathbone."  
 157. "Porter's Lodge at Stanton Harcourt; by Rathbone."  
 158. "A small and very fine head of Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary General, son of Sir Thomas Waller, Constable of Dover Castle, and of Mar-

garet, daughter of Sampson Lennard, Lord Dacre; by Walker. It has been engraved by Milton, for Sir William Waller's Vindication, written by himself, and first published in 1793. At the back of this portrait is affixed a copy of his admirable letter to Sir Ralph (afterwards Lord) Hopton, before the battle of Lansdown:—

"1643.

"SIR,— The experience I have had of your worth, and the happinesse I have enjoyed in your friendship, are wounding considerations to me, when I look upon this present distance between us; certainly, Sir, my affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostilitie itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of *usque ad aras* holdeth still; and where my conscience is interested, all other obligations are swallowed up.

"I should wait upon you according to your desire; but that I look upon you as engaged to that partie beyond possibilitie of retreat, and consequentlie incapable of being wrought upon by any persuasion; and I know the conference would never be so close betwixt us, but that it would take wind, and receive a construction to my dishonour. That great God, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows with what a sad fear I go upon this service, and with what a perfect hate I detest a war without an enemy; but I look upon it as an *opus Domini*, which is enough to silence all passion in me.

"The God of peace send us, in His good time, the blessing of peace; and in the mean time fit us to receive it. We are both on the stage, and must act those parts that are assigned to us in this Tragedy; but let us do it in the way of honour, and without personal animositie; whatsoever the issue of it be, I shall never resign that dear title of

"Your most affectionate friend, and  
faithful servant,

"WILLIAM WALLER."

Walker died in 1658. One of his portraits of Cromwell is said by Pilkington to have been "accidentally sold for five hundred pounds to the Duke of Tuscany's resident in London; but whether he paid that immense sum out of compliment to the pride and power of Oliver, or to the merit of the performance, may easily be conjectured, when it is considered that the transaction happened while the power of the usurper subsisted."

159. "Flemish Peasants playing at nine-pins; a present to Lord Harcourt from H.R.H. the Princess Augusta. It is painted by an artist of the school of Teniers."

160. "A small head of Madame de Maintenon, by Mignard:" this is an interesting and rare picture. Madame de Maintenon's husband, before she married Louis, was Scarron, the deformed scoffer and wit; he used to say that his bride had brought him an annual income of four louis, two large and very mischievous eyes, a fine bust, and an exquisite pair of hands.

161. "A Landscape, by Ermels; a present to Lord Harcourt from Sir John Blaquiére."

162. "Christ and St. John playing with a lamb; painted by an artist of the school of Rubens."

163. "A Marine-piece, by Bonaventure Peters." The painter was born at Antwerp, 1614; died 1652, aged 38.

164. "A Landscape with figures, by G. Morland;" Morland died 1804, aged 40.

165. "Another Marine-piece, by Bonaventure Peters."

166. A Boy building a house with cards; described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as being painted "by Chardin; from the collection of Mr. Fanquier; it has been engraved."

167. The Duchess de Fontagne, reclining upon a bank; described in Lord Harcourt's Catalogue as "a beautiful portrait by Mignard, very rare."

#### LIBRARY.

72. "Rowe, the poet, by Kneller; it belonged to Jacob Tonson, the bookseller." It is a very fine Kneller.

73. "A curious, ancient whole-length picture of St. Catharine, forming part of the folding-door of an altar-piece."

74. Another (with the same description), of St. Gregory.

75. "A Holy Family, by Albano." Francesco Albano was born at Bologna, 1578; died 1660, aged 82.

77. "Christ crowned with thorns, by Allesandro Veronese." Allesandro Turchi, called L'Orbetto and



- Veronese, was born at Verona, 1600; died 1670, aged 70.
78. "Spring with four Cupids; a beautiful picture, by Filippo Laura. A present to Lord Harcourt from Mr. Fanquier." This painter was son of Baldassar Lauri of Antwerp, and brother of Francesco Lauri of Rome. He was born 1623; and died 1694, aged 71.
79. "A Holy Family, in the style of the old Italian masters, by Rothenamer; from the collection of Mr. Fanquier." Lord Harcourt bought this picture April 12, 1758, for 5*l*. 15*s*. John Rothenamer, as the name is sometimes written, was born at Munich, 1564; and died 1640, aged 40.
80. "St. Cecilia lying dead, and two boy angels; exquisitely painted by Dominichino." Domenico Zampieri was born at Bologna, 1581; and died 1641, aged 60. Stefano Maderno completed his beautiful statue of St. Cecilia, from which this picture was taken in 1599. Domenichino went to Rome with the Carracci.
81. "The Trinity, painted on gold ground, by Andrea del Sarto; a present to Lord Harcourt, from Mr. Knapton, the painter." Andrea Vannucchi, called Andrea del Sarto, was born at Florence, 1488; died 1530, aged 42. Mr. Knapton, the giver of this picture, was a pupil of Richardson, and succeeded Slaughter, as keeper and surveyor of the King's pictures; he died 1788, aged 80.
82. "A most lively and highly-finished head of Solfonisba Angusciolo, by herself; extremely rare, and

- not to be surpassed." Lord Harcourt bought this picture March 17, 1757, for 10*l*. The painter was born at Cremona, 1533; she died 1626, aged 93: she lost her sight through painting. Vandyck used to say of her, he gained more from the conversation of one blind woman on art, than from all his other studies.
83. John Phillips, the poet, by Riley; a good picture. Phillips was a native of Bampton in Oxfordshire; he was the author of the "Splendid Shilling" and other poems. He died young; and Lord Chancellor Harcourt caused a marble tablet, with memorial verses in Latin, to be erected to him in Westminster Abbey. The painter, Riley, was born in London, 1646. After the death of Lely, he was appointed Court Painter, and painted Charles II. and many of his Court; he died 1691, aged 45.
84. Ben Jonson.
85. "Milton, by Vandergucht, from the original in the possession of Lord Onslow; at the back of which is the following inscription:—
- "This original picture of Milton I bought in the year 1729 or 30, and paid twenty guineas for it, of Mr. Cumberbatch, a gentleman of very good consideration in Chester, who was a relation and executor of the will of Milton's last wife, who died a little before that time. He told me it hung up in her chamber till her death, and that she used to say her husband gave it her, to shew her what he was in his youth, being drawn when he was about twenty-one years of age. AR. ONSLOW."

"Mr. Hawkin Brown (author of the poem, *De Animi immortalitate*), told me, Oct. 8, 1753, that he knew this Mrs. Milton, visited her often, and well remembered this picture hanging in her chamber, which she said was of her husband.—A. O."

"Compare this picture with that of Milton in his old age, or the print of him by White."

Lord Onslow sold the original, from which the picture at Nuneham was copied. It is supposed that Lord Onslow's picture went abroad, but all attempts to trace it have failed. Lord Onslow was often applied to respecting the fate of his picture, but was unable to supply any information. This copy is, therefore, invested with an additional interest.

In Edwards's "Anecdotes of Painting," the following account is given of Vandergucht:—

"Benjamin Vandergucht was the thirty-second child of the old engraver of that name. He painted original portraits, made copies, restored pictures, and was a picture-dealer. He cleaned and repaired Lord Burlington's pictures at Chiswick; and one night, Sept. 21, 1794, when returning to East Sheen, he was accidentally drowned in crossing the Thames."

86. "Dryden, by Kneller."

87. "The Hon. Horace Walpole, by Gogain, after Ramsay."

88. "Lord Bacon."

89. "Prior, by Dahl."

90. "Charles, Lord Halifax, by Vandergucht, after Kneller."

91. "Gay."

92. "Gray, by Vandergucht, after Wilson."

93. "Mr. Whitehead, Poet Laureate, by Wilson." This picture seems to have been a long time in the painting. The following extracts of letters from Whitehead to Lord Nuneham mark the progress of it:—

"June 20, 1758.

"I finished sitting at Wilson's before I came out of Town; and the picture seems to me very easy, and amazingly like. He is pleased with it himself, and intends to take great pains in the colouring, &c.; he is quite confident you will like it."

"Nov. 4, 1758.

"... I likewise called in upon Wilson; what he has done to the picture I cannot tell, but the likeness is considerably lessened. If I have time, I am to give him a sitting before your Lordship comes to Town."

"June 23, 1759.

"... Wilson has made some alterations in my picture, which Mason said were much for the better."

"Sept. 16, 1760.

"... I am glad to find travelling agrees with my picture. I always thought all the features like, but the result of the whole not so. Perhaps the light you have placed it in is advantageous to it."

Wilson was a native of Wales; and excelled



more in landscapes than portraits; he died 1782, aged 68.

"William Whitehead was son of a Cambridge baker: he was educated at the University of his native city, and passed into Lord Grey's family as private tutor. He wrote tragedies of a soporific nature."—"Habits and Men," by Doran, 1854. He was tutor to the fourth Lord Jersey; and on Mason's refusing the appointment, he was created Poet Laureate.

94. "Francis Beaumont."
95. "Cowley."
96. "Sir R. Steel."
97. "Otway."
98. "Addison, by Vandergucht, after Kneller."
99. "Dean Swift; from the original in the possession of the Earl of Lanesborough. A present from Mr. Edward Hamilton."
100. "Mason; a present from himself. Painted by Doughty, a disciple of Reynolds."
101. "Spencer;" this picture bears his name, and the date, on the background. It is probably the picture from which Vertue took his engraving, in his Twelve Heads of Poets.
102. "Pope, by Richardson." This picture was engraved by Vertue, for a large folio edition of Pope's works: Richardson died 1745, aged 80.

## STATE BEDROOM.

217. "Simon, only surviving son of Simon, first Lord Harcourt; painted at Paris, by Le Bel. It belonged to Prior, who bequeathed it to Lord Harley;" who gave it to Lord Harcourt after his son's death.
218. Martha, daughter of Hon. Simon Harcourt, mother of Hon. Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York, and third wife of George, first Lord Vernon, by Kneller: a good picture.
219. "Simon, first Lord Harcourt, only son of Sir Philip Harcourt, Lord Chancellor of England, by Kneller:" a very good picture.
220. "Margaret, daughter of Sir William Waller, by his first wife, Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Reynell, of Ford, in Devonshire." Margaret Waller married Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, ancestor of Lord Courtenay.
193. Frederick, second son of Sir Simon Harcourt; by Cornelius Jansen. Jansen was born in Amsterdam; he came over to England, and was made Court Painter to James I.; he afterwards returned to his own country, and died 1665.
222. Lady Mary Tufton, daughter of John, second Earl of Thanet; second wife of Sir William Walter, of Sarsden, Bart. Sir William's son, Sir John Walter, left a widow, who married Lord Chancellor Harcourt, as his third wife; and was the Dowager Viscountess Harcourt for many years. This picture is by Sir Peter Lely, and is an excellent picture. Sir Peter Lely, otherwise Peter Vander

Faes, was born at Soest in Westphalia, 1617; and died 1680, aged 63.

223. "Rebecca, daughter and heiress of Charles Samborne le Bass, of Pipewell Abbey in the county of Northampton; by Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart., wife to Simon, first Earl Harcourt; by Knapton." 20*l.* was paid for this picture.
224. George Granville Harcourt, eldest son of Archbishop Harcourt; by Hayter.
225. "Elizabeth, daughter of John Evelyn, Esq., of Wooton in Surrey;" wife of the Hon. Simon Harcourt; grandmother of Archbishop Harcourt.
226. Sir Simon Harcourt.
197. Simon, only son of the Hon. Simon Harcourt; by Kneller. The following extract from a letter of Elizabeth Harcourt to her mother, Mrs. Evelyn, gives the date of this picture:—

"April 1, 1719.

"... The boy is well; he was last week at Sir Godfrey Kneller's, to sett for his picture; and I think I never saw aney thing liker than it is, tho' he has sat but once." I am indebted for this letter to Mr. William Evelyn, of Wotton.

227. The Hon. Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York; third son of George, first Lord Vernon, and of the Hon. Martha Harcourt; he took his mother's name on succeeding to the Harcourt estates. The picture is a copy of one at Sudbury, belonging to Lord Vernon; by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

#### SMALL LIBRARY.

103. "The Madonna and child; very beautiful, by Guido. This picture was bought out of the Hotel Hautefort, at Paris."

The following letter, from Benjamin West to Lord Harcourt, describes this picture:—

*"Newman-street, Jan. 8, 1809.*

"MY LORD,—I have examined the picture mentioned in your Lordship's note to me; and I find it to be a copy from a celebrated picture by Guido, which was at Bolonia in my time; but where now, I do not know. It is copyed by his favorite schooler, *Simon de Pesara*, and is a good one, and next to having the original.

"I am happy to find that your Lordship is in Town, and in health; in a few days I will have the honour to pay my respects to you at Harcourt House, Cavendish-square.

"I have the honour to be, with sincere esteem for your Lordship's regard, as well as that I am

"Your greatly obliged,

"BENJ. WEST."

242. "Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Poole, Bart.; wife of Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston; in crayons, by Gardner."
244. "George Venables Vernon, first Lord Vernon;" in crayons.
245. "George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham; by Gardner, in crayons, 1773."
246. "Martha, daughter of the Hon. Simon Harcourt,



- sister of Simon, first Earl Harcourt; wife of G. V. Vernon, first Lord Vernon; in crayons."
247. "Hon. Catherine V. Vernon, second daughter of George, first Lord Vernon, by Martha, daughter of the Hon. Simon Harcourt; in crayons."
248. "The Hon. Martha Vernon, elder sister of the above; in crayons."
249. Portrait unknown; in crayons.
331. "Princess Augusta; a present from herself."
250. "Anna Chambers, Countess Temple; by Hamilton, in crayons, 1771."
252. "Frances Twysden, wife of the fourth Earl of Jersey."

## STATE DRESSING-ROOM.

168. "Sir Philip Sydney, when a youth; painted upon silver. A present from H.R.H. the Princess Augusta."

Horace, writing of Sir Philip Sydney, says,—  
 "This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be found.—Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic labour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and the delight of the English Court. And as the credit enjoyed with the Queen and the Earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become the object of his humanity. The King of Scots, struck with

admiration of Sidney's virtues, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero in battle, 1586."

*No number.* Copy of a small painting by Morland; by Hinton.

*No number.* Jane, wife of Colonel W. Gooch, on ivory; after a picture by Sir William Beechy.

304. Chapel at Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

313. Entrance Gate, Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

314. Private Chapel, Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

315. Church at Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

316. Kitchen, Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

281. Kitchen, Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

294. Chapel at Stanton Harcourt, Paul Sandby.

295. Kitchens, with remains of Offices at Stanton Harcourt, by Paul Sandby.

*No numbers.* Two other paintings, forming the remainder of the same set.

*No number.* Print of Archbishop Harcourt.

" Print of Smith, the geologist.

" Print of Sir Stafford Northcote.

" Print of the Lock Cottages at Nuneham.

## STATE PASSAGE.

198. "Lambert, the Parliamentary General; by Walker."

324. E. W. Harcourt; by Reginald Cholmondeley, 1856. A present from the painter.

325. Bishop of Coventry's grant of the Church of Cesterford to Ronton Abbey, 1314; parchment.

326. Grant of the Manor of Northmoor, by Queen Elizabeth, 1570; parchment.

*No numbers.* A series of Estate Maps, and other framed parchments.

#### LIBRARY CORRIDOR.

169. The Rev. William Mason.

170. "Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller, and of Lady Anne Finch; first wife of Sir Philip Harcourt; by Gogain, after the miniature in the Drawing-room, by Mrs. Beale."

171. "The Lady Anne Finch, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Winchelsea, and second wife of Sir William Waller; by Vandyk, or old Stone."

172. "Sir Philip, eldest son of Sir Simon Harcourt; by Gogain, after the miniature in the Drawing-room, by Mrs. Beale (temp. Charles II.)."

174. "Anne, daughter of William, fourth Lord Paget; wife to Sir Simon Harcourt; married, secondly, to Sir William Waller; by Mrs. Beale."

Mrs. Beale was born in Suffolk, 1632; and died 1697, aged 65. Sir P. Lely was her instructor.

173. "William, fifth Lord Paget; by Sir Peter Lely."

175. "The Right Hon. Sir Simon Harcourt, eldest son of Robert Harcourt, and Frances de Vere; Governor of Dublin, 1642; killed at the siege of Carrickmain, 1643. A very fine and highly-finished picture, by Mirevelt."

34. "Augustino Barbardico, seventy-fourth Doge of Venice; by Gentile Bellini." This Doge reigned for fifteen years; and died in 1493, when Bellini

was 72 years old. G. Bellini was born at Venice, 1421; and died 1501, aged 80. This picture was very carefully restored by Merritt in 1878, shortly before his death; and under the personal supervision of G. Richmond, R.A.: it is a very fine picture.

243. Maria, Duchess of Gloucester; by Sir Joshua Reynolds. A sketch for a picture.

176. "Portrait of Lady Fanshawe:" a fine picture by C. Janssen, signed, and dated.

177. "Portrait of Sir Richard Fanshawe," by Cornelius Janssen: a very fine picture.

178. "Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Simon Harcourt, in an Hungarian dress; by Zeeman." A poor picture.

179. "William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, in the Garter robes, by Opie; a present from the Duke to Lord Harcourt."

212. "Kent, the father of Landscape-gardening; by himself."

180. "Shakespeare, in crayons, by Vandergucht; after the original in the late Duke of Chandos's possession, the only authentic one." So says Lord Harcourt's Catalogue. This picture, amongst others, was manipulated by Thane, the picture-cleaner, in 1834; and a new frame was supplied. The picture is hung high, and has a glass over it; all that now remains under the glass, is an inferior coloured print, worth at most a sovereign.

181. "Giles Bruges, third Lord Chandos. It came from Weston (Mr. Sheldon's), and was a present from Mr. Walpole."



182. "Mr. Evelyn; an old copy from Kneller. A present from Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart."
183. "Mr. Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford), when Speaker of the House of Commons; after Kneller."
332. Dr. Sacheverell; by Anthony Russel, a pupil of Riley; Russel died 1743. This picture was bought at the sale of the effects of the late Lady Gifford, formerly Hon. Mrs. Norton, *née* Sheridan, in 1877, by Sir W. Harcourt, Solicitor-General, 1875, who presented the picture as an appropriate gift to Nuneham. Sir Simon Harcourt, Solicitor-General, 1702, defended Dr. Sacheverell on his famous political trial.
232. "Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; by old Stone, after Vandyk."
233. "Lionel Cranfield Sackville, first Duke of Dorset, in his Garter robes, by Reynolds; a present to Lord Harcourt from Lady Cecilia Johnston, *née* West." This picture was painted in 1750, and was almost the first of Reynolds' performances. It may be looked upon as one of the most indifferent of his performances, and gives little indication of the painter's future greatness.
185. G. Thomson, the poet.
186. "King James I.; by Marc Gerard." It has been suggested that this picture may have been painted by Vansomer. Marc Gerard was born at Antwerp, 1576; and after successfully painting in his own country, he came to England, where his works were much prized.
188. "Richard Weston, Earl of Portland. Lord Treas-

urer in the reign of King Charles I.: an old copy, after Vandyk."

189. "Anne of Denmark, Queen of King James I.; by Marc Gerard," or by Vansomer. The portraits of Anne of Denmark may be distinguished from those of Queen Elizabeth, for whom they are sometimes mistaken, by the initials of Anne's father and mother on her ruff, and by the miniature-box on her left side.
190. "Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, and Queen of Bohemia; by Handthurst. A present from her to Sir Simon Harcourt." Gerard Handthurst, called Dalle Notti, was born at Utrecht; and died 1660, aged 68. He was appointed painter to the Queen of Bohemia.

#### MIDDLE CORRIDOR.

In this Corridor are cabinets containing a collection of Old China; amongst which is the service of Sevres ware which was used at the great feast given by the King of Spain, to commemorate George III.'s recovery from his first illness; and specially made in Paris for the occasion. A Tea-service of Worcester china; a present from George III. Old China from Stanton Harcourt. A Vase brought from Herculaneum, by George, Lord Harcourt, &c.

191. "A Seaport Town, with ruined Tower; by Tempesta da Genoa."
195. "Ruins, with a View of Rome in the distance; by Tempesta da Genoa." Simon, Lord Harcourt,

bought these two pictures, March 17, 1757, for 38*l.* 17*s.*

213. "Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, afterwards Bishop of Durham, when young; by Sir Peter Lely: one of the best works of that master." So says Lord Harcourt's Catalogue. It is probably by Riley, and is a very good picture.

Granger, in his "Biographical History of England," describes Bishop Crewe as "vain and ambitious, unsteady and insincere; of all Prelates the most compliant with the King's measures, and justly esteemed the grand inquisitor of the ecclesiastical commission." He was for three years Bishop of Oxford; and was translated to Durham, 1674. He held the see of Durham forty-seven years; and died at the age of 88, Sept. 18, 1722.

251. "Five small Miniatures, very curious:—Queen Elizabeth, the only known profile likeness of her; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Lady Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester; other two unnamed."
263. "Three small Miniatures:—Lady Mary Sydney, Countess of Pembroke; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; third unknown. All these miniatures came from Penshurst."
194. "A very curious ancient picture of the Court of Wards and Liveries, with Portraits of the Officers, Servants, and other people there assembled; the inscription, on a piece of decayed paper at the back of it, is *verbatim*, the same as the latter part of the inscription at the bottom of the print en-

graved by Vertue; and the writer of it (whose signature is 'J. Fish') adds,—'I am told that this picture was engraved by Vertue.' This, however, was a mistake, as the print was taken from a painting in water-colours, in the possession of the Duke of Richmond; from which circumstance it is highly probable that this is the original, as it is usual to copy in water-colours from pictures in oil; but rarely, if ever, are the latter copied from the former." That may hold true as a general rule; but, in this instance, the feebleness of the painting points to its being a copy.

199. A Large Landscape; painter unknown.
200. "Nymph, with Cupids, representing Night; by Valerio Castelli." Bought by Lord Harcourt, March 23, 1758, for 18*l.* 18*s.* Valerio Castelli was born at Genoa, 1625; died 1659, aged 34.
201. "Bacchus and Ariadne; after Guido, by his scholar, Simon de Pesaro: a fine copy." Bought by Lord Harcourt, March 10, 1758, for 6*l.* 6*s.*
50. "The Duke of Schomberg, by Kneller."
221. "Michael, son of Sir Walter Harcourt; he commanded one of his brother's, Sir Robert Harcourt, ships, on his expedition to Guiana." It has been suggested that this picture was painted by Velasquez, but there is not much foundation for it.
229. "A Head, in chalks, of Sir Joshua Reynolds when a youth (aged 17); by himself. This curious drawing was a present to Lord Harcourt from Sir J. Reynolds' niece, Mary, Marchioness of Thomond." This picture illustrates the portrait of



himself in the National Gallery, for which it was probably a study.

228. "Drawing of a Pedlar-girl, by Queen Charlotte, wife of George III. ; a present from Her Majesty."
303. "A Drawing by George III., when Prince of Wales, 1756."
309. "Drawing by Edward, Duke of York, brother to George III., in 1756."
130. "Print of Henry de Lorraine, Comte de Harcourt ; engraved by Mason, from a portrait by Mignard," 1667. He came to England as Ambassador in 1643, under pretence of mediating between Charles I. and his Parliament. It is doubtful, however, whether his secret instructions from Mazarin were not to set them more completely at variance. He succeeded to the command of the French armies on the death of Condé, and was made a Marshal of France.
265. A Landscape ; painter not known.
323. Lady Anne Harcourt, by Marshall ; vid. No. 57.
283. A Print of Colonel the Hon. W. Harcourt in the act of taking General Lee prisoner. Mr. Scull, in his "Memoirs of the Evelyn Family," gives the following account of the above event :—
- "It is stated that Colonel Harcourt, before he left England, expressed hopes that he should take General Lee. He arrived in New York in the first week in October, 1776, in the 'Lapwing ;' which had several transports under convoy, having on board the 17th Regiment of Light Horse, under his command.

"Col. Harcourt (Dec. 13, 1776) was out on a reconnoitring expedition with about thirty Light Dragoons. . . . He soon observed a man whom he imagined to be a spy ; and had him secured. On searching him, a letter was found, the wafer not dry, directed to General Washington from General Lee. The man was forced to conduct them to the place where he had left the writer of the letter. This was three miles distant from the main body of the American army. The house was surrounded ; a shot was fired at Col. Harcourt, which grazed his head ; and General Lee was taken prisoner by the Dragoons. Only four minutes elapsed from the time of surrounding the house to the carrying off of their prisoner.

"Upon the capture of General Lee's being known in England, great were the rejoicings ; and when Lord Harcourt attended the King's levee, His Majesty came up to him, and exclaimed, 'My Lord, your son has behaved with the utmost gallantry ; it gives me the greatest pleasure ; and, I doubt not, it does the same to you. I shall take care of Col. Harcourt ; leave his fortunes to me.' For the capture of Lee, Col. Harcourt received the thanks of Parliament ; in 1783, he was raised to the rank of Lieut.-General ; in the following year he commanded the Cavalry ; and, finally, the army in Holland ; and afterwards he was created a Field-Marshal."

He succeeded his elder brother in his title and estates in 1809, as last Earl Harcourt ; and himself

died in 1830; when he was succeeded by his cousin, Archbishop Harcourt. An offer of a renewal of the peerage was made to Archbishop Harcourt by Lord Grey through Lord Carlisle, when he succeeded to the estate; but was declined by the Archbishop, who felt unable to support the Ministry of the day.

123. Landscape with water, by Van Goyen; a nice picture. The artist was born at Leyden, 1596; and died 1656, aged 60.
319. The Good Samaritan; by Mason. This picture was painted as an altar-piece for Nuneham Church.
330. The Old Servant, by Herring; a picture of an old horse. Bought by E. W. Harcourt, 1872, for 7*l.* 10*s.*
206. "Jacob Hall, the celebrated rope-dancer."
264. "Drawing of a Mountebank, &c., by Paul Sandby;" an early specimen of water-colours.
275. Trionfo di Sileno.
276. Trionfo di Bacco.
336. Study in water-colours, by Frederick Tayler; bought by E. W. Harcourt, 1878, 5*l.*

#### No. 4. SOUTH WING.

202. "Mrs. Witham, by Cornelius Jansen;" a good picture on panel.
203. "Mr. Witham, by Cornelius Jansen;" a pendant to the last, and equally good.
208. "Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart.; by Riley."
210. "Lady Moyer, in the character of St. Catherine; by Mrs. Beale."

211. "Mr. Joliffe; by Sir P. Lely."
236. "Mr. Congreve, when young; from the miniature at Strawberry Hill."

#### No. 5. SOUTH WING.

187. "J. J. Rousseau, by Gogain, after Ramsay; altered from the mask taken after death."
205. "Poultry and Birds, by Cradock;" a good picture.
204. "Anne, eldest daughter of Simon, first Viscount Harcourt; wife to John Barlow, Esq., of Silbeck, in Pembrokeshire; by Kneller."
207. Charles Samborne le Bas, of Pipewell Abbey, Northamptonshire; father of Rebecca, Countess Harcourt; by Knapton.
184. "Nicholas Fullar, a noted Puritanical Lawyer, who died in prison, 1619; by Marc Gerard."
33. "Mrs. Siddons, the celebrated Tragedian, in the character of Isabella in the 'Fatal Marriage;' by Hamilton."

In the bed-rooms in the South Wing there are about thirty good steel engravings on various subjects, but they are not labelled.

#### NORTH CORRIDOR.

105. "A very ancient head of King Henry VI.; a present from Mrs. Wetenhall to Lord Harcourt."
106. "Ruins at Rome, with figures, antique statues, vases, &c., by Paolo Panini; painted for Simon, Lord Harcourt, in 1742." This picture is a good one; and curious as representing a temple which



has since been pulled down for the sake of widening a street.

107. "Architecture with figures, by Viviani." Ottavio Viviani was born at Brescia, 1599; and died 1674, aged 75. Lord Harcourt bought this picture, March 31, 1756, for 17*l.* 17*s.*

129. Ruins at Rome, by Panini; a fellow-picture to No. 106.

192. "A celebrated piece of Needlework, by Mary, Queen of Scots; preserved in Windsor Castle, and presented by the King to Lord Harcourt, 1805. The Queen is represented standing under a canopy, with a sword in one hand, and a balance in the other (the attributes of justice), as supplicating the Virgin, who appears in the clouds above, in favour of her infant son. Near her is an allegorical figure of Wisdom, with her proper attribute (the serpent); and below her, King James and another child, who is supposed to be an allegorical representation of Innocence; opposite to the Queen is Fortitude, with her attribute; and in the background, Envy, with her snakes. On a scroll is inscribed,—'Sapientiam amavi, et obsequivi a juventute meæ.' Sap. VIII.

"This curious picture remained in the wardrobe till Queen Anne ordered it to be framed, and hung up in the King's closet, Windsor Castle."—*Extract from a MS. at Windsor.*

*No number.* A curious piece of early Needlework, framed.

321. Lady Susan Harcourt, in crayons; by Fanner, 1874; cost 25*l.*

109. "Elizabeth, daughter of George, first Lord Vernon; and wife of George Simon, second Earl Harcourt; in crayons, by Miss Read."

110. "Georgina, Countess Spencer, daughter of S. Poyntz, Esq.; in crayons;" said to be by Rosalba.

335. Matilda Mary Gooch, wife of the Rev. W. Harcourt, by Fanner; taken from a photograph; crayons, 1878, price 40*l.*

*No number.* Three Heads of Charles I., on ivory; by Maria Jane Gooch.

331. Edith, daughter of E. W. and Lady Susan Harcourt; married to Hon. Murray Finch Hatton; crayons, by Fanner, 1876; price 25*l.*

112. "Mary, Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, æt. 25. Born Dec. 14, 1542; murdered, Feb. 8, 1587.

'... Innocence shall make  
False accusation blush.'

*Shakespeare.*

"From the undoubted original, painted when she was a prisoner in the Castle of Loch Leven, in the possession of the Earl of Morton, in whose family it has remained since that time."

The following letter relates to this picture:—

"*Green-street, Feb. 24, 1797.*

"Mr. Chalmers presents his compliments to Lord Harcourt, and regrets that he should have been at Whitehall when his Lordship called in Green-street.

"Mr. Chalmers begs to inform Lord Harcourt

that the Mary, Queen of Scots, which he saw, is a copy from an original of Lord Morton's at Dalmahoy, by Martin of Edinburgh. This and many other likenesses of Mary, Queen of Scots, were collected by Mr. Chalmers, to enable him to settle in his own mind what were the real features of that elegant Princess, which is a disputed point to this day. And for that purpose he employed Mr. Paleau, a very ingenious painter of Charlotte-street, Portland-road, to paint the *composition* which Mr. Chalmers has now the honour to communicate to Lord Harcourt from all the specimens, and from the tomb of Mary, in Henry VII.'s chapel, as the best likeness. Lord Harcourt may either return the miniature of Mary by the servant, or keep it for a week, as may be most agreeable to his Lordship."

124. "Silver censer, medal, and pearl necklace, by Roestraten:" a good picture. The painter was born at Haerlem, 1627; and died 1698, aged 71.

*No number.* An ancient piece of glass in a frame; taken from a window at Stanton Harcourt.

115. "A highly finished view on the Rhine, by Vosterman; very rare." Vosterman was born at Bommel, 1643; died 1693, aged 50.

145. "A pretty small Landscape, by Morland; a present from Mr. Cowden."

114. "A setting Sun, with Shepherd and Sheep; by Peter Van Leer, called Bamboccio." Bamboccio was born at Laeren, near Narden, in 1613; died 1673, aged 60. This picture was transferred from

panel to canvas by Thane, 1835; and said by him to be painted by Karel du Jardin.

146. "A beautiful little Landscape with Horses, by Morland; a present from Mr. Cowden."

111. "Elizabeth, daughter of Simon, Earl Harcourt, wife of Sir William Lee, Bart., of Hartwell, Bucks; crayons, by Miss Read."

35. "Richard Grenville (afterwards Earl Temple), by Rosalba; a legacy from Anna Chambers, Countess Temple, his wife, to Lord Harcourt:" a very fine picture. Rosalba Carriera was of Chiozza; she died 1757, aged 82.

113. "Mary le Pel, wife of John, Baron Hervey, of Ickworth, eldest son of John, first Earl of Bristol, of that family; painted at Paris by La Tour." An excellent crayon picture; a present from Horace Walpole.

Pultney wrote,—

"Sure Venus had never seen bedded  
So perfect a Beaux and a Belle,  
As when Hervey the handsome was wedded  
To the beautiful Molly le Pel."

Lord Harcourt wrote a memoir of Lady Hervey, as follows:—

"This celebrated and accomplished lady was a Cornet of horse from the moment of her birth, her father, Brigadier-General Le Pell, having obtained a commission for his child before that child was born; and her name was accordingly enrolled on the Army List, and she continued during several



years to receive the pay as Cornet Le Pell. She had been one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Caroline, when Princess of Wales; and in that station was not less admired for the charms of her understanding, than for those of her face, which, even in very advanced age, retained sufficient remains of beauty to shew what it had been. Yet her features were not regularly handsome; and to judge from the portraits painted in her youth, much of that beauty was derived from the clearness and delicacy of a fair complexion, and the sweetness and animation of an expressive countenance.

"Pope, in his letter to Lord Hervey (his antagonist), mentions her with respect and esteem. Pultney, Earl of Bath, wrote the well-known ballad of 'Molly Le Pel,' in her praise. Dr. Young celebrated her in his sixth Satire, as does Gay likewise in his ballad of Damon and Cupid. The Hon. Horace Walpole (afterwards Earl of Orford), dedicated his 'Anecdotes of Painters' to her; and she was the intimate friend of the witty Earl of Chesterfield, who admired her conversation, and felt as much esteem and affection for her as he was capable of feeling for anybody. Nor was Lady Hervey's acquaintance with persons of genius and learning confined to those of her own country, for she was not less admired by those of France; where, having contracted an intimacy with Madlle. de Charelois, she for some years constantly resided in the hotel of that Princess; and there imbibed so strong a partiality in favour of that conceited nation, that at

length she adopted all its prejudices; and did really persuade herself to think it in all respects as far superior to every other, as in its own ignorance it imagines itself to be. This prejudice, however, though she made no attempt to conceal it, was never offensively displayed; for Lady Hervey was a pattern of the most finished good breeding, and possessed the talent of making everybody at the parties in her house suppose that he himself was the particular object of her attention.

"After her return to England, and the completion of the house she built in St. James's-place, which was fitted up entirely after the Parisian model, her mode of life was rational, dignified, and highly agreeable to those who could be amused without cards, and had a taste for instruction and polished society. She never either dined, or passed the evening out of her own house; and had every day a dinner of eight covers, at which the company was so carefully chosen, that none but persons who were well-acquainted and liked each other, were invited at the same time. With extensive reading, a correct taste, and a perfect knowledge of the Italian, Latin, and French writers, Lady Hervey made no ostentatious display of learning; and had she never been celebrated by authors and wits of high reputation, her common acquaintance would not have discovered that the extent of her literary acquirements exceeded those of the generality of her sex."

*No number.* The first Lord Hill, on ivory; by Maria Jane Gooch.

121. Landscape, with Bathers; painter unknown.

119. Amphitheatre at Rome; by Occhiali.

120. Temple of Vesta, at Tivoli; by Occhiali.

122. "A Landscape, by Taverna, equal to Poussin, and very rare; a present from Fanquier." Pilkington, in his "Dictionary of Painters," says, — "This artist was a Proctor in the Commons, and painted landscapes for his amusement; but would have made a considerable figure amongst the renowned professors of the art. The Earl of Harcourt and Mr. Fr. Fanquier, have each two pictures by him, that must be mistaken for, and are worthy of, Gaspar Poussin."

#### CORRIDOR, UPPER NORTH WING.

234. "Henrietta Jane Speed, wife to the Count de Viry; by Falconet." Lord Harcourt has written a long account of Madm. de Viry: Horace Walpole's shorter account is here given:—

"The Count de Viry was son of one of the same title, who had been the Sardinian Minister in England, and was himself Ambassador in France. While in England, in 1760, he married Miss Speed, niece of Lady Cobham. The Countess de Viry was supposed to be the cause of the disgrace her husband suffered. She was a very intriguing woman, and instigated him to keep up a secret correspondence at Turin, with the object of making himself Prime Minister. This was discovered, and

the Minister dismissed. Lord Shelburne, who was a friend of the Countess, prevailed on the King to obtain their pardon of the King of Sardinia in 1783; about which time she died suddenly. She was one of the heroines of Mr. Gray's 'Long Story,' and had a great deal of wit;" and, Lord Harcourt adds, "no heart:" the picture is a good one.

237. "Mrs. Pritchard, the celebrated actress, in Hermione, in the 'Winter's Tale;' by Pine:" a good picture.

239. "Landscape, with Cattle; by Cowden."

143. "A Sea-piece, by Cowden; a clear and beautiful drawing."

298. The Church at Nuneham; by Paul Sandby.

299. The House at Nuneham; by Paul Sandby.

300. Another view of the Church at Nuneham; by Paul Sandby.

301. View of the House at Nuneham; Paul Sandby.

288. Flower-garden at Nuneham; by Paul Sandby.

289. Flower-garden at Nuneham; by Paul Sandby.

*No numbers.* Two ground-plans of Stanton-Harcourt: one on vellum, 1625; the other on parchment, 1730.

#### DRESSING-ROOM, UPPER NORTH WING.

*No numbers.* Print of E. W. Harcourt; Print of Aubrey Harcourt; Drawings by Lady Susan Harcourt; Prints after Raphael.



## BEDROOM, UPPER NORTH WING.

*No numbers.* Prints after Raphael; Drawings by Lady Susan Harcourt; Prints published by Arundel Society; Print of Dr. Johnson; Print of Mr. Coxe.

## BEDROOMS UPSTAIRS, NORTH WING.

*No numbers.* Prints after Raphael; Prints, Arundel Society.

- 258. Mr. Fazakerley, 1805.
- 259. Lord Lewisham, 1805.
- 260. Edward, second son of Edward, Archbishop Harcourt, 1803.
- 262. The same, 1805.
- 261. Earl Gower, 1805.

## LOWER SITTING-ROOM, NORTH WING.

- 141. Portrait of a favourite Dog of Lord Harcourt's.
- 150. Landscape, by Roberts of Dublin.
- 153. Landscape, by Roberts of Dublin.
- 148. A Marine-piece, by Cowden; a present from himself.
- 310. Caroline, Princess of Wales, and Princess Charlotte; a present from the Princess of Wales to the Hon. Martha Vernon.
- No number.* The Hon. Horace Walpole.
- 144. A Sea-piece, by Cowden.
- 151. A Landscape, by Whitford.
- 152. A Landscape, by Whitford.

## LARGE SITTING-ROOM, NORTH WING.

- 322. Aubrey Harcourt; by Reginald Cholmondeley, 1858. A present from the painter.
- 279. A proof print of Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic muse; a present from herself.
- 255. Very pretty picture, in crayons, of a Lady; subject and artist unknown.
- No number.* A Sea-piece, in chalk, by Bright.
- No number.* Two prints from Raphael.
- No numbers.* Numerous water-colours, sepia and cobalt drawings, by Lady Susan Harcourt; very spirited.

## BEDROOMS IN CENTRE.

- 230. "Drawing of the House in which Jean Jacque Rousseau lived at Metiers Travers, by Smith; a present from the Marquis de Gerardin."
- 231. Ruins of Bodiam Castle, Sussex, by Lambert; a present from Mrs. H. Hay. G. Lambert died in 1765.
- 272. Sepia sketch in Rome; by Lady Elizabeth Harcourt.
- 280. Another, the same as above.
- 296. Sepia sketch; artist unknown.
- 297. Another, the same as above.
- 302. A chalk Head.
- 303. Copy of Sir J. Reynolds' picture of the Duchess of Gloucester; by Rev. J. Stuart.
- 306. Pen sketch of the Rev. W. Mason.
- 307. Print of Grey.
- 311. Print of Queen Charlotte.
- No numbers.* Travelling Musicians. Lady Elizabeth

Lee. Mr. Mason. A Fortune-teller. Lady Bingham. Mrs. Siddons and her Son; a present from herself. Mrs. Siddons; a present from Sir Joshua Reynolds. Mrs. Farrer, the Comedian, afterwards Countess of Derby; a present from herself. View in Naples. The three Ladies Waldegrave. Maria, Duchess of Gloucester. Simon, Earl Harcourt. The Last Supper. Besides other engravings.

## HOUSEKEEPER'S ROOM.

- 274. "A capital and expressive drawing of the Children in the Wood, by Miss C. Fanshawe."
- 277. A Landscape with Ruins.
- 278. Print of King George III.
- 282. Scriptural print.
- 284. The Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards Archbishop (Harcourt) of York.
- 285. A Print of Carfax.
- 286. Lord Harcourt.
- 287. Lady Harcourt.
- 290. Lord Chancellor Harcourt.
- 291. View of Stanton Harcourt, by Rathbone.
- 292. The same.
- 293. The same.

## STEWARD'S ROOM.

- 262. A Landscape.
- 267. A Sketch; by Elizabeth, Countess Harcourt.
- 268. The same.
- 269. A Portrait, unknown.
- 271. A Landscape, unknown.

- 272. A Landscape, by Lord Nuneham.
- 318. A Landscape, unknown.

## THE SMOKING-ROOM

Contains Drawings, chiefly done by Aubrey Harcourt.

## NUNEHAM PICTURES

*At 6, Prince's Gardens, London.*

## LIBRARY.

- 209. "Susanna and the Elders, by Annibale Carracci." So says Lord Harcourt's Catalogue. It is an ill-drawn picture, and probably not by Carracci. It was painted up to its present state by Thane, in 1835, for which he charged 31*l.*; and he charged, moreover, 18*l.* for repairing the frame.
  - 216. "A Ruined Bridge (Ponta Rotta) with Figures, by Crabetje." A good picture, for which Lord Harcourt paid 5*l.* 5*s.* on April 16, 1756. John Asselyn, called Crabetje on account of the shape of his fingers, was born at Antwerp, 1610; and died 1660, aged 50.
  - 196. "A Turkish army on its march in Egypt, by Wyck." This picture was bought by Simon, Lord Harcourt, in 1741, for 5*l.*
  - 128. "The Nativity, by Pietro da Pietri." Bought by Lord Harcourt, 1741, for 12*l.* 12*s.* The painter was born at Rome, 1665; and died 1716, aged 51.
- No numbers.* Two Landscapes; subjects and painters unknown.



## BACK DINING-ROOM.

125. "Nymph and Satyr, by Jordeans of Antwerp;" probably a copy.

## DINING-ROOM.

126. "Vandermyn, painter to the Prince of Orange. Upon the stretching-frame is the following inscription:—

"The face was done by Her Royal Highness Anne, Princess of Orange, soon after her marriage, while the painter was attending at St. James's to take the pictures of the said Prince and Princess on that happy occasion. He parted with it just before his death, which happened in Feb. 1741, to Mrs. Clare, of Soho-square, London; all but the face was done by himself. The Princess was a good painter, and did it in great grace and condescension."

117. "A Fruit-piece, by Michael Angelo Campidaglio: very fine." This painter was born at Rome, 1610; and died 1670, aged 60.

118. A Pair to No. 117.

270. "View of Nuneham, by Paul Sandby:" a good picture.

317. "View of Nuneham, by Paul Sandby;" likewise a good picture.

235. "Cascade of Terni; by Orizonti." John Francis van Bloemen, called Orizonte from the hot, vaporous air of his pictures, was born at Antwerp, 1656; and died 1740, aged 84.

147. George Simon, Earl Harcourt, painted late in life; painter not known.

76. Sir Simon Harcourt (afterwards Lord Chancellor), by Kneller; a finished picture.

127. "A Hare, and other dead Game, by Fytt; from the collection of Mr. Bagnol: very fine." This picture was bought by Lord Harcourt, March 26, 1757, for 9*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* Fytt was born at Antwerp, 1625; the picture is a very good one.

## THE TAPESTRY ROOM.

An account of Nuneham would not be complete without a mention of the Tapestry-room. From the year 1787 to the year 1809, Lord Harcourt was constantly seeking for evidence to complete his genealogical researches, the results of which were preserved in this chamber. By a stroke of fate, George Granville Harcourt, whose bent of mind lay in the direction of the fine gentleman and politician, swept away in one day the work which had cost his Uncle so many years of patient labour. He presented the Maps to the Yorkshire Museum, where they have no peculiar fitness; and the shields and panels were used for firewood.

What follows is given in Lord Harcourt's words, without alteration:—

*"The Tapestry Room."*

"25 by 19, and 15 feet high, was added in the year 1787, for the reception of the Sheldon Maps. This

very curious tapestry, of which Mr. Gough, in his 'Topographical Antiquities,' gives the following description, comes from Weston in Warwickshire, and was a present from the Hon. Horace Walpole:—

“Three large maps of Warwick, Oxford, and Worcestershire, near 80 feet square; by Francis and Richard Hicks. This first of them has this inscription in capitals, adorned with bears:—“Warwickshire, so named as well of the Saxons as of us at this daye; it is divided in two parts by the river Avone ronninge through the midst. The one is called Feldon, the other Woodland. The most memorable towns in the Feldons are Lemington, taking the name of the river Leame, where a salt well springeth. Ichinton and Harbury, betwene which two townes Fermandus, the son of Kinge Offa was slayn,—a man of singular vertue; and buried in his father's palace, called Ofchurch. The Woodland being the north part, and the greater, was by an auncient name called Arden, which signifieth a wood. In the middle of this region standeth Coventre, so called of the Covente of Monkes; a citie in times past populus and riche by the trade of clothing and making of cappes. Near Coventre, on the east part, is Caledon, the auncient seat of the Lorde Segrave, from whom it is descended to make the Barons of Barkley, by the Mowbraies, Dukes of Northfolke. Westward from Coventre standeth the Castle of Kenelworth, compassed about with a great pool, first buildid by Jeffrey Clinton, Chamberlayne to Kinge Henre the First. About 5 miles from thence standeth Warwicke, called by the Brytaines *Caer Gnarvick*, which signifieth

a place of defence; whear is a castle of great force builded by the Romanes.

““William the Conqueror ordeyned xii Burgesses in Warwicke to attende on him in his warres. Near unto Warwicke is Guye's cliffe, a place of wonderful pleasure; whear Guye of Warwicke builded a chapel, and was there buried.—Read W. Camden, his discription of Bri.”

““At the opposite corner are the arms of England, supported by a lion and a griffin; at another corner the arms of Sheldon with six quarterings; and at the fourth, the compasses and scale of miles, with the date 1588, which was discovered since this tapestry was cleaned and restored.

““The second map has this inscription:—“*Oxonii et Berceria comitatus locupletati per Franciscum Hikes.*” The arms here are Sheldon, impaling Argent, six lions rampant sable; this comprehends part of Bucks, Herts, Bedfordshire, Middlesex, Wilts, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and other bordering counties.

““The third is intitled,—“*Wigorn, com. locupletata, Ric. Hykes;*” bordered by part of Hereford, Stafford, Northampton, Oxfordshire, and all Warwickshire. Sheldon here impales the quarterings as before; and here is also this single coat, Argent, a fess between three pears sable (the arms of the city of Worcester). The compass in this exactly resembles that in Saxton's Kent, and other maps. In these maps the principal county is bounded by a strong line of red; the principal rivers and streams are marked blue, the hills, clumps of trees, and even windmills (particularly one of the



latter, which stood within memory before the house) are expressed. The names of the counties are in Italic Capitals; those of towns not always well spelt. Roll-right has eight pyramidical stones, and a windmill. Ricot is represented as a castle with several towers. If these maps are not copied from Saxton, their large scale, and minute detail, is an improvement on the first effort of map-making among us; and it would be well worth to compare them. Nor is this their only merit; they are the earliest specimens of tapestry weaving in England, which was first introduced by William Sheldon, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and it is not improbable that he intended to unite the memorial of two new discoveries. The spelling savours of Flemish artists.'

"To the above description by Mr. Gough may be added, that the beacons then existing are represented in these maps, as are likewise the several parks and bridges; and of the latter, those which are built with stone are distinguished from those which are of wood. Woodstock park alone, among the many similar enclosures in Oxfordshire and the other counties, is represented as surrounded with a stone wall.

"The frieze of this room is divided into compartments, in which are inserted Gothic shields, bearing upon them the arms of the Harcourt family, from its origin, An. 876, with its respective matches in their proper colours, and in genealogical order, alternately with the Vernon knot. Over the doors are two curious and very ancient whole-length pictures of St. Catherine, and of a male saint; they were the two folding-doors of an altar-piece. Between the windows are the arms of the Hon. Horace

Walpole, with the date 1787, the year in which the room was built. In the two round pannels are the arms of Robert Harcourt, Knight of the Garter, in the reign of Edward IV., 1463. And those of Robert, his grandson, Knight of the Bath, 1495. In each angle of the ceiling is a Knight in armour, upon a horse caparisoned according to ancient usage, representing four of the Harcourts, who by marriage added large estates to the family possessions.

"*Over the door*: Robert Harcourt, impaling Camville, 1202.

"*Opposite to it*: W. Harcourt, impaling Noel, 1209.

"*Left of the Windows*: Sir Richard Harcourt, impaling De Quincy, 1250.

"*Right of ditto*: Sir Christopher Harcourt, impaling Stapleton, 1474.

"*Shields in the Frize, beginning on the left as you enter the room*:

"1. Bernard the Dane, An. 876, impaling Sprote de Bourgoyne.

"2. Torf, Lord of Torville, impaling Ertemberg de Briquebec, 947.

"3. Turchetil, Lord of Turcheville, impaling Adeline de Montfort, 1001.

"4. Anchetil, Lord of Harcourt, impaling Eva de Boissy de Chartel, 1027.

"5. Robert, Lord of Harcourt, impaling Colede d'Argonges, 1094.

"6. William, Lord of Harcourt, impaling Hue d'Amboise, 1124.

- "7. Ivo de Harcourt, second son.
- "8. Robert de Harcourt, impaling Isabel, daughter and heir of Richard de Camville, died 1202.
- "9. William de Harcourt, impaling daughter and co-heir of Thomas Noel, An. 1209.
- "10. Sir Richard, impaling Arabella, daughter of Sayer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, living 1209.
- "11. Sir William, impaling Hillaria, daughter of Henry, Lord Hastings, died 1278.
- "12. Sir Richard, impaling Margaret, daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Beke, living 1250.
- "13. Sir John, impaling Ellen, daughter of Eudo le Zouch, died 1330.
- "14. Sir William, impaling Joan, daughter of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, died 1349.
- "15. Sir Thomas, impaling Maud, daughter of Robert, Lord Grey of Rotherfield, died 1417.
- "16. Sir Thomas, impaling Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Frauncis, died 1460.
- "17. Sir Robert, K.G., impaling Margaret, daughter of Sir John Byron, 1463.
- "18. Sir Robert, K.B., impaling Agnes, daughter of Thomas Lymbrake.
- "19. Sir Richard, impaling Edith, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas S. Clare, died 1487.
- "20. Sir Christopher, impaling Joan, daughter and co-heir of Sir Miles Stapleton, 1474.
- "21. Sir Simon, impaling Agnes, daughter of Thomas Darell, died 1547.
- "22. Sir John, impaling Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Aston, died 1577.

- "23. Sir Walter, impaling Dorothy, daughter of William Robinson.
- "24. Robert, impaling Frances, daughter of Geoffrey Vere, died 1631.
- "25. Sir Simon, impaling Anne, daughter of William, Lord Paget, died 1643.
- "26. Sir Philip, impaling Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller, died 1688.
- "27. Simon, Viscount Harcourt, impaling Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Thomas Clark, died 1727.
- "28. Hon. Simon Harcourt, impaling Elizabeth, daughter of John Evelyn, died 1720.
- "29. Simon, first Earl, impaling Rebecca, daughter and heir of Charles Samborne le Bas, died 1777.
- "30. George Simon, second Earl, impaling Elizabeth, daughter of George, Lord Vernon.

*"On the opposite side, beginning at the left, Collateral Branches married to Heiresses:*

- "Rollo de Harcourt, impaling Roesia, daughter and heir of William Peverell.
- "Simon de Harcourt, impaling Adeline, daughter and heir of Osbert de Arden.
- "Sir Robert de Harcourt, impaling Dionisia, daughter and heir of Henry Pipard.
- "Sir Henry, impaling Emma, daughter and heir of William Maunsel.
- "Sir Richard, impaling Joan, daughter and heir of Sir William Sharesull.
- "Michael, impaling daughter and heir of — Tylney.



"Philip, impaling Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Timothy Woodroffe.

"Simon, impaling Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Anderson.

"Henry, impaling Frances, daughter and heir of Nathaniel Bard.

*"Collateral Matches of the Principal Line:*

"Sir William, impaling Alice, daughter of Allen le Zouch, first wife.

"Sir John, impaling Alice, daughter of Peter Corbet, second wife.

"Sir Richard, impaling Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Lewknor, second wife.

"Sir Simon, impaling Grace, daughter of Humphrey FitzHerbert, second wife.

"Sir Simon, impaling daughter of Sir William Spencer, third wife.

"Robert, impaling Elizabeth, daughter of John Herbert, first wife.

"Sir Philip, impaling Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Lee, second wife.

"Simon, first Viscount, impaling Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Spencer, second wife.

"Simon, first Viscount, impaling Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Vernon, third wife.

*"Alliances with Sovereign Houses:*

"John, second Baron of Harcourt, 1288, impaling Agnes of Lorraine.

"John, third Count, 1302, impaling Alicia of Brabant, Lady of Arscot.

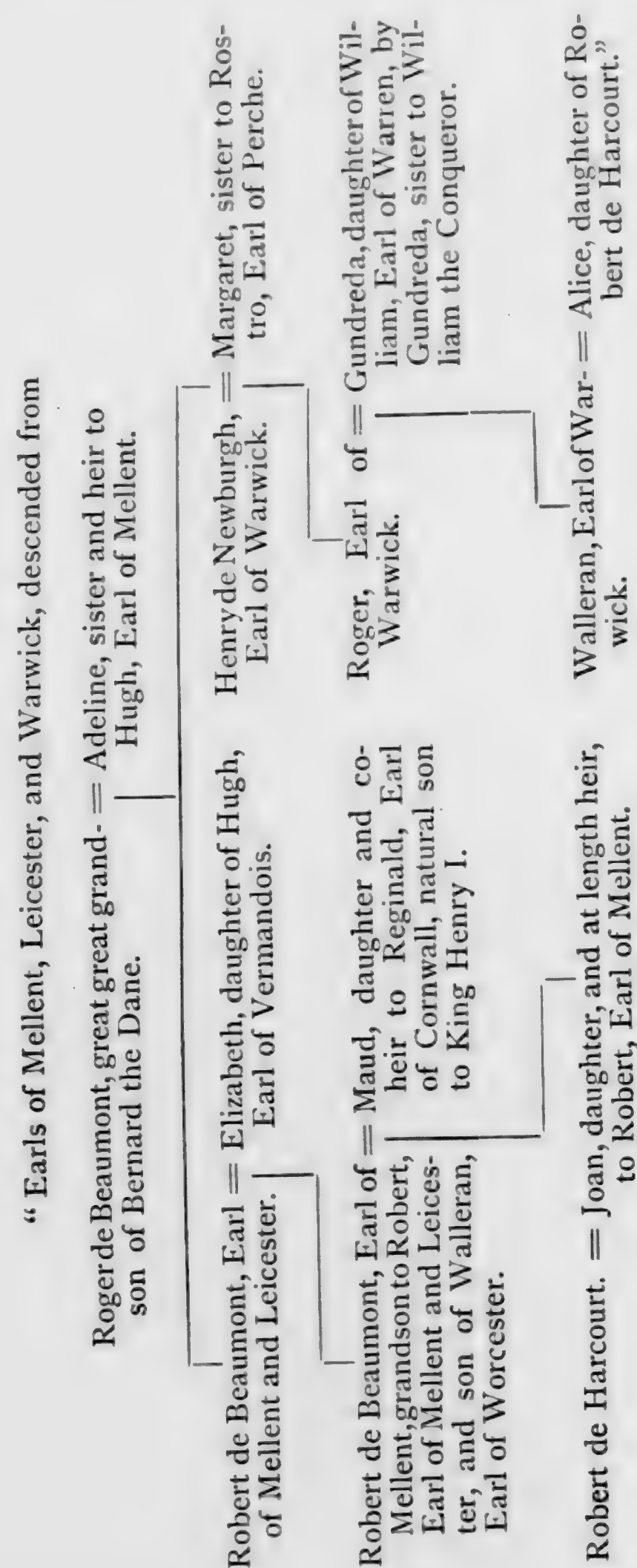
"John, fifth Count, 1353, impaling Blanch of Ponthieu, Countess of Aumalle, Princess of Castile.

"John, sixth Count, 1374, impaling Catherine de Bourbon.

"John, seventh Count, 1380, impaling Mary of Alençon.

"Mary, Countess of Harcourt and Aumalle, in her own right, 1430; great great grandmother of Henry IV., King of France, impaling Anthony of Lorraine, Count of Vaudemont."

*Over the Windows.*



With the few following Letters this volume will conclude.

Lord Harcourt to Lord Jersey :—

“ *Tuesday, 1778.*

“ . . . . In a few days I shall stake out the boundary of the intended garden, that it may be enclosed with hurdles when Mason comes; the temporary (or as G<sup>l</sup>. G. would call it the temporal) Park is made. Deer are bespoke; and I have seven beautifull fauns in a stable ready to be turned out. A small part of the deer-park is paled, and paling prepared for a mile more: you find I am going to work in earnest. We have no company; but Miss Danby comes to-morrow for one night only; and on Thursday we expect M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt and my brother.

“ Whenever your pregnancy, or Lady Jersey's, which is almost the same thing, allows you to quit London, we shall be glad to see you.

“ I am all impatience for news from the fleet, and for an account of the motives of M<sup>r</sup>. Wedder-bourne's resignation, if true.

“ L<sup>y</sup> H. sends her love, and so Adieu.”

Lord Harcourt to Mr. Whitehead :—

“ *August 7, 1778.*

“ . . . . The Cave<sup>t</sup> is not near compleated, and will be a tedious and costly business; to have it

<sup>t</sup> In the pleasure-grounds at Nuneham.



well done, and to secure the brains" of those who will most frequent it (for they have brains as well as skulls), I have been obliged to send for a person on purpose, who has chiefly been employed in making artificial rocks. It will, I think, be a pretty thing when compleated, and dry and cool; and yet sheltered from cold winds and rain. It is lighted from the top by a bell glass, blown flater on purpose than usual."

Lord Harcourt to Mr. Whitehead:—

*"Monday.*

"Notwithstanding the late beautifull alteration in the flower-garden, that favourite spot (like the master of it) has seen its best days. And I fear will never be to me what it has been; for my poor faithful Walter dropped down dead in it on Saturday morning; and though assistance was at hand, immediately expired.

"His loss I am very certain can never be repaired; for I must not expect to meet with half his skill, or half his merit, in any successor I may make choice of; and I am so much a creature of habit, that I shall ever miss him, who was become, by length of years and faithfull service, a part of the place, and almost of myself. I prophesy of my orange-trees, that they will all wither

<sup>u</sup> The inside of the roof is ornamented with artificial stalactites and stalagmites.

now he is gone; and I shall be long before I can take any interest in a place which owed so much of its excellence to the unceasing care of the humble friend I have lost.

"You, who know how much of my time I have passed for a long course of years in the flower-garden with your old acquaintance, will not be surprized at the shock his death has given me.

"We dine at the B<sup>p</sup> of Salisbury's to-morrow, to avoid seeing or knowing anything of Walter's funeral; which, because he was universally known and esteemed in all this neighbourhood, will be attended, it is thought, by a vast concourse of people. . . ."

Lord Harcourt to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Sat. night, April 23, 1786.*

".... Our dinner at the Cannons<sup>x</sup> was very agreeable, and he breakfasts with us on Tuesday next. Though you had not desired me to send you an account of our nephew<sup>y</sup>, I could not have omitted to mention him; for without any partiality, he is the handsomest brat I ever saw of his age; and has a beautiful complexion. He seems, too, in point of temper, an exact resemblance of his father and mother; and every thing Lord Stafford told me of him is quite true. Ed-

<sup>x</sup> Afterwards Archbishop Harcourt.

<sup>y</sup> George Granville Harcourt.

ward says it is a very sensible child; but that I know nothing of, nor do I believe it, because no infant of that age ever yet had one single grain of sense.

"We went to-day in the coach to my neighbours, and thence (for as usual he was not at home) to the Abingdon lodge; and then got out and walked. The drive thence to the gate is formed, and admirably turned, and (as you would like it) at a considerable distance from the boundary; so that a full and perfect view of the reach of the river, terminated by the town of Abingdon, is seen without deviating from the outline of the drive. They are now ploughing the hill, so that the trees cannot be planted; and of course the drive wants a proper accompaniment. The road through the wood is beautiful beyond description, and far superior to the *ruinous* one set out by Mr. Hamilton; the curves are good; but some few of the tricks of the embellishing trade are requisite still, to shew those curves to advantage, supposing they could have been done without much expence, which I do not know that they could; what I mean, relates to sinking the ground in different parts, as Brown used to do in his gravel walks. The descent at each extremity is rather too rapid; but I believe in that respect it cannot be altered, nor could have been done better than it is. The drive in Black Wood I have not yet seen. . . ."

Earl Harcourt to Lady Harcourt :—

"*Worcester, Monday, August 11, 1788.*

" . . . . To-morrow morn<sup>e</sup> I shall see the manufactory. The King's gift<sup>e</sup> to you is not yet gone hence; but they promise it shall be dispatched to-night.

"Remember your promise to endeavour to express (for it is impossible to express it fully) my gratitude to the K. and Q., for all their unmerited goodness to me. Kings can confer honour, but they have no power over the mind; and unless they are *really* amiable and agreeable, they cannot make any body think them so. Ours is the most angelic of the human race; and those who know him as you and I do, must have hearts of steel not to love him as we both do. . . ."

\* A tea-service in the cabinet in the Centre Corridor at Nuneham.

END OF VOL. III.

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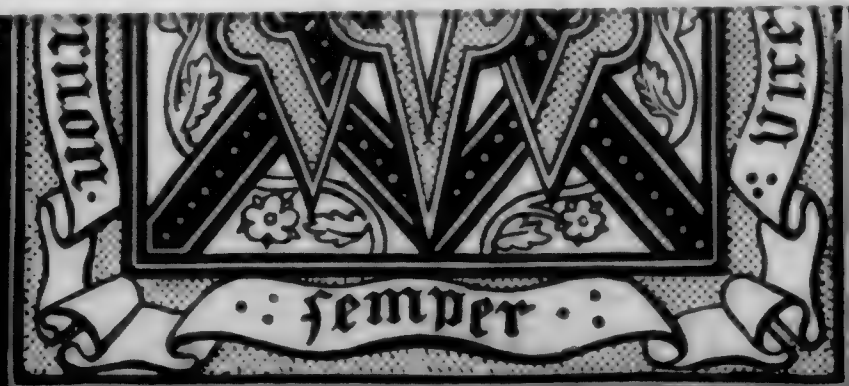
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THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT,

OF STANTON HARCOURT, AND NUNEHAM COURTENAY,  
IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, ESQUIRE.

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#### NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THE object which the Editor has had in view in printing this volume, is, as has been before noted in the previous volumes, simply to preserve many interesting family papers.

The Editor believes that the record will be more characteristic, and therefore more interesting, if the text of the manuscript is strictly adhered to.

The treatment would, perforce, have been different, if any idea of publication had been entertained. In that case, all prolixity of narrative, and much uncertainty of orthography, must have been dealt with. As it is, no alterations have been made in the manuscript, excepting in cases where obvi-



ous repetitions, and unintelligible sentences, have called for the interference of the Editor.

The following note, in Lady Harcourt's handwriting, appears to warrant the Editor in dealing with her compositions according to his discretion:—"If there are any of these papers that appear to you worth preserving, you are at liberty to dispose of them as you please."

In conclusion, the Editor hopes, with Lady Harcourt, that "this little work will never be submitted to any eyes but such as will peruse it with candour."

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MEMOIRS  
OF  
THE YEARS 1788—89.  
BY  
ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF HARCOURT<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Lady Harcourt was Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen Charlotte; she was wife of George Simon, Earl of Harcourt, who was Master of the Horse to George the Third.



CORRIGENDA.

P. 265, l. 8, *for* "Lugeme" *read* "Lucerne."  
319, l. 15, *for* "device" *read* "advice."

Memoirs of the Years 1788-89.

**N**O vain presumption in my own abilities, no idle desire of making my name pass to posterity, induces me to take up the pen. This little work, undertaken at the request of a friend, will never be submitted to any eyes but such as will peruse it with candour, and will prefer the truth and sincerity with which it will be written, to the glowing imagination or pointed eloquence of the most polished historians.

The present period will ever be an important one in the annals of England; and in a situation to be a witness of many of the events, and to have the best information upon others, I should perhaps be hardly justifiable if I trusted to my memory only for the recollection of circumstances which it may be material for me to remember. I will relate no fact which I do not know,

or from strong reasons believe to be true, and I will study to prevent prejudice or partiality from influencing me in the character or accounts I may give of the persons I shall have occasion to mention.

On the 11th of June, 1788, the King was seized with a bilious fever, attended with violent spasms in his stomach and bowels; this disorder lasted some days, and after he was recovered from it, his physician (Sir George Baker) ordered him to drink the Cheltenham waters; accordingly, upon the 12th of July, their Majesties, with the Princess Royal, the Princess Augusta, and the Princess Elizabeth, left Windsor, and did Lord Harcourt and me the honour of calling at Nuneham, on their way to the wells, which they reached that night. While they were with us, the Queen told me that I was to join her that day fortnight, and attend upon her as Lady of the Bedchamber in the room of Lady Weymouth, who was then with her; the King asked my Lord to be of the party, graciously adding, "If you will visit me in

Gloucestershire, I will call upon you again in my way home." In consequence of these kind commands, we went upon the 26th of July to Cheltenham. I found an apartment prepared for me in Falconberg Lodge; my Lord had lodgings in the town, but dined every day, and passed the evening with their Majesties. The usual plan of life was pleasant, but fatiguing; at six in the morning, the King, the Princess Royal, and myself, went to the wells, and walked till past eight upon the public walks, then returned to breakfast with the Queen and the other Princesses; at ten we went out in carriages, either to see the seats of the neighbouring nobility and gentry, or to view such beautiful scenes and antiquities and manufactures as were worth attention; at four we dined, and soon after six returned to the walks for an hour, then drank tea, passed the evening in conversation, supped at ten, and went to bed at eleven. This system was adhered to except when their Majesties made any long excursions, such as to Lord Coventry, Lord



Bathurst, Lord Ducie, the Bishop of Worcester, &c.; or on Sundays, when the King never drank the waters. Frequently, when we went in carriages, he would accompany us on horseback. His Majesty had no soldiers at Cheltenham, but he was much more magnificently guarded by his people at large, who surrounded him wherever he went, shewing that real love which always enforces respect. This was carried so far that, the day we went to see the cloth manufactory at Stroud, though thousands crowded round his horse, yet would they neither shout, nor suffer the bands of music to play, until they were assured that the animal was so quiet that their beloved sovereign would not be endangered by the demonstrations of their loyalty and joy; once satisfied upon this point, they rent the air with their acclamations. The principal gentlemen met the King on horseback, the lower sort of people followed him for miles on foot; and it is supposed that we did not see less than fifty thousand persons that day. As we passed

through the heart of the clothing country, the immense quantity of cloth that was spread and hung out in honour of the day made a singular and beautiful appearance. Triumphal arches were formed of cloth at the entrance of some of the towns we were to pass through; in other places there were arches of flowers, and all were adorned with crowns, cyphers of the King and Queen, and emblems and mottoes suited to the occasion. The people were dressed in their holiday clothes, some carried flags or streamers, and "God save the King," "Long live the King and Queen," echoed from every heart and voice; and this accompanied by ringing of bells, and the music of different bands, formed a concert that was worthy to be offered by a free nation to him who was at the same time their monarch and their father.

The cloth manufactory, independent of its being the first branch of commerce in this country, was in itself a sight well worth attention. A sort of temporary building, open in front, and formed of white cloth, was erected

upon the side of a beautiful hill; this was divided into a great many compartments, in each of which a different part of the business was carried on, from the first taking the wool off the sheep's back to the making-up the bales of cloth for sale. The men who were employed were dressed in white shirts tied with ribbons, the women as neat as possible, and the instant their Majesties entered the inclosure the whole was set in motion. The questions the King asked, and the observations he made, shewed such intelligence as delighted and surprised the manufacturers, many of whom said they had never seen a person have such just and clear ideas of the business who had not been actually bred to it. I have often heard the same remark made when I have attended their Majesties to other manufactories, and have myself been astonished how the King, with the many important affairs he has had to occupy him, should have been able to make himself master of so many subjects which naturally fall so little in his way.

The annual music-meeting, for the benefit of the Sons of the Clergy, was held at Worcester upon the 6th of August. Ever desirous of promoting benevolent institutions, their Majesties with the Princesses resolved to attend it, and of course all the persons of fashion from the neighbouring counties crowded to the town. The Court was lodged in the Bishop's palace; we remained there three days, during which time the most loyal and affectionate addresses were presented by the County, the Corporation, and the Clergy of the Diocese. From Worcester we again returned to Cheltenham, and stayed there until Saturday the 16th of August, when their Majesties and the Princesses kept their kind promise of dining at Nuneham, and in the evening proceeded to Windsor. The joy which was shewn upon their return thither bore a just proportion to the sorrow expressed upon their leaving Worcestershire; and every circumstance of their five weeks' tour united to impress upon their minds how much they were beloved by their people.



On Tuesday, the 29th of August, there was a most magnificent ball at Windsor Castle, given in honour of the Prince of Wales' and the Duke of York's birthdays; both of which having happened during the King's absence, could not be kept upon the proper days, the 12th and 16th of August. To this ball many of the first nobility were invited, the dancing was in the great guard-chamber, the card-playing in the drawing-rooms, and the supper in St. George's Hall. The royal family supped at a table placed on a platform, raised by steps at the upper end: the guests at two tables, which were down each side of the hall, leaving an avenue up the middle to that where the royal family were. The whole was finely illuminated, and the appearance of the room, the entertainment, and the company was as splendid as possible. On Thursday, the 21st, there was a drawing-room at St. James', after which I took leave of the royal family until Monday, the 29th of September, when I again returned to Windsor, to be present

at a concert and a supper given in honour of the day, the Princess Royal's birthday. Like every fête at Windsor Castle it was both pleasant and superb. I never saw the King in better health or spirits; he continued to talk with satisfaction of his Worcestershire tour, and to think that Cheltenham had been of use to him.

I returned to Nuneham after the drawing-room, upon the 2nd of October. I have been the more particular in what I have related, because it was afterwards said by some ill-disposed persons, that, even at the period of which I have given an account, his Majesty shewed signs of the unhappy malady with which he has since been afflicted. Living with him, as I did, in the most unreserved intimacy from six in the morning till eleven at night, it is impossible but that if this had been true I must have observed it. I can most solemnly affirm that I never saw the least symptom of mental derangement, and that the King was invariably cheerful and good-humoured, and often declared,

that, from the beginning of his reign, he had never known such happiness as he then experienced, from the conviction he felt of being beloved by his people.

Nothing material happened from the time the royal family returned to Windsor, the 3rd of October, till Sunday the 12th; his Majesty then complained of a rash, which continued on the Monday; on Tuesday he hunted, and in the evening he told Princess Elizabeth, from whom I had these particulars, that the rash upon his body was gone in, but that there were some remains of it upon his arm, which he shewed her. She told me it looked very red, and in great weals, as if it had been scourged with cords. She advised him to take some care, but he disregarded the caution. On Wednesday he went to London, had a levée, and returned to Kew. He ate no dinner, as was frequently his custom upon levée days, and having had no nourishment but a cup of coffee and a bit of dry biscuit (his common breakfast) at nine in the morning, he

went in the evening to the Hanoverian Minister, Baron Albuslabens; there he ate several pears, but nothing solid. Early the next morning, when the dew was very strong upon the ground, his Majesty walked round Kew and Richmond gardens; and being afraid when he returned that he should hardly be in town time enough for the Queen and Princesses to be dressed for the drawing-room, he only pulled off his boots, which were so wet that the water ran out of them, and, without changing his stockings, got into the coach. This was on the 16th. That night he was seized with spasms in his stomach and bowels, which gave him the most excruciating pain. The following day Sir George Baker gave him physic; the effect of this being too much, he gave him laudanum to counteract it. It became necessary to repeat the physic; the laudanum, too, was again repeated, and within twenty-four hours he took three doses of each. On Saturday the complaint in his elbows subsided, and his legs and feet



swelled so much that he could not wear his own shoes and stockings. He was very lame, and those about him hoped he was going to have the gout, of which he had formerly had some slight attacks. These appearances, however, decreased on Tuesday; and on Wednesday, the 22nd, Sir George Baker gave the King a strong dose of senna. This disordered him so much, that in the morning he sent for the physician to scold him, as he said, for having given him a medicine that always disagreed with him. His Majesty spoke with so much more warmth and displeasure than usual that Sir George was alarmed, and when he returned to town that night he wrote to Mr. Pitt to inform him that he had left the King very ill, and in a state bordering upon delirium. Mr. Pitt's anxiety carried him to Sir George's house at two in the morning, and it was agreed that he should return to Kew early the next day. When he got there, he found his Majesty so much better that he expressed his astonishment to Lady

Courtown, adding the same expressions he had made use of in his letter to Mr. Pitt; to which she very naturally answered, "Good God, Sir George, if you thought the King so ill, how could you leave him?"

Mr. Pitt passed three hours with his Majesty that day, during which time he transacted business as well as at any period of his life. My brother-in-law, General Harcourt, saw him afterwards; he was perfectly composed, but complained that Sir George Baker had mistaken his case, and that he seemed to follow no regular system in his management of him. On the Thursday he was so well that he walked round Kew Gardens. His Majesty had promised not to go to the levée on Friday, October 24; but in the morning Sir George Baker came in great distress, and said, that having an advantageous mortgage offered to him, he had sold £18,000 out of the stocks, that *his* doing this just at the moment the King was ill had raised an alarm, that the funds had fallen ten per cent., and that he thought it his duty to

make the circumstance known. His Majesty now thought it necessary to show himself in public, to quiet the fears of his people. At the levée he related the cause of his being there; he did not speak to many of those who were present, and stayed but a short time. It was remarked that he looked ill, and that his skin appeared muddled, as if there was an eruption under it that wanted to come out. On Saturday the royal family returned to Windsor. As the coach drew up to the door the King saw his four youngest daughters waiting to receive him, and was so overcome that he had an hysteric fit. His children and his attendants were all struck with the alteration in his looks; and he said to Colonel Goldsworthy, one of the equerries who had always had a great share of his confidence and favour, "I return to you a poor old man, weak in body and in mind." It is remarkable, that in the former part of his life the King always laughed at the idea of nervous disorders, and I myself have been often the object of

his pleasantry upon this subject. He generally concluded with saying, "You may talk of them as you please, but the complaints you call nervous appear to me to be only a greater or lesser degree of *insanity*." Of what really deserved that name he had a greater horror than any person I ever conversed with; and two years before his illness he had declined giving one of his daughters to the Prince of Denmark, upon account of the King his father's situation; and I have known him almost express a wish for the death of persons for whom he has had a regard, from the apprehension that such a dreadful calamity was hereditary in their families. From this time, however, the 25th of October, he allowed that his disorder was nervous; it was attended by a considerable degree of bodily agitation, and a desire of talking that he was scarcely able to control. When his physicians told him of it it increased the irritation, and hurt him essentially; at times he would desire those about him to check him, and propose



that some one should read aloud to keep him quiet, but these means seldom obtained the desired effect.

On Sunday, the 26th, he heard Divine Service in the Cathedral at Windsor. Just before the sermon began he started up, seemed to have lost all power over himself, embraced the Queen and Princesses, and then burst into tears. The royal closet is so shut up that none but those within it were witnesses of this scene. The King said to Princess Elizabeth, "You know what it is to be nervous, but was you ever so bad as this?" With great presence of mind she answered, "Yes." The King soon grew calmer, and in the evening went through some business with Sir William Fawcett, the adjutant-general, perfectly well. The next day he took the air with the Queen. On Tuesday, the 28th, he proposed going to Lady Effingham's, and added, "Sir George Howard shall give me an account of the campaigns he made in Germany, and that will keep me from talking." Sir George

Baker saw him before he went out, and as the Queen, from his Majesty's choosing to have her constantly with him, had no opportunity of speaking to the physician alone, she ordered Miss Goldsworthy, sub-governess to the Princesses, to see him, and to say that she was very uneasy about the King, that his complaint seemed rather to increase than diminish, and that she desired he would let her know what his opinion of his situation really was. Sir George answered that the King was certainly very ill, but that there was nothing that alarmed him; he saw his way, and should set every thing right if they would give him time.

This answer did not satisfy the Queen. She had observed a particular agitation during the visit at Sir George Howard's, which the King had prolonged much beyond the usual time; yet, believing Baker to be both honest and skilful, she thought she might venture to wait a little longer before she pressed the King to have further advice, to which she knew he would be very averse.

No material change happened during the next two days. The King rode out, and followed his customary plan of life. It was, however, evident that he thought very ill of his own situation, for much of his conversation seemed as if he intended to prepare the Queen and Princesses for some fatal event.

In the course of the week, I forget which day, he made a new will; in the former one, which was made soon after the birth of the Prince of Wales, he had left everything he possessed to his Royal Highness; his family being greatly increased since that time he thought it right to make some alterations, but he declared that the misunderstandings that had happened between him and the Prince should never make him act unjustly or unkindly by him; that everything he ought to have as heir-apparent should be his, and in this he included not only the Crown jewels and all those that had been presented to him by the different Nabobs, but many valuable ones he had himself purchased. His will, and the dispositions he had made in it, was

a favourite subject of conversation with him, and he used frequently to mention as a singular circumstance, that during the last summer and autumn, whenever he opened the chest in which it was deposited, this will was the first object that presented itself to his eyes, it often fell upon the ground even when he had put other things upon it. The King commonly added, "As I am not superstitious, I do not mind it." It was, however, very clear, that whether this accident did really happen, or that he merely imagined it, the impression it made upon him was very strong.

On Friday, the 31st, Sir George Baker again attended at Windsor, and still persisted in saying that the King was not so ill as those about him apprehended; it was notwithstanding settled that at his next visit Doctor Heberden, an old physician of high reputation, should accompany him, and he did so. On Sunday, the 2nd of November, his Majesty attended Divine service at the Cathedral as usual, and was afterwards advised by Baker and Heberden to have



a blister put upon his head. This was done on the Monday, his Majesty wore his wig over it, and seemed desirous that it should not be known. That day and Tuesday he took the air, once the Princess Royal accompanied him, the other time the Princess Augusta. He behaved to them in the kindest manner, expressed his concern that he had not secured proper matches for them, but alleged as a reason the pain the idea of parting with them always gave him; he said if he got well he would go to Hanover in the summer, and that he would make his Court there as gay as possible to draw the young princes of Germany to it. He told the Princess Royal in particular that, provided it was not a *mésalliance*, he would consent to her marrying any one of them who was likely to make her happy, for that the happiness of his daughters was of more consequence to him than the extent of their husbands' dominions. Though there was nothing improper in what he said, yet he spoke with a degree of eagerness and rapidity that

was distressing to the Princesses; he continued to do so throughout these days, and paid no regard to the punctuality he used to observe in respect of hours. His dinner waited for him till six o'clock, the drinking coffee and the concert were deferred beyond their usual time, nor could he be prevailed upon to go to bed before two o'clock in the morning; when he went into the Queen's room he was particularly anxious to see that all the doors were locked; precautions had however been taken, and two of the pages attended in the passage to go in if necessary.

On Wednesday, the fifth of November, every alarming symptom seemed increased; the bodily agitation was extreme, and the talking incessant, indeed it was too evident that his Majesty had no longer the least command over himself. His eyes, the Queen has since told me, she could compare to nothing but black-currant jelly, the veins in his face were swelled, the sound of his voice was dreadful; he often spoke till he was exhausted, and the moment he could recover his breath

began again, while the foam ran out of his mouth. Just before dinner the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York arrived; they had been at Windsor on the Monday, and thought their father so ill, that they resolved not to return as they had intended to Bright-helmstone. The Tuesday they again called to inquire, but only saw the Queen and the Princesses. On this day, Wednesday, the King received them with more than common affection, and said a thousand kind things to them, amongst others he said to the Duke that he loved him so well it was not in his power to refuse him anything, except where the Prince of Wales was concerned; that he would never injure the Prince, though he had been used ill by him, but he forgave him, he was his son, and he always had loved him, and always should love him. The Prince was so much affected that he was almost convulsed, and Princess Elizabeth was obliged to rub his temples with Hungary water, but neither this nor the whole party being drowned in tears appeared to have

the least effect upon the King. As soon as it was possible, the Queen arose from table, she had put a constraint upon herself beyond what she had strength to support, and as soon as she got into her room she fell into an hysteric fit. Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princesses, was the only person with her, but they were soon joined by the King, who, upon Lady Ely telling him the Queen was ill, said "Then I will take care of her myself." The Queen made Lady Elizabeth a sign not to leave her, and presently the King proposed removing her Majesty into the drawing-room, where he made a sort of bed upon one of the sofas, and placed her on it; he then fixed where each of the Princesses should sit, and ordered all the candles except two to be put out. Sometimes he hung over the Queen with the kindest solicitude, at others he talked to his children with the most paternal fondness, yet in all he said and did the strongest marks of a deranged mind were visible.



When the Queen's seeing Sir George Baker was proposed, he said, "He may prescribe if he will, but the Queen shall not be hurt as I have been by taking his medicines." Towards night it was hinted to him that it was necessary for her Majesty's health that she should have a separate room; he consented, upon condition that a bed should be prepared for him in one adjoining to it, but it was not till past twelve that he could be prevailed upon to let the Queen retire to her apartment. About one o'clock he came into her room; he had not been in bed; he shut the door, and going to the chimney he took up the light, and then went to the bedside; he held the light to the Queen's face and said, "Yes, I am not deceived, I thought she was here, I thought she would not leave me:" then turning to Miss Goldsworthy, whom he had desired not to leave the Queen, he added, "Gouly, you are honest, I can depend upon you, you will take care of her; they said the King was ill, he was not ill; but now the Queen is ill, he is ill too;"

he then put down the light, and walked fast about the room. Her Majesty entreated him to take some rest, and he left her, shutting the door with violence and locking it; soon after no more noise was heard, yet they believed the King to be still up; the Queen ordered Sir George Baker to be called, that he might go to his Majesty, but he excused himself, saying, he was in so violent a perspiration he could not rise with safety; upon hearing this the Prince of Wales sent an express for Dr. Warren, unknown to the Queen, who would never have consented to the calling in a physician to whom the King had a particular objection. From this fatal step many of the evils that followed resulted; and I have ever been of opinion that Sir George Baker's natural timidity, increased by the danger he saw coming on, made him act as he did, that some other of the faculty might be sent for to share with him the responsibility of the situation. Warren was a man of very different character; he was at that time considered, at

least by the fashionable world, as being at the head of his profession; he had a strong understanding, a manner dictating and supercilious, and that sort of inflexible firmness that is rarely found with a feeling heart, and that his was not of such a nature what I shall hereafter have occasion to relate will fully prove; yet, such as I have described him, no one was more master of the arts of dissimulation and insinuation, or could practise them with more perseverance, when it was his interest to do so. His medical success in some families of the first distinction procured him the most familiar access to their houses, and here I have seen his brow unbent, the clouds banished from his countenance, and the gloomy politician become "le petit médecin des ruelles." To his female patients he recommended himself by assuring them that their health depended greatly upon their spirits; he therefore seldom objected to dissipation in the winter, and often found the water-drinking places they best liked absolutely necessary for them

in the summer; and it has been said that he had a still more powerful means of securing the favour of many persons of consequence by lending them money, which the immense income he derived from his profession enabled him to do. Be this as it may, it is most certain that he was constantly received upon the most intimate footing in the houses of the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, as well as in Lord Fitzwilliam's, Lord Spencer's, Mr. Fox's, and many others of the leading men in opposition. Through their protection he became known to the Prince of Wales, and Carlton-house soon afforded an ample field for the display of his talents in political intrigue.

His being sent for to Windsor gave dissatisfaction to many of the King's most attached friends, and his Majesty said to him, the first time he went into his room, "You may come here as an acquaintance, but not as *my* physician; no man can serve two masters; you are the Prince of Wales's



physician, you cannot be mine." Similar marks of dislike were shewn to him by the King throughout the whole course of his illness, excepting for a very short time, when Warren had the art to persuade him that he was adverse to the severity with which Dr. Willis thought it necessary to treat him.

But, to return to my narrative. It was on Thursday, the 6th of November, that Warren came to Windsor; he immediately pronounced the King's life to be in the utmost danger, and declared that the seizure upon the brain was so violent, that, if he did live, there was little reason to hope that his intellects would be restored; though the many expressions the King made use of to him, and many other things he said in his calmer moments, proved that, however his mental faculties might be deranged, they were not destroyed.

Great quiet was now recommended, and no persons but his pages were allowed to remain for any time in the King's room. The Queen was removed to a distant part of the

house, and though he frequently asked for her and for the Princesses, they were not allowed to go to him, under the pretence that the seeing them would agitate him too much. The same reason was alleged to prevent the gentlemen-in-waiting from frequently going into his bed-chamber; some of these were men of excellent character, high in favour with the King, and so zealously attached to him, that they would gladly have shared the attending upon him with the pages; many of whom, freed from the restraint of being overlooked by their superiors, soon forgot their stations, and behaved with a degree of familiarity and insolence that often irritated and essentially hurt his Majesty.

The fever increased, and the delirium was more violent than ever on Friday the 7th and Saturday the 8th, and that night, and on Sunday the 9th, there were hardly any hopes of the King's recovery. Four men were obliged to be constantly by the bed to prevent his jumping out of it.

On Monday the 10th, I got to Windsor; a letter had informed me of the dreadful situation of a family to whom I was as much attached by affection as by duty, and I hastened to them, anxious to do anything in my power to alleviate their sorrows, or at least to share them. Never can I forget what I felt when I entered the town, or the general grief that appeared in the countenances of people of all ranks. The few persons in the Lodge had hardly any intercourse out of it, and it was so difficult to procure authentic information, that I found it strongly reported and believed that the King was actually dead. When I went to the Lodge, the old porter came to me, and said, with tears in his eyes, "It seems strange that these gates should be shut against you, but our orders are to admit no person whatever." I then went to Lady Courtown's apartments in the Castle; with her I found the Duchess of Ancaster and Lady Pembroke, and we were soon joined by Lady Sydney and Mr. Pitt. They had just seen

Warren, who had told them that the King was not worse than he had been the preceding day, but that there was much to fear and little to hope. From Lady Courtown we heard that it was impossible for the Queen to see any of us; that the dislike his Majesty had to seeing any but those who were with him when he was first seized had engaged him, at a very early period of his illness, to desire the Queen to promise him that she would admit no others until he was better. By this promise she continued to think herself bound, and, rather than violate it, she denied herself the comfort of having anybody with her, excepting Lady Courtown, Lady Charlotte Finch, Lady Elizabeth and Lady Caroline Waldegrave, and Miss Goldsworthy; these ladies, by their places, were obliged to be almost entirely resident at Windsor, and the King had therefore seen them so constantly that they continued to be admitted to her Majesty.

Finding things in this situation, I resolved to go for some days to General Harcourt's



house, three miles from Windsor, where I could receive constant accounts; he and General Gordon, as Grooms-of-the-Bedchamber, had been ordered to sit alternately at the Castle to receive the visits of those who came to inquire after his Majesty. I did not find General Harcourt at home when I got to St. Leonard's; Mrs. Harcourt and I met with aching hearts, yet each endeavouring to inspire the other with that confidence we could not feel. A few hours after I got there our spirits were a little revived by Colonel Digby, who came to us from the Lodge, and assured us that the King was more calm than he had been the two preceding days; that he had known him when he went into his room, that he had taken him by the hand, expressed pleasure at seeing him, and had mentioned some orders he had given previous to his confinement with accuracy. He told us that even the Saturday night, when he appeared particularly bad, he had still been capable of observation, for that he had called Gres-

well, one of the pages, to him, and remarked that the Prince of Wales had been in the room a little while before. The page answered, that it was very true, but that they did not think he had known him. "Yes," replied the King, "I knew him very well, and he cried," which was also true, "to see me so ill. The Prince," added he, "has at bottom a good heart; he has used me ill, but he is my child; he is still here," laying his hand upon his heart, "I still love him."

This account naturally led us to inquire what the Prince's general conduct had been since his father's illness. Colonel Digby answered, that nothing could be more perfect as long as he acted from his own feelings; that at the beginning of the illness he had been much affected, and had shewn the greatest solicitude for the King, and the most affectionate attention to the Queen; but that in a very few days Mr. Payne was sent down to him by the Opposition<sup>a</sup>, that they were

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Fox was not in England, but an express was sent for him.

shut up together for some time, and that since this interview the Prince had appeared, in his general manner, though he had certainly shewn great sensibility the preceding evening, very different from what he did before the conversation took place.

The next day, the 11th, the King continued much the same, rarely, and for a short time only, getting any sleep, talking incessantly, yet, at times, shewing perfect recollection. A little boy he had lost a few years before, Prince Octavius, had always been his particular favourite, from the uncommon fondness the child had shewn for him. On the night of Monday he asked for the picture of this child, and wept over it; those about him flattered themselves that the shedding tears would relieve him, but his pulse continued very high, and his agitation soon returned. I went again to Windsor that morning, to gain what intelligence I could, but found none that was satisfactory. From the Queen I had a kind message, expressing her regret that it was not

in her power to see me. The account I heard of her added to my unhappiness; I feared her health would not support itself under such severe sufferings. I was told that she neither ate nor slept, that she passed a great part of the day in prayer, the rest in weeping and walking backwards and forwards in her room; that her daughters were almost constantly with her, endeavouring to give her that comfort they wanted themselves. The Queen's sons were rarely in her apartments, and their visits rather added to than relieved her distress; for, prompted by those who wished to alienate them from her, and who tried to persuade them that she intended to take the management of everything into her own hands, and to make them of no consequence, they proposed plans to her, hurried her to decide upon them, and were offended when she felt it her duty to reject them. The attached friends of the King and Queen grieved to see two young men, whose dispositions were naturally affectionate and amiable, become the tools of an



ambitious party, which, under the specious pretence of zeal for their interests, hoped to seize the reins of government for themselves.

It may not here be improper to give such a sketch of the characters of the Princes as I am enabled to draw from my own observation, and from the conversations I have had with persons who had known them well from the earliest period of their lives. The Prince of Wales was six-and-twenty on the 12th of August, 1788; the Duke of York was one year younger. Educated together, habit strengthened their brotherly love, and it is just to say nothing has ever weakened it. If the superior situation of the Prince raised no envy in the Duke, he, on his part, felt no jealousy from the King's known partiality to the Duke; and when the latter was sent to Hanover to complete his education, the separation of the Princes was a stroke they were hardly able to support; even in their childhood the word "Osnaburgh" would check them in the midst of their play, and the idea that they must be parted when the

Duke should take possession of that Bishoprick has often drowned them in tears. When he returned to England, after an absence of seven years, the brothers met with transport, and from that time became inseparable, the same pursuits and the same friendships united them.

Unfortunately, during the Duke's absence, the Prince had connected himself too much with those who opposed his father's Government; to them it was a great object to persuade him to consider himself the head of their party, and to insinuate that at his age, and with his abilities, the King and his Ministers used him very ill in not confiding all their measures to him, and consulting him upon them. Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Erskine, men of the most brilliant talents, were then the leaders of the Opposition. Perhaps it was not unnatural for a young man just entering into the world to be dazzled by them, and for an open, generous nature not to suspect that it was only their own interest they had

in view in the attachment they professed for him, and the assiduous court they paid to him. They had the further advantage of being as agreeable in society as they were eloquent in Parliament, and by being the constant companions of his convivial hours they still more increased their influence over him.

Nature had been uncommonly liberal in the personal advantages she had bestowed upon the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York; the features of the latter were the most regular, but the Prince of Wales had great sweetness and expression in his countenance; his hair and teeth were remarkably fine, and, though he was rather too fat for so young a man, his air was noble, he was more graceful than any one I ever saw, and his manner was fascinating. He was not twenty when he first emancipated himself from his father's authority. The greatest care had been taken in his education: to the Archbishop of York (Dr. Markham), and afterwards to the Bishop of Worcester

(Dr. Hurd), both men eminent for their learning, the task of instructing him had been committed; and the quickness of his parts had made it a pleasing one. The Earl of Holderness and the Duke of Montagu were his governors, to them was intrusted the forming his manners and address; they had passed their whole lives at Court and in the great world, and were in their own persons perfect models of what a man of fashion should be. In such excellent hands the Prince acquired every accomplishment that could adorn him, and was perfectly grounded in every branch of knowledge it was desirable for him to possess.

But if the King was free from reproach in regard to the care he took of the Prince's early youth, it must be owned he was wrong in not endeavouring to make his time pass more agreeably as he advanced in years. Having always been accustomed to restraint himself, he was not aware that the society of the Queen's house,—for, till the Princesses grew up, their Majesties lived in great re-



tirement,—was too confined, too uniform, and not lively enough to please a spirited young man. Whilst his brother was with him he bore it with patience, but when deprived of his company, he soon resolved to throw off the chains that were become too galling to him.

A Prince of Wales, with youth, beauty, and a thousand *agrémens*, mixing with the most unreserved familiarity in the world, was a phenomenon that had not for a long time appeared in our hemisphere. All hailed the genial influence of this new star; all hoped to bask in its rays; and at that moment he might have founded an absolute empire in the hearts of his future subjects. Their Majesties made some attempts to check the career their son was determined to run, but this only served to estrange him from them. Nor could it be reasonably expected that, at his age, having once tasted the sweets of liberty, he would be willing to relinquish them. Unfortunately, instead of choosing to take the lead, which he was in every way

entitled to, he fancied that to be fashionable and admired he must copy those who had already attained to such an eminence, and, instead of selecting those who pleased him, and making parties for them at his own house, he made it his object to be admitted without ceremony into the houses of others. This disposition was soon understood, and those well versed in the science of the world easily discovered that it was more to their advantage to let the Prince of Wales suppose that he received an obligation from them, than that he conferred one upon them.

The Duchess of Devonshire was at that time the idol of the town; her house and Lady Melbourne's were perpetually open, and it is not surprising that the Prince should attach himself to two young, handsome, and agreeable women, who were as fond of amusement as their royal guest. Their friends became his, and these were not well-wishers to his father's Government. From this source his subsequent political conduct and connections may be traced. It was

in these houses that Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Sheridan had first free access to him; their animated conversation fascinated him, and from being the entertaining associates of his idle hours, they became the directors of his serious thoughts and actions; they were far from wishing him to keep up much intercourse with his own family, or with those approved of by them; and sensible that the more he plunged into dissipation the greater their influence over him would be, they encouraged every pursuit that the thoughtlessness of youth tempted him to engage in; thus it fell out that in a short time he became devoted to the set that was of all others most obnoxious to the King.

In this set the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland were included; the Duchess, when the widow of a private gentleman, Mr. Horton, without either beauty, fortune, or respectable connections to support her, and with a very equivocal character, had persuaded the Duke, who was a remarkably silly man, to marry her; the consequence

of this ill-assorted union was an open rupture with the King; and though, some years afterwards, the Duke was again allowed to come to the drawing-room, the Duchess was never received by their Majesties; all intercourse of friendship was at an end, and the persons belonging to the Court were desired not to go to Cumberland House. It became, then, of the greatest importance to the Duchess to obtain the protection of the Prince of Wales: she had much sense, and still more art; the first shewed her the means, the second gave her the power of pleasing, by teaching her to subdue or hide every passion that could interfere with the great object she had in view, and neither nature nor education had given her any principles to restrain her. By paying the most assiduous attention to His Royal Highness she soon succeeded in drawing him to her house, where she took care that he should find all those he most liked of both sexes. The politicians were willingly received, and eagerly desirous to be of her parties, as



they afforded them frequent opportunities of connecting themselves still more closely with their royal pupil.

Much as Mr. Fox and his adherents were disliked by the King, they had, some years previous to this period, been in power for a short time; the ill-success of the American war had rendered Lord North so obnoxious to the nation at large, that he was compelled to retire. A new administration was formed in the spring of 1782, under the direction of the Marquis of Rockingham; his death, which happened in the following summer, threw everything into confusion; Mr. Fox and his friends resigned their employments, and were succeeded by the Earl of Shelburne, Mr. Pitt, &c., who remained in office till the beginning of the year 1783, when Mr. Fox, having formed a coalition with Lord North, again seized the reins of government. The union of two men who for years had expressed the strongest disapprobation of each other's conduct, and who had loaded each other with the most oppro-

brious abuse in the face of the House of Commons, could not be pleasing either to the sovereign or the nation. Interest and ambition formed and cemented this unnatural connection; each was conscious that he could not stand alone, united they thought they should be irresistible. This confidence in their own strength proved their ruin, for from thence originated the daring plan of seizing the whole government of India into their hands, which, if they had effected, the extent and duration of their power would have been unlimited; but the voice of a wise, enlightened, and generous people was loud against the bold attempt, and the general indignation the coalition had inspired now rose to such a pitch, that the dismissing Lord North and Mr. Fox from their offices restored the King to a degree of popularity he had not enjoyed since the commencement of his reign. Mr. Pitt was declared minister; young as he was at that time, his splendid talents and his private character were held in the highest estimation.

The nation beheld the wisdom and integrity of the immortal Chatham shine again in his son, and looked forward to that prosperity which a just and virtuous administration taught them to respect. The Prince of Wales saw this change in a different light. Mr. Pitt was the object of his aversion, his utmost influence had been exerted to support the falling party, and from that period he attached himself more than ever to it. The breach between him and the King grew every day wider, till, in 1786, it came to an open rupture.

The Prince, under the pretence that his income was not sufficient to maintain his dignity, dismissed the greatest part of his household, and the King was not disposed to assist him, as he attributed his distress to his unbounded extravagance. For some months the Prince absented himself from Court, nor did he pay his duty in private to their Majesties. A reconciliation, however, was effected in the spring of 1787, and Mr. Pitt, with a magnanimity worthy of so

great a man, forgot the manner in which he had been treated and spoken of by his Royal Highness, and proposed to Parliament the paying his debts and augmenting his revenue. This measure, though it was not opposed by the King, certainly had not his approbation; the benevolence of his nature made him overlook every personal cause of complaint, but he wished his son to suffer from his pecuniary embarrassments a little longer, as he thought the doing so would be a useful lesson to him; and he had intended, if he found it had a proper effect, to pay all his debts out of the Privy purse, without imposing any fresh burthen upon the nation.

Noble as Mr. Pitt's conduct was, it made no lasting impression upon the Prince; those into whose hands he had unhappily thrown himself, used their influence to keep up and increase his dislike of a minister who was the object of their envy. Things were in this state when the Duke of York returned from Germany. I have already said how



immediate and absolute an ascendancy the Prince and his party obtained over him, and too soon the King's unfortunate malady called upon the royal brothers to act more important parts on the theatre of the world than they had before had occasion to perform. What their plans were, and how they conducted themselves, will appear in the course of these memoirs.

On Wednesday the 12th, I again found, upon my return to Windsor, that, though the King's life was not then thought to be in immediate danger, the delirium had by no means abated; his pulse continued at above one hundred-and-twenty, and every attempt to procure sleep had been ineffectual. On Thursday the 13th, I received the same account; on that day I was obliged to return into Oxfordshire; before doing so, I settled with General and Mrs. Harcourt that they should twice every day send me the most exact intelligence they could procure from the Lodge. Early on the 14th their first packet arrived, and informed me, that after

I left them the preceding day his Majesty had less fever; that he had answered the few questions put to him with composure and some degree of reason, but that in the evening he had relapsed into his former incoherency; that he had slept some hours in the night, but remained nearly in the same state when he awoke; Dr. Reynolds, however, authorized the General to tell me, in confidence, that he was not without hope. The account I received on the 15th stated, that the King had slept a good deal on Friday, which had lowered his pulse; that he seemed more disposed to be quiet; and that, upon the whole, the physicians thought there was a little amendment.

The Queen had requested that public prayers might be ordered for the King's recovery; the Archbishop of Canterbury had prepared one, but would not direct it to be used without the authority of the Privy Council.

I heard on Sunday, the 16th, that his Majesty had continued much the same on

Saturday, but in future I will give extracts from the letters I receive.

I had a letter from Mrs. Harcourt; dated Sunday evening, Nov. 16 :—

“I suffer now from having been too much elated ; we have for two days flattered ourselves that there was an amendment, but it seems to be at a stop, for, though the King sleeps well and has not much fever, he continues to talk incoherently ; yet there are moments when he is rational : he said last night that he heard he had had a delirious fever, but that it was over ; that they had done right in having two pages on each side of the bed whilst it lasted ; that he was then calm and well, and would order a thanksgiving ; that he was sure his people would rejoice ; that the tour he took in the summer had proved to him that they loved him, and had he been as certain of it before he should not have been reduced to the state he had been in ; but he spoke with horror of London and Westminster, I suppose in consequence of the party violence at the late elections.

“To-day, the King, knowing it to be Sunday, sent for Dr. Majendie to pray by him ; he pointed out the prayers he would have, and sometimes joined in them with great fervour, and then seemed to lose all recollection, and relapsed into his

former state. At times he gives his orders and makes arrangements, that would be admirable if they were not all founded in error, for often the persons concerned in them do not exist. At other times his memory seems perfect : last night he repeated a long conversation he had with Grenville before he was ill, without omitting a word that passed ; in short, he varies eternally, except in being always equally kind, forgiving, charitable, and devout ; it is impossible to express how much he is the latter. He has no longer that convulsive motion in his hands, which the physicians thought so bad a symptom ; but, I believe (this, however, is a secret), that they differ in their opinions as to the proper mode of healing his illness. He wishes to get up, and to see his sons and his equerries. Warren is against giving him any indulgence ; the others are inclined to allow it ; Heaven only knows which is right. The Queen is full of hope, but distressed by the desponding conversation she hears ; she was very anxious for the public prayers this day, and that every soul should go to Church. The Bishop of Worcester<sup>b</sup> came last night ; she begged him to attend ; all went, excepting the Princes ; if they could ride in

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, was preceptor to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York ; he enjoyed a greater share than any one of the King's friendship and confidence, and he kept up an unreserved correspondence with him.



public on such a day, I think they might have prayed in public; I hope, at least, they did it in private. I hear that persons who were at the drawing-room the King went to the day after the rash was struck in, remarked the peculiar appearance of his skin, and that he looked bloated to an uncommon degree. They are going to try a warm chamber-bath; his pulse is reduced to eighty, but our fears are nearly as strong as ever."

General Harcourt wrote to Lord Harcourt from Windsor Castle on Monday, the 17th of November, as follows:—

"I am sorry to be obliged to repeat the same sad tale; for, though his Majesty passed the night quietly, the general state of the disorder continues much the same, and the physicians are disappointed that he does not mend as much as from the sleep he gets they might hope he would. He liked the warm bath, and has begged to have it repeated. I fear so much confinement will hurt the Queen's health, but she will not be persuaded to take the air. I am inclined to think that the impropriety of precipitating matters at this sad moment of calamity will prevent any opposition to an adjournment of Parliament; yet, when I consider the ambitious views of a particular set of men, and, above all, the extraordinary and impor-

tant occasion of your being called together, I am sure you would not forgive yourself if any advantage was to be taken of the lukewarm conduct of the real friends of the King and country, and therefore do not doubt that we shall see you at Windsor on your way to London to-morrow or Wednesday. Mr. Robert Conway has just told me that he is informed by Sir Guy Cooper that an adjournment can only take place from day to day. This, you know, comes from an Opposition quarter. I suppose you have been informed, that Mr. Pitt's circular letter to the members of the Opposition, as well as to those who have supported the Government, states the necessity of the meeting of Parliament at this time.

"The Prince is certainly paying every attention to the leaders of the Opposition, and actually made a visit yesterday to Lord Sandwich, at Swinley Lodge, without asking for Lord Hinchinbroke<sup>c</sup>. It is said that he is endeavouring to detach the Chancellor from Mr. Pitt, that a change of Ministry is arranged by the Opposition, that they have frequent meetings, and are plotting every possible mischief. Meanwhile, those who are attached to the King flock to this place, to inquire after him, with anxious hearts as well as faces. Many come from great distances; the Duke of

<sup>c</sup> Lord Hinchinbroke was Master of the Stagounds at that time.

Richmond from Sussex; the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland come every other day from Sion; the Opposition inquire in London, but most of the attached friends come here. The Queen sees the list every night. I, or one of the other Grooms-of-the-Bedchamber, sit to receive the company till three o'clock."

I had no letter on Tuesday, as we were to go to London on Wednesday; I then received one from General Harcourt, dated that morning:—

"Nov. 19th.—This day's bulletin states that the King did not sleep well, the fever having rather increased; the fact is, that incessant talking with very little coherency, occasionally raises the pulse, which in the course of last night was above a hundred. I confess I do not perceive any alteration for the better, though I cannot yet be persuaded that the case is so absolutely desperate. The King has at last been allowed to get up, and I do not hear that he has been more unmanageable in consequence of it. This is called the fourteenth day of the fever, and therefore, though he is less well, it may be a crisis. He talked without ceasing from one o'clock this morning, and when Warren told him that he ought not to do so, he said, 'I know that as well as you, it is my complaint;

cure me of that, and I shall be well.' I hope you will have no bustle in London to-morrow; here it begins, I am sorry to say, to be a party question whether the King will or will not recover. If he has fair play I feel confident that all will yet end well."

Everything passed quietly at the meeting of Parliament on Thursday, the 20th of November. On Friday, the 21st, Lord Harcourt and I went to Windsor, and found that no alteration had taken place in the King's situation. I did not see the Queen, for she still judged it necessary for her to adhere to the promise she had given to his Majesty at the beginning of his illness, to see none but those who were with her at that time. Previous to my leaving London, I received a letter from Lady Margaret Fordyce, from which I subjoin an extract:—

"Anxious to be informed of the state of his Majesty's health, and of the probability of his recovery, I sent to Sir William Fordyce as soon as I got to town; and if your fears for the safety of the King are as lively as your good wishes towards him, you will be as much satisfied as I am



with Sir William's sentiments upon the subject. He says, that, from all he has heard or read of the case, he sees no reason for despondency if it be properly treated; that, in the early part of his life, he was the intimate friend of Dr. Battie, who, besides his skill in other branches of his profession, was the Dr. Munro of his time, and to whose practice and experience he had access. Since that period he has made this dreadful malady his study; he has seen many, who, from over-fatigue and low diet, have been in situations similar to the King's, and who have perfectly recovered their faculties without ever experiencing a relapse. He has written upon the subject, and explained the method of cure, and he thinks that the physicians now about the King are not pursuing the means most likely to effect a cure; they appear to him to consider that to be the cause which is only the effect, and by so doing the root of the malady is suffered to remain. Above all, he disapproves of the precipitancy with which physicians call in Munro, and consider that as a desperate case of lunacy which more patience and a different mode of treatment would cure with as much ease as other fevers. To you, my dear Lady Harcourt, I need not say that the most dutiful zeal prompts me to write this letter, and you will not impute it to officiousness. The physicians about the King are desponding; he does not gain ground, and

rumours infinitely disagreeable are circulating. Sir William speaks with confidence; get him called in, you cannot doubt that the measure would be a right one, were it only from the firmness with which he insists upon much longer time being necessary before the disorder can be decidedly pronounced upon; he considers that, though there may be no visible amendment, the King's having had so much sleep is an excellent symptom. The Queen loves you, and has confidence in you, and, if what I have said appears worth attending to, I should think it easy to effect the calling in another physician when there are already so many; at least, it can do no harm; and should you, by making the proposal, be the means of restoring health of body and mind to the King, and comfort to the Queen and Princesses, for whose sufferings every heart must bleed, all England would have reason to thank you."

I have already explained why at the time I received this letter I could not see the Queen, but, as I thought it my duty to communicate the contents of it to her, I gave a copy of it to Lady Courtown to lay before her Majesty.

On Saturday, the 22nd of November,

I again called at Windsor on my way home, and found that everything remained in the same state. On Sunday, the 23rd, General Harcourt wrote to inform me, that the preceding evening and night had passed rather better than was expected, but that the King's general situation appeared much the same as it had done the last two days,—far, very far indeed, from what his friends could wish it to be, but still much better than some, who ought to be most anxious, would have it supposed. He added :—

“It still remains a secret to us who are about him, and possibly it may be so to the Queen, that they mean to remove him to Kew on Saturday next; and yet I heard it from an Opposition authority I cannot doubt.”

Mrs. Harcourt wrote thus from St. Leonard's on Monday, the 24th of November :—

“This is a sad day; the King slept late yesterday evening for forty minutes in his chair; when he awoke he was particularly confused, and remained so most of the night. This morning he is less well than he has been for the last five days;

he has returned to some of the odd unconnected ideas he had some time ago, but I still hope the usual change may take place the middle of the week. His friends, however, are sadly disheartened; Goldsworthy and Digby have just been here, out of spirits to a degree; yet I think there are various ways of accounting for his being again worse. I cannot find that they give him anything but opiates, and then physic to counteract their astringent effects. Now it is well known, that though opiates compose for a time, they disturb the imagination; and therefore, when he first wakes, he is always more disordered, and I fear that in the end he must suffer from this management. This morning they thought they would try what effect the letting him see his children in the garden would have. When he was told he was to do so, he at first seemed much pleased, but as the time approached he grew distressed, and said,—‘No, I cannot bear it; no, let it be put off till evening. I shall be more able to see them then.’ The person who was in the room with him ran to tell this to the physicians, but they said they would try the effect; so, instead of stopping the royal family, who were just going into the garden, they let them go on. The King seemed to struggle with himself to bear it, but ran to open the windows, which were screwed down. They made a great bustle about his having appeared to wish to break



the window to speak to his children ; surely, if he did, nothing could be more natural. As soon as he saw them, he told a gentleman who was with him that he did not want him, and bid him go down and beg them to come near ; they did so, and he called to them through the window. Poor souls, they were all so much affected, and Princess Elizabeth was so near fainting, that they were obliged to go in immediately, but I hope he did not see how much they were agitated ; the Princess Royal was quite overcome, and so was the Princess Mary, and, in truth, they all seemed more dead than alive when they got into the house. Unluckily the King had his nightcap and gown on, which, with his being very pale, made a change in his appearance that could not fail to shock them.

"I know not what the physicians mean by their conduct ; they seem to be amusing themselves as they would with any other singular character, and feel no more for him than if he were a dog or a cat. I fear, too, that even his best friends will many of them grow hardened, that they will be tired of the restraint, desert their posts, and leave him to strangers, under the pretence of its being better for him, and he will be forgotten by many whose former obligations ought never to be absent from their minds. This will never happen to General Harcourt or Colonel Digby.

"The Queen's extreme caution prevents her interfering either with respect to public affairs, or what immediately concerns the case of the King. She wishes everything to be said that anybody can suggest, but that it should be to the Chancellor, not to herself. I do not believe she knows that it is intended to remove his Majesty, but, should this be done, I shall be surprised if she does not insist upon going with him ; if she suffers herself to be parted from him, he is lost for ever, but at such an important moment I hope she will act with spirit ; she has one manly friend who intends to advise it strongly. The Duke has been here oftener than ever. The Prince, in general, behaves well ; however, he corresponds by letter every day with Sheridan, and has met him and others of *the party* at Cumberland Lodge."

General Harcourt wrote from Windsor Castle on Tuesday, the 25th November :—

"Since my letter of Sunday I fear we have gone from bad to worse. The whole of yesterday, and particularly in the evening, the King was more agitated and unmanageable than ever ; so much so, that it was not without difficulty that he could be controlled, and several of the gentlemen in attendance were more than once obliged to be called in. I am not willing to despair, but it is

too certain that no ground whatever has been gained for some days. The Duke of Portland was with the Prince yesterday, and Charles Fox, who is just returned from the Continent, has been with him this morning."

General Harcourt wrote on Thursday, November 27th, from Windsor Castle:—

"Dr. Addington, formerly a physician of eminence in London, and who is said to have made this unhappy malady his particular study, has offered his services through Mr. Pitt; his offer has been accepted, and he has this day been introduced to the King. Whether any, or what alterations have been adopted in the mode of treating the disorder I have not yet learnt, but I understand Dr. Addington's opinion was for more, rather than less, coercion. The Cabinet Ministers are now assembled in the Duke of York's apartment, for the purpose of taking the depositions of the physicians upon the actual state of his Majesty's health. It is supposed that the removal to Kew will take place on Saturday evening."

Mrs. Harcourt wrote from St. Leonard's, Thursday, November 27th:—

"Somebody or other comes here from Windsor almost every hour, and it is a sort of satisfaction

to me to have constant accounts, though I only hear the same sad story over and over again. What gives the King's attendants this liberty of being absent from their duty is a circumstance that has shocked all who love him. The day before yesterday they entirely took him out of the hands of his gentlemen and put him into those of his pages, making them, and them only, responsible for all that may happen; they sit in the room with him and in the next room, and one equerry only in the third room, who is to take no part. This was all arranged with the greatest ceremony; the Chancellor was sent for, and had a conference with the Prince and all the physicians, separately and together; the Prince then called in all the gentlemen, and made them the finest speech that ever was heard upon the sad necessity that obliged the faculty to declare that they found that lenient measures had increased the malady, and that they had determined upon coercive ones, which made it expedient to remove them from their immediate attendance upon the King's person. After this scene there was a pause of some hours, supposed to be owing to the agonies of the poor Queen, and the Princess Royal appeared to be in a state of absolute despair, but at last the point was carried.

"The Chancellor is always with the Prince; Charles Fox has been at Windsor; Mr. Pitt is



left to wait in the outer court; however, he has succeeded in having Dr. Addington, his own family physician, called in. The King, at first, was very angry at the removal of his gentlemen, and then sulky, and went to bed that night at seven; but the next morning he bore the being refused to see them better, and began to talk to the pages, but certainly was less well, as they say he sang a great deal. He is to be removed to Kew on Saturday, at the close of the evening, and there, I fear, the sad scene will close for ever."

Countess of Courtown, Friday, November 28th, Windsor Castle :—

"Another letter is come for you; I suspect that I should open it, but as you did not direct me to do so I cannot venture. Dr. Addington has been consulted, which gives us great satisfaction, and good hopes of a recovery in time. I flatter myself that things will now go on better here."

Mrs. Harcourt, Friday, November 28th, from St. Leonard's :—

"At the Cabinet Council yesterday the physicians unanimously declared the case to be far from hopeless, and that they trusted that time might effect a cure. Dr. Addington, in particular, was strongly of this opinion, but urged the neces-

sity of allowing much time. Everybody is glad that there was a Cabinet held, because now things will be done under proper authority; before, there was none that was legal. The King knew Addington directly, though he had not seen him for twenty years. He was delighted to hear that he had been called in at the request of Mr. Pitt, and reminded him of his having refused to be his physician when he came to the crown, which was very true. To-day, and every day since he has seen Addington, he has insisted upon seeing Mr. Pitt, and they were obliged at last to consent. I rejoice at this; it will increase the interest he must feel for him. His Majesty suspects that he is to be removed to Kew, and they fear that it will not be easily managed. I suppose, for the convenience and particular interest of some persons, they want to have him nearer London before Parliament meets. The King is certainly not better than when I wrote last.

"The Chancellor passed an hour and a-half with the Prince yesterday after the Cabinet; they, with the Duke and Dr. Warren, drank a good deal of wine, and then, with the exception of the Chancellor, returned to the company in the other room, saying he was 'a glorious jolly dog.' Your blood would tingle if I had time to write half I hear. Miss Goldsworthy is ill, and Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave now lies in the Queen's room. Her Ma-

jesty sleeps very little, dines and lives wholly in her dressing-room, that which used to be yours, and is much too agitated to attend to any employment; she passes her time in walking backwards and forwards, till she is quite exhausted."

Mrs. Harcourt, Saturday, November 29th, from Windsor Castle :—

"I am come here to see the General before he goes to Kew; he, with Goldsworthy and Greville, is to have the painful task of going in the coach that is to carry, I hope it may please Heaven not for ever, our beloved Monarch from hence. The Queen is gone, and they are to tell him so, as an inducement to him to go quietly; but, if he is not willing, they have promised her that no force shall be used, nor any falsehood told him of her having requested it. I feel much agitated, and I can see that the General is so; though he says, and I am sure truly, that it is a satisfaction to him to have any duty to fulfil for his dear King. I fear that he will be excessively affected by it, and shall long to hear of him to-morrow. Everybody and everything here seems in a state of confusion. Mr. Pitt was again admitted to-day. His Majesty seemed pleased to see him, and to feel that *he* is a true friend; but he is certainly, upon the whole, rather worse than better. At present

he is not displeased at the thoughts of going to Kew, and expressed great pleasure when they told him that General Harcourt was to go with him. They are not to go till it is dark.

"Half-past four.—They are just gone, and without any difficulty; may Heaven prosper them."

General Harcourt, Sunday, Nov. 30th, from Kew Palace :—

"The King's removal to this place having been determined upon, I received yesterday the Prince of Wales's commands to attend his Majesty, together with Colonel Goldsworthy and Greville, in his coach. It was with some difficulty that he was prevailed upon to quit the place, which is, of all others, the one he best loves; but the determination of the physicians being at length signified to him, he acquiesced; and I have the very great satisfaction to acquaint you, that when he was got into the carriage he performed the journey without the slightest difficulty, and with the highest good humour imaginable: the night, however, was very turbulent, and it was not till near four this morning that he could be put to bed, where he still remains.

"The Prince, the Duke of York, the Chancellor and all the medical tribe, are now assembled here, in order to arrange the future system of manage-



ment, the necessity of which is, indeed, but too apparent. How long I may be detained here upon the only unpleasant duty I ever had about the person of my good old master I cannot at present guess.

"P.S. Four o'clock.—The consultation is just over, and I am happy to tell you that the Chancellor alone is to have the direction of everything; and that Dr. Willis, a man of independent fortune, of the fairest character, and who has great skill and experience in treating this unhappy malady, is sent for."

General Harcourt, December 1st, Kew Palace :—

"In my letter of yesterday I informed you that the direction of everything is put into the Chancellor's hands, and that Willis is requested to undertake the care of the King. I am sanguine in my hopes of the success that may be obtained from this measure. Inquiries in general are not received here, but as this order cannot be meant to extend to the Queen's ladies, and as Lady Pembroke has already called, I conclude that you will think it right to do so on your way to London; where I understand that you will find party spirit raging more violently than ever—the friends of the Constitution wishing for a limited Regency, with proper

provisions to secure the rights of the King in case his reason should be restored; whilst those of the other party warmly contend for a Regent invested with all the powers of the Crown, especially with those of dissolving Parliament and creating Peers."

Countess of Pembroke, December 2nd :—

"I have called at Kew, but did not see the Queen; she is, I am told, in great distress of mind, but well in health. The King passed last night more quietly than usual, though he had not much sleep, and they think him rather better this morning."

On the 3rd of December we went to London, that my Lord might be ready to attend the meeting of Parliament, which was to take place on the following day. We found that in the morning the physicians had been examined before the Privy-Council. Fifty-four members of it were present, of whom twenty-four were in opposition. Many questions were asked respecting the actual state of the King's mental and bodily health, and the probability of his reason being restored. The physicians uniformly

declared his Majesty incapable of attending to business; that the duration of his malady must be uncertain; but that, from their experience in similar cases, they entertained strong hopes that he would recover. This account was, on the 4th of December, communicated to the Peers by the President of the Council, and by Mr. Pitt to the House of Commons. It was then proposed that the physicians should be again examined at the bar of the House; to this measure the Ministers objected, but, on the 8th of December, they agreed that a Committee of twenty-one Peers, with a like number of the Commons, should be appointed for that purpose.

They met the next day, the 9th, and on the 10th the Report was brought up, when Mr. Pitt moved to have the journals searched, for precedents of the proceedings in cases where the royal authority had been interrupted by sickness, infirmity, or infancy. Mr. Fox objected to this, as likely to produce unnecessary delay, and urged that, by the law of the land, when the Sovereign was

unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, being of full age and capacity, had an indisputable claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the Sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity: he admitted, however, that Parliament alone was competent to pronounce when the Prince ought to take possession of this right. This doctrine was, of course, warmly opposed by the King's friends, and supported with equal warmth by those of the Prince. And here began the great contest respecting the Regency, which for many weeks agitated every part of the British dominions. In the meantime, the King remained nearly in the same state at Kew.

On the 5th of December Dr. Willis arrived; when announced to the King, he knew who he was and his business, and, after passing some time with his Majesty, he pronounced that he would not only recover, but that he would enjoy better health than he had done before his illness. These assur-



ances revived the almost desponding spirits of the poor Queen. The doctor discontinued the laudanum that night, and his Majesty slept well, and awoke more composed than usual. On Saturday, the 6th, he was permitted to shave himself, Willis declaring that he would be answerable that he might do so safely. Sunday, the 7th, passed less quietly, but Dr. Willis assured the Queen that there was no cause for fresh anxiety, that frequent changes must be expected, and that the progress must be slow and almost imperceptible. A rapid recovery, he said, would be less certain to be lasting, but that the King will recover he does not doubt. Nothing but the Queen's firmness upon this occasion could have carried the point of Willis's being allowed to have his own way. Dr. Warren, from jealousy, I am unwilling to ascribe his conduct to a still worse motive, generally disapproved, and often opposed, his opinions, and by Warren the other physicians were guided. He and Sir George Baker came alternately to see the King

every morning; Sir Lucas Pepys, Dr. Gisborne, and Dr. Reynolds, came (generally two of them) in the evening, and passed the night in the palace. Those who had slept there attended the morning consultation with Warren or Baker and Willis, when the bulletin for the day was prepared, and for the remainder of the day Willis was in charge, with whom was joined his son, Dr. John Willis; the latter is a man of excellent sense, who has acquired great skill in cases of insanity by acting under his father.

Monday, the 8th. The King appeared better, in all respects, than he had done since his first seizure; he went to bed quietly, as soon as Willis desired him to do so, slept seven hours, was very tranquil when he awoke, and continued so during the day of Dec. 9th. This was particularly fortunate, on account of the examination of the physicians before the Committee, which took place that day.

On Wednesday, the 10th, there was little

variation; on Thursday, the 11th, his Majesty was well enough to walk round Kew Gardens with Dr. John Willis; he was very tractable, seemed very happy, and returned to the house when desired to do so. Dr. Willis sat with him whilst he dined; he ate heartily, conversed reasonably, and the doctor's expression was, "the King's recovery has this day taken a greater stride than could possibly have been expected." No unfavourable change appeared on Friday, the 12th. On Saturday, the 13th, he seemed composed, and as he had expressed a strong wish to see the Queen and his youngest child, Princess Amelia, then about five years old, and of whom he was particularly fond, Dr. Willis resolved to venture making a trial of the effect this indulgence might have upon him. The scene was a most affecting one; he shewed strong marks of tenderness, he parted with them with great reluctance, and the succeeding night was extremely turbulent, as much so as at any time since his illness; but this might partly be occasioned

by an alteration in his medicines, and the application of fresh blisters; however, Willis was blamed by the other physicians for having allowed the King to see any of his family.

The Prince's party affect to think Willis a creature of the Queen's, against whom they have begun to pour forth the most unlimited abuse, merely because she insisted upon performing the duty of a wife, in not leaving her husband at a moment when the misfortune he laboured under called for her most vigilant and tender care. To separate her from the King had been their great object; and, instigated by them, when the King was to be moved to Kew, the Prince proposed to her Majesty that she should go to London or remain at Windsor. She remonstrated against the measure, but his Royal Highness said he was resolved upon it, and that the Ministers consented. Her answer was, "Prince of Wales, do it at your peril; where the King is, there I shall be." A further interference was not permitted to her; and so little care



was taken to prepare the palace for the King's reception, that I was assured by persons who witnessed it, that when he arrived the walls of the room he was to sleep in ran down with wet, and this was on the 29th of November, when the weather was very severe. The room was a very small one, with a corner chimney that often smoked; in a large one within it his inferior attendants waited, and the gentlemen who were in attendance upon him sat in one that preceded it, but were not allowed to see him; excepting when, from the door being accidentally opened, they could catch a glimpse of him. The Queen and the Princesses were lodged in the apartments over the King's: they used the gallery as an eating-room, and sat in her Majesty's dressing-room.

As from this time the Queen was compelled to take a more active part in public affairs than she had ever before done, it may not be improper for me to give a slight sketch of her character. The house of Mecklenbourg, from which she is descended, is

one of the most ancient in Germany. When she was married to the King, in September, 1761, she was only seventeen. She had been educated in the strictest manner by an exemplary mother, who died a short time before her daughter's marriage took place. My father-in-law, the late Earl of Harcourt, was the ambassador appointed to conduct the young Princess to England, and I have frequently heard him say how much she was beloved in her own country; and he used to relate instances of the amiableness of her disposition, and of the good sense with which she conducted herself. Her understanding was, indeed, of the first class; it was equally quick and solid. She tasted wit in others, but checked it in herself, from being aware that, dangerous as it is in all situations, it would be particularly so in hers. Her mind was highly cultivated; she was fond of reading, and well acquainted with the best authors in the English, German, and French languages; and her memory was so retentive that she never forgot what she once knew.

In the talent of conversing she had few equals; whether the subject was serious or lively, she treated it in such a manner that those must have been very stupid indeed who did not listen to her with pleasure; no one narrated better than she did, and anecdotes that had little merit in themselves were made interesting by the way she told them. There was a sweetness in her manner and an animation of countenance, which caused many who had thought her plain before they conversed with her, to admire her afterwards. She certainly had no pretensions to beauty, but her hair and teeth were fine, and her eyes expressive; she was not tall, but her figure was good, and her manners remarkably graceful. She understood music, and had a pleasing voice; she had a decided genius for drawing, which, if that art had been cultivated by her in early years, would have enabled her to excel in it. She was strict and sincere in the performance of her religious duties, and her love of truth was unbounded. She hated flattery, and despised

those who practised it. She was very sensitive, but always seemed to restrain her feelings, from principle. Her unknown charities were extensive, and to those about her she was endeared by the little delicate attentions by which she seemed always striving to give them pleasure. Her confidence she imparted to few, from a strong fear lest she should be suspected of favouritism. She judged characters quickly and truly, and her warm heart was truly attached to those who she felt loved the individual as much as they respected the Queen. I remember once my saying to her, "I should like to tell *you* something, but pray promise never to let the *Queen* know it." She laughed, and said, "Oh no, *she* can have no business with what passes between us in our private, unreserved conversations."

So it was always with those who shared her private hours; she then conversed with freedom, wishing them to do the same, and entered into all their concerns with affectionate interest. When absent from her,



she often honoured me with letters, written with a correctness which few are capable of in a language not their own. In politics she never wished to interfere; she had too much sense not to be aware that they are a science in which women are little qualified to excel; and when the unfortunate illness of the King compelled her, for his interest, to take a part in the great scene then acting, she entered upon it with diffidence, and wished to be wholly guided by the Chancellor<sup>d</sup> and Mr. Pitt. I never can forget the day when the former, after urging her to act with more spirit than she thought becoming, said, "Remember, madam, you have the eyes of eight millions of his Majesty's subjects fixed upon you." The idea of such responsibility made her shudder; for, if there were a shade in her character, it was due to a natural timidity, which caused her to be unjust to her own abilities, and made her lean upon the opinions of others, who were often as inferior to her in judgment

<sup>d</sup> Edward, Lord Thurlow.

as in goodness. Such were my sentiments of the rectitude of her heart, that when it has happened, though it rarely did so, that I have had doubts about the prudence of her actions, I have suspended my judgment, from a conviction that she had good reasons for what she had done, and I have never been deceived in the result of my trust.

In drawing this slight sketch of the Queen's character, I can most truly say that it is a very faithful one; and surely no one has had more opportunities of really knowing her than myself.

So much care was taken to prevent everything that passed at Kew from transpiring, that from the time of my arriving in town, on the 3rd of December, I had for some days very little intelligence that I could depend upon from thence. Meanwhile the proceedings in Parliament were highly interesting.

On the 12th, Mr. Pitt proposed, that, on the Thursday following, there should be a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the state of the nation.

He and Mr. Fox spoke very eloquently in support of the opinions they had before delivered, Mr. Pitt maintaining, that though the Prince of Wales might be the most proper person in whose hands the executive power should be placed, yet he could only hold it by the authority of Parliament, and under such restrictions as in its wisdom should be thought advisable.

On the 15th, Lord Fitzwilliam said in the House of Peers, that as the majority in both Houses were averse to the Prince of Wales' immediately assuming, unsanctioned by them, the Regency as his right, he hoped that Ministers would, if possible, avoid bringing the question to a formal discussion, and desired to know from them whether they meant to make any proposition of that nature. He was answered by Lord Camden, who said, that as the right of the two Houses of Parliament had been questioned by persons of great and respectable authority, he thought it was become necessary that they should not be left doubtful and unsettled. The

Duke of York agreed with Lord Fitzwilliam in wishing to avoid a question tending to induce a discussion on the rights of the Prince, who, he said, had never himself laid claim to them, and would not desire to assume any power not derived from the will of the people expressed by their representatives in Parliament; and he was confident, that if his royal brother were addressing them in that place as a peer of the realm, such would be the sentiments he would avow. The Duke of Gloucester followed him, and equally deprecated the discussion; but the Ministers persevered in their intention, and the Chancellor closed the debate by saying, that, though he lamented the starting such a question, he did not see how they could avoid coming to some determination upon it.

Accordingly, on the 16th of December, Mr. Pitt moved three resolutions; the first was,—That it is the opinion of this Committee that his Majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his Parliament and attending to public business,



and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby suspended.—This resolution was voted unanimously.

The second declared it to be the opinion of the Committee, That it is the right and duty of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, and fully and lawfully and freely representing the people of the realm, to devise the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, in such manner as the exigency of the case may require.

It was resolved,—That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it is necessary that the said Lords and Commons of Great Britain should determine upon the means whereby the royal assent may be given in Parliament to such bills as may be passed by the two Houses respecting the exercise and authority of the Crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition.

Mr. Pitt thought it right, in this stage of the business, to admit that he knew no precedent directly in point; but that circumstances had occurred in former reigns that proved what had then been the sense of Parliament. He adduced several instances, particularly that of the Duke of Gloucester claiming the Regency in the minority of Henry the Sixth, and applying to Parliament for it as his right. *The right was denied*, but they *appointed* him Regent. Here, then, was a proof of a claim of right having been actually made, and a declaration of Parliament that no such right existed.

Many able speeches were made on each side of the House, and, on a division, a majority of sixty-four appeared against a motion made by Lord North, whereupon the second resolution was carried without further debate.

On the 19th, Mr. Pitt, being called upon to inform the House what mode of proceeding he intended to adopt, stated, that as in the contemplation of the law the King's poli-

tical capacity was entire, he should propose that their proceedings should be, under the royal authority, delegated by a Commission under the Great Seal; that Commissioners should be appointed to open the Parliament in the usual form, and afterwards give the royal assent to such a bill as might be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, for appointing a Regent to exercise as much of the royal authority as was necessary during the continuance of his Majesty's indisposition. This he thought the only mode of proceeding that could be adopted consistently with the principles of the Constitution.

This plan was warmly objected to. It was urged that no power existed to authorize the putting the Great Seal to such an Act; and the arguing this question occupied some days. On the 22nd of December, however, the amendments proposed by the Opposition were negatived, and all the resolutions were carried. The numbers were—for the amendment, 178; against it, 251.

The resolutions were ordered to be de-

livered to the Lords at a conference, and their concurrence desired. The next day, the 23rd, the Lords being returned from the conference, the resolutions were read, and it was moved that they should be referred to a Committee of the whole House appointed to take into consideration the state of the nation. Lord Loughborough objected to their taking from the other House a prescribed rule for their conduct, as being unprecedented; but on this and some other points he was overruled, and the resolutions, with the Report, were ordered to be referred.

While these important transactions were going on, the state of the King's health remained the same, and every day added to the mental distress of the Queen. I had called several times at Kew to enquire after her Majesty, and received many kind messages from her, but did not see her till the 20th of December. She did me the honour of receiving me with the affection of a sister, and many were the tears we shed when



we talked of the events that had occurred since we met; she repeated the reasons that had prevented her from seeing me sooner, but added, that the King would not have made such a request to her if he could have foreseen the length of time his illness would last, and that therefore she felt herself more at liberty then than she had done at an earlier period of it, and hoped soon to see me again.

On the following Wednesday, the 24th, I got a letter from Princess Elizabeth, written by the Queen's orders, to say that Lady Courtown, who had been with her before, and from the time of the King's seizure, was not well, that she had given her leave to go home, had chosen me to supply her place, and wished me to come to her as soon as possible. I gladly obeyed the summons, having no wish more strong than to endeavour to be of some use and comfort to my royal mistress, whose many virtues had long secured my warmest attachment. It was nearly dark before I could leave

London, and the ground was covered with snow; but no obstacle should have deterred me from going to Kew that night, and I was well rewarded by the pleasure my alacrity in obeying her summons seemed to give the Queen.

I shall now continue my narrative by giving extracts from my letters to my Lord, which I desired him to keep for that purpose; and I shall also give extracts from those I received from him, and from the General, and Mrs. Harcourt, all of whom sent me daily accounts of what was passing in London. To these I shall occasionally add a short outline of the proceedings in Parliament.

My first letter was to my Lord, and was written on the 26th of December :—

“The King was less calm yesterday from the irritation the blisters caused, and from having a cold, with a slight degree of fever. The night was not good, yet they say he lay so quiet that sometimes they hardly knew whether he was asleep or not; he is hoarse, and had still some

fever this morning, but he is good humoured; his legs are less inflamed, and seem inclined to heal, and upon the whole Willis is satisfied with the way he is going on. He said this morning that he would see no physicians but the Willises. Sir George Baker has complied with this wish, but, I suppose, it must not be mentioned.

"The Prince and the Duke of York were here yesterday; they tried to seem at their ease, but probably would have liked a private better than a general conversation, and have preferred seeing the Queen alone rather than in the presence of the Princesses, Lady Charlotte Finch, and myself.

"You will guess how eager we are for the event of this day; send me an account of what you hear and observe, and how those about whom there are doubts voted, as the Dukes of Grafton and Marlborough and Lord Lansdown, and what parts Lord Jersey and my brother take. The Queen did not desire me to ask for this information, but I am sure she will like to have it, for she was eager for a similar account of the House of Commons; and, indeed, it is material for her to know who are, and who are not friends. You know you may depend upon my being cautious in repeating anything you tell me. I was received here like a real friend, and am treated with a degree of kindness and confidence that add to my attachment."

Earl Harcourt, December 26th :—

"I would visit you to-morrow if the additional fall of snow had not made the road almost impassable. The House of Lords, in the memory of those Peers who have sat longest in it, was never seen so full as yesterday. We divided it ten minutes after twelve—99 against 66. Lord Camden went away after an admirable speech, or we should have been 100. The Duke of Marlborough's proxy was left with Lord Stafford, but proxies were not called for, so his good intention was of no use. Lord Louvaine was with us, and Lord Romney, whose vote is always a credit to whatever party he gives it.

"Among the minor speakers Lord Rawdon did very well, but the Chancellor tore all his arguments to pieces with as much ease as a giant would tear a sheet of silver paper; the Chancellor, indeed, spoke in a superior style of *real argument* and manliness, particularly in that part which related to the Prince of Wales, in which he proved that he was, in fact, far more a friend to the true interest of his Royal Highness than those who courted his favour on the present occasion. The conclusion of Lord Carlisle's speech was decent, respectful, and expressive of feeling for the King. Lord Abingdon, as usual, was short, singular, and bold; his advice to the Prince very good, and



his zeal both for the person of the King and the Constitution of the country equally conspicuous. Lord Lansdown always speaks well, but generally with some disapprobation of the very measures he votes for. This was the case last night. Lord Loughborough is grown almost as tedious, prolix, and tiresome as Lord Stormont. The Duke of Gloucester was not in the House; the Dukes of York and Cumberland voted with the Opposition, so did many others who ought to have supported the King, from whom they had received favours. You will easily believe that I had particular pleasure in appearing in his Majesty's uniform."

Kew, December 28th, to Lord Harcourt :—

"The King has had six hours' sleep, and been quiet the remainder of the night; this morning he asked for his breakfast, and expressed a wish that the Queen might breakfast with him. Willis said, 'Sir, you are so much better, and so calm now, that it would be wrong to risk anything that might agitate you; a little patience, and the Queen will always breakfast with you.'

"The King answered, 'You are in the right.' Last night the Doctor said to me, 'His Majesty is recovering, while they are disputing about plans,

and we shall kick all their castles into the dust.' When Sir Lucas Pepys came this evening he was astonished at the change since Wednesday, and candid enough to own that he was so; he is now so satisfied that all will end well, that he said, that if there should be such a return of violence as to make it necessary for the strait-waistcoat to be worn for a fortnight, it would not shake his opinion; for he saw that the mind was only deranged, and had received no injury, that what he had most feared was the sinking into a state of imbecility, which he was now convinced there was no reason to apprehend.

"Young Willis has just told me that the *man* would *soon* be well, but that he could not answer for the *delay* 'rubs' might throw in the way of the *King*. Tell your brother that I have given the Willises their lesson; it was hardly necessary, for the old man *knew* G—. The Queen was much pleased with what I read of your letter, and with what you said of the Chancellor; it is a comfort for her to have such a man to advise her."

December 28th, half-past one, to Lord Harcourt :—

"As I have a second opportunity of sending a letter, I will write one line to tell you, that about twelve Willis came to the Queen to say, that, in

the hope of seeing her, the King shaved and dressed, and he thought it better to indulge than disappoint him. She went, therefore, and stayed an hour in his room; she thought he looked thin and ill; he was tolerably composed, but very unwilling to part with her, wishing to make conditions, and wanting her to promise to return to dinner. This the Doctor would not consent to. I have just been to the Doctor's room, and find that his Majesty has been much agitated since this interview. I am sorry it was risked, but Willis says it will do no harm, and he likes to know the degree of strength the mind gains by occasionally trying it."

Earl of Harcourt, December 28th :—

"Though it is too late for my letter to go to-night, I will begin it, as I am impatient to thank you for both yours of this day. I tremble at the consequences the interview may have, but if the King passes the night quietly the event will prove that the experiment was not so rash as my fears represented it; but much will Dr. Willis be blamed by his numerous enemies, if the King's disorder should return with any degree of violence.

"Lord Louvaine has surely engrossed to his own share all the Percy and Seymour blood of the family, and left only that of the Smithsons

to his brother. He, (the true Percy, I mean,) who had some reason to be displeased with Mr. Pitt, went up to him the other day in the House of Lords, and asked him what was the method to be pursued by a Member of Parliament who wanted to vacate his seat by taking the Chiltern Hundreds. This question was received by the Minister with that cold ungraciousness of manner that has offended so much; but his countenance soon changed when Lord Louvaine informed him that his reason for asking was, to desire his nomination of a member to represent one of his boroughs. I must add, that a negotiation had been entered into for the sale of this borough previous to the calamity of the King's illness, and at the price of £35,000; but as soon as he heard of that event, he broke it off by saying, 'That though such a sum would be useful as a provision for his younger children, these were times when no private, no, not even family considerations, should be attended to, if the public good was concerned.'

"Lord Parker has been sent for, and threats thrown out, unless his father would vote against the present measures; to which the latter answered, he was an independent Peer, and as such he should vote. A person, whose conduct you and I lament, started the other day when I told him that on leaving the Duke of Gloucester, I had said to him, 'I am happy to find, Sir, that *you*



will not desert the King.' There are great jealousies, as I foretold there would be, amongst the leaders of the Opposition. The Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam are much offended at the negotiations between the Prince and Mr. Fox, relative to the securing Lord Carteret in the office he now holds, and have declared they never will consent to Mr. Sheridan's being put into possession of any of the places to which the disposal of the public money belongs; add to all this, that, were all the places double in number, and survivances the mode of this country, there would not be a sufficient number to answer the expectations of the several claimants, or the promises that have been held out."

Monday morning, December 29th, to Lord Harcourt:—

"Lady Cecilia Johnston has just been here. She told me she was at the play on Friday; 'God save the King' was played before it began, and at the conclusion was again so loudly called for, that it could not be refused to the wishes of the audience; and the performers came on and sang it, notwithstanding the feeble hisses of a very few individuals, who had received their lesson, and perhaps their pay, to prevent it. The farce, and it was a favourite one, for Mrs. Jordan played

Nell, began, but affection for the King got the better of the love of laughter, and such was the uproar for a repetition of that song that the actors were obliged to retire, and the singers returned again, and were received, Lady Cecilia said, with the most violent plaudits she had *then* ever heard; but she soon heard still louder, for when the verse,

"'O Lord, our God, arise,  
Scatter his enemies,'

began and ended, the clapping, huzzaing, and thumping with sticks exceeded all imagination. From time to time the same party hisses were just heard, but they only served to animate the majority of the audience, and to increase the applause. No crown is so secure upon the head of a King as that to which a nation put their hands to fix it."

Kew, December 29th, to the Earl of Harcourt:—

"The King was certainly less quiet yesterday evening, but they think it was not so much owing to his seeing the Queen as to the being obliged to part with her; he suffered, too, but this they do not choose to have known, from a strong degree of eruption at the bottom of his back, occasioned by his resting upon it, when he was obliged to lay

his legs up and have flannel drawers on, which rubbed and inflamed it; his skin is particularly tender, so that when he went to bed Willis was obliged to dress it with Turner's cerate; he bore the operation well, and made many apologies, with the greatest good humour and good breeding, to the Doctor, for giving him the trouble of doing it himself. The night was tolerably good, and this morning he said he would get up and dress, to see the Queen, as he did yesterday. The Doctor answered, 'Sir, that must not be.' His Majesty answered, 'Then I will not get up to-day.' To this the Doctor made no objection, thinking it might be good for his back and legs, which are going on very well. He has since lain quiet, his pulse is good, there is no whiteness upon his tongue, and at this moment he is enjoying a comfortable sleep. I have this moment left Willis, who told me all I have just repeated, and added that he hoped and thought the evening would be good.

"I have not yet read the debate of Saturday. The Queen was much affected all yesterday with the interview of the morning, and we avoided all conversation that might have led to unpleasant subjects; but she said she would send the paper into my room, and if I have time I will read it, for I am anxious to see the arguments used on each side. If my friend should hereafter have as much

influence as she always might have had if she had chosen to exert it, I think the door to preferment will be fast locked against deserters; and I am sure, if it depended upon me, I should add strength to so just a resolution, however sorry I might be for some individuals. I do not wonder you avoided the Sunday party, you would have been so questioned. Baker had asked for the King to see the Queen before she did, and had been refused, so he could not object to her going yesterday. Have I no chance of a visit from you? How long I may stay here I know not; but I find my visiting you, even for an hour, is out of the question; I cannot write the reasons, but they are good ones."

Earl of Harcourt, December 30th :—

"We had no division this day, but much speaking, and such as I trust I shall never hear again; Lord Kinnoul, Lord Kinnauld, Lord Porchester, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Stormont, and Lord King. The Duke of Richmond spoke twice, but shortly, as nothing new remained to be said on one side, or replied to on the other, except an attack from Lord Stormont on the Administration for their not having communicated with the Prince of Wales, which was treated as a mark of disrespect, but denied to be such by the Duke of



Richmond, who justly observed that, not having any authority whatever, the Ministers, till authorized, could not possibly hold any communication with his Royal Highness on the subject at that time agitating in Parliament, the object of which was to authorize them to hold such communication.

"To shew you to what base artifices our opponents resort, I must mention that Mr. Mason has informed me, that handbills have been posted up in all the towns in his neighbourhood, attributing to Mr. Fox the very sentiments of Mr. Pitt; but in general they have been pulled down, and answers to them affixed, and the almost universal cry goes against the measures the Opposition have attempted. I think the Queen will be pleased to hear the account of the politics of Yorkshire; a loyal attachment of such a county, and so large, is important, and with Lord Fitzwilliam at its head. All persons who are not callous to the feelings of humanity, decency, and respect, reprobate the conduct of Dr. Warren. Lord Warwick in a circle of Lords this day declared, that he believed Warren was the greatest liar upon earth, and that, if he were there present, he would not scruple to say the same to his face. Whenever a good account comes from Kew, though he knows it to be really such, he goes about the town to contradict, and treat it with contempt;

and when an improperly particular account of the various changes in the King's health in the course of the day has been transmitted, he carries it to all his patients. Lord Warwick knows this to be true.

"I am flattered and honoured beyond measure, and so I am sure you will be when you see it, by the little note<sup>e</sup> enclosed in your letter; and I beg you will make my most grateful and dutiful acknowledgments to the illustrious person from whom I *guess* it came, for so distinguished a mark of an approbation, which, setting aside all superiority of rank, any person might be proud to receive."

From the Hon. Mrs. Harcourt, December 30th :—

"We are more than ever anxious for accounts from Kew; if they are not good, the interview the King's friends wish to be often repeated must be deferred; and besides, Lord Suffolk will have a better plea for the motion he has hinted his intention of making, which is evidently pointed at Willis, and meant to prove that Arnold may do better. Sir Lucas Pepys has now said publicly that he does expect to see the King soon at St. James's. I fear, however, that this cold

<sup>e</sup> An anonymous note from the Queen, expressing her approbation at Lord Harcourt's conduct.

weather is against him. Sir William Fordyce has told Lady Margaret that it is not possible to expect much good till the season is milder, and that she might depend upon it that in March an amendment would begin, and go on progressively till the cure was perfect.

"I find it is a measure of the party to say that the Prince from his amiable character retains a friendship for Mrs. Fitzherbert, but that she has not the least remaining influence; that he is quite tired of her, and in love elsewhere, therefore the public need have no further alarm on her account. She adheres steadily to her resolution of not admitting Mr. Fox into her house, and will never forgive the part he took when her name was formerly brought into the House of Commons.

"I hear that the Duke of Gloucester has had great offers made to him, and has rejected them. He says he should feel it impossible, while his brother lives, to owe an obligation to any representative of his power, and in consequence of his refusal he is in complete disgrace.

"The Duke of Queensberry has desired Lord Galloway to take his waiting for him at St. James's. This conduct needs no explanation. Lord Malmesbury on his arrival went directly to Mr. Pitt, told him he was come supposing he might be wanted, drew from him an account of what was doing, and of what was intended, and then went to

Carlton House, and wrote from thence to Mr. Pitt that he had found reason to alter his opinions, and could not have any further connection with him. I hear Mr. Pitt has given him to understand that his conduct has been such that *he* never indeed can again be connected with him. How lately is it that he received from the King the power of voting in the House of Lords, and he has given his first vote against him.

"Two days ago, after Sir George Baker came from Kew, having written the word *better* in the bulletin, he was called to account for it; he made a regular apology, pleading his age and infirmities, which he said made him unable to withstand the worry he suffered; that it was not his opinion, but they had got the better of him, and that since the Queen had been angry with him he was frightened; he added that the King was very bad a day or two before, and described every distressing circumstance.

"When I mentioned Mrs. Fitzherbert, I ought to have added, that Fox says, what he declared in the House two years ago had been given to him in writing; this paper they want to get from him again, but he says he has lost it. He sometimes seems inclined not to take any part in administration. This alarms them, for the Duke of Portland will not undertake to form a government without him. The party is believed to be much



at variance amongst themselves, but Sheridan says, only let us all once get in, and we shall settle the business easily afterwards; he wishes the Prince to promise anything, and take the Regency anyhow, and act when he has it; this he declared to a confidential friend of his own. They are outrageous against Cornwallis; they wanted him before he sailed to the Indies to vacate his seat for Portsmouth, that Erskine might have it; he refused, and it is feared that if the party gets in, they will send somebody to supersede him. Sheridan at present seems so much in the Prince's favour, that the others are very jealous of him."

Kew, Dec. 30, to Lord Harcourt :—

"Do not be alarmed at hearing this morning that the night had not been good. I was only able to leave the Queen long enough to say those few words; I will tell *you* the cause; but Willis's enemies are so ready to catch at everything, that we are obliged, as far as possible, to keep even trifles from being talked of; he thinks that nature often points out, by the strong fancy people take for some particular medicine or diet, what may be of use, and therefore indulged the King in his earnest wish to have some whey and butter-milk; in the course of yesterday he drank at least

a gallon, but, not daring to trust entirely to these liquors, the Doctor gave him castor oil, which he frequently takes at night, and this uniting with what he had drunk, produced the same effect upon him, that the same cause would produce upon any other person; of course, his sleep was interrupted, but he is not the worse for it to-day; on the contrary, Willis says that his symptoms of approaching recovery increase, particularly he likes a sort of fretful peevishness that usually attends convalescence.

"Your account from Yorkshire, and of what passed at the theatre, pleased the Queen. Continue to send us any anecdotes you hear; it is of consequence to us to know what passes, and how people seem to be disposed to the cause."

Having brought the extracts from the letters I wrote and received down to the end of the year 1788, I will now give a short account of the proceedings in Parliament to the same period. I have mentioned that on the 23rd of December the resolution had been read and referred to a Committee of the whole House, appointed to take into consideration the state of the nation. On

the 26th, a discussion took place in the House of Lords on the resolutions, and the restrictions to be put on the power of the Regent.

The Duke of Richmond said, that high as his confidence in the Prince of Wales was, he considered restrictions to be necessary, as without them he would have the power of removing his Majesty's servants, nay, even his physicians; of seizing his wealth, and perverting it from the purpose it had been his intention to apply it to; and that on his recovery, such an alteration in his household, and in the state of his personal property, might have the worst possible effect upon him. He was sure, from the filial affection the Prince had manifested during his Majesty's illness, every care would be taken by his Royal Highness; but he reasoned on the possibility of the case, and it was the duty of their Lordships to guard against the abuse of power to which, from the infirmity of human nature, every man is liable.

The Chancellor begged to know what the term "Regent" meant, he knew not where to look for an explanation of it; to what end, then, address the Prince to take upon himself an office the boundaries of which were by no means ascertained. What was meant by the Executive Government? did it mean all the royal authority, all the sovereign functions, without restrictions or limitations of any kind whatever? If it did, it amounted to dethroning his Majesty, and wresting the sceptre out of his hand; would any lord contend that such an act ought to be voted in that House? He conceived that the great Council of the nation assembled in Parliament had the best right to find means to supply the defect in the exercise of the royal authority. He praised the noble qualities of the Prince of Wales, but said there might be heirs-apparent whose lives might have afforded reasons to the two Houses for setting them aside from the regency; and he therefore maintained that it was expedient that Parliament should not abandon such



a power, nor, under the circumstances of the case, avoid avowing it to be their right.

Lord Lansdown wished that, instead of discussing the propriety of putting the Great Seal to the Commission, Ministers had in the first instance acted on such a Commission. Some risk would have been run, but great officers were created for the purpose of doing great and important acts; if they would run no hazard, they had no business to fill such situations; and he was sure that the two Houses were fully competent to the acquitting of any ministers who had in such an emergency put the Great Seal to a Commission constituting them a Parliament.

The resolutions were then voted for, and carried by a majority of 33.

After a short debate, on the 29th of December, the resolutions were finally agreed to, and a Committee appointed to inform the Commons thereof at a conference. A strong protest against agreeing to them was signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland, and six other Peers. The proceedings of the

two Houses were not beheld with indifference by the nation. The friends of the Ministers were active, and successful in procuring addresses from a considerable majority of the counties and corporations of the kingdom in approbation of the measures proposed by them; on the other hand, petitions were presented from the counties of Northumberland and Southampton, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the proposed plan, and the principles on which it was founded.

The almost sudden death of the Speaker of the House of Commons, who was taken ill on the 29th of December, occasioned an adjournment of some days. During that interval Mr. Pitt communicated to the Prince of Wales the plan formed for the Constitution of the Regency, and, at his Royal Highness's desire, gave it to him in writing. It stated, that it was the opinion of Parliament that he should be empowered to exercise the royal authority during the King's illness in the name and on the be-

half of his Majesty, and to do all such acts that might be legally done by the King; but that the care of the royal person, and the management of the royal household, with the direction and appointment of the servants therein, should be vested in the Queen, under such regulations as might be thought necessary. That the power to be exercised by his Royal Highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the King, excepting as far as related to the renewal of leases, to the granting any office in reversion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, any pension or office whatever, excepting such as by law must be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any person, excepting his Majesty's issue, who should have obtained the age of twenty-one years. Mr. Pitt added, that those were the chief points that had occurred to his Majesty's servants; that their opinions were

formed upon the supposition that the King's illness was only temporary, and might be of no long duration; that it might be difficult beforehand to fix the period for which these provisions ought to last; but that, if unfortunately the King's recovery should be protracted to a more distant time than at present there is reason to expect, the wisdom of Parliament might reconsider the provisions whenever circumstances should appear to make it expedient to do so. Mr. Pitt concluded by saying, that if his Royal Highness wished for any further explanation on the subject he should be ready, on receiving his orders, to attend him, or to give it in any other mode he might be pleased to appoint.

To this letter the Prince delivered his answer to the Chancellor as follows:—

“The Prince has learnt from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings in Parliament are now in a train to enable him to communicate to the Prince the outlines of the plan which his Majesty's confidential servants conceive to be proper to be



proposed under the present circumstances. Concerning the steps taken by Mr. Pitt the Prince is silent. Nothing done by the two Houses of Parliament could be a proper subject for the Prince's animadversion; but if, previous to any discussion in Parliament, the outlines of a scheme of government, in which it is proposed that the Prince shall be personally and principally concerned, and by which the royal authority and the public welfare may be deeply affected, be laid before him, it would be unjustifiable in him were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments, as his silence might be construed into a previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to his father and sovereign, as well as of regard for the public interest, obliges him to consider as injurious to both.

"In the state of deep distress in which the Prince and the whole royal family are involved by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the King; and at a moment when Government, deprived of its chief energy and support, seems peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince that a plan would be offered for his consideration by which Government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any person intended to

represent the King's authority; much less, in the hands of his eldest son, the heir-apparent of the kingdom, and the person most bound to the maintenance of his Majesty's just authority, as well as most interested in the prosperity and glory of the people. The Prince forbears to remark on the several parts of the sketch of the plan laid before him; he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the probability of any argument of his producing an alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it.

"The Prince trusts with confidence in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, when the whole of this subject, and the circumstances connected with it, shall come under their deliberation. The Prince observes, therefore, only generally, upon the heads communicated to him by Mr. Pitt. It is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of Mr. Pitt's paper a project for dividing the royal family from each other; for separating the Court from the State; and, by disjoining Government from its natural and accustomed support, for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by rewards. Thus allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of Government, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour,



or benignity. The Prince's feelings, on contemplating this plan, are also rendered still more painful to him by observing, that it is not founded upon any general principle, but that it is calculated to infuse jealousy and suspicion, wholly groundless he trusts, amongst those whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

"With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe. No light or information is offered him by his Majesty's Ministers on these points; they have informed him what the powers are which they mean to refuse him, not why they are withheld. The Prince holds that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this Constitution, that powers and prerogatives are vested in the Crown as a trust for the benefit of the people; and that those powers are sacred, only as they are necessary to the preservation of such a poise and balance of power as experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject. The Prince must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which could justify the extinction or suppression of any one of the essential attributes of kingly power, or which could justify the Prince in consenting that in his person an experiment should

be made, to ascertain with how small a portion of the prerogative the Executive Government of the country could be carried on. If so be, that to obtain security for his Majesty's repossessing his rightful Government whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to this country, to remove the calamity with which the King is afflicted, be any part of this plan; the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or could be conducive to such an end, to be the first to urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share. If attention to what is presumed might be his Majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority, and diminished energy; a state hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the Monarch and the rights of his family.

"Upon that part of the plan which regards the King's real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt to suggest to him the restraint



he proposes against the Prince's granting away the King's real or personal property. The Prince does not conceive that during the King's life he is by law entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess any such power. It remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual interests of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of their affairs by others.

"The Prince has discharged an indispensable duty in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration. The Prince's conviction of the evils which may arise to the King's interest, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the Government continuing any longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs, in his mind, every other consideration; and will determine him to undertake the painful task imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity, which, of all his Majesty's subjects, he deplures the most. The Prince will undertake the task, in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the proved attachment to the House of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most critical situation, with credit to himself, with

honour to the King, and with advantage to the public.

"Signed, 'G. P.'"

This letter was delivered to Mr. Pitt on the 1st of January, 1789.

I return to my account of what was passing at Kew, and to the opinions and conversations that were held in London.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 1st, 1789:—

"You know, my dearest Lord, how sincerely I wish you to see many new years, and that each of them may prove a happy one to you. Thank God '88 is over, and '89 sets out well, for the King is better than he has ever yet been. Willis had begged us not to mind his having been less well the last day or two; adding, a storm was always succeeded by fair weather, and that ever since he has attended his Majesty he has found him worse at the beginning, and better at the end of the week. The event has proved him right, and the last storm was slighter, and the present calm greater, than any of the preceding ones. For six hours yesterday evening he not only conversed as well as possible, but was at intervals silent, which shews that he has acquired some command over himself; he went to bed at

his usual time, slept six hours, and observed in the morning that he had only awoke once in the night. He is now very composed, has been talking about his horses, and even naming the stall each stands in. In the course of yesterday evening he seemed to be very sensible of the nature of his disorder, and enquired how long it was likely to last; he played twelve games at backgammon, kept up his attention, and was not fatigued. Willis says he wishes a drawing could be made, with the bulletin written upon the snow, melting away by degrees till all the *rats* are drowned in it.

"You may communicate this good account of the King to the Duke of Gloucester, but I wish him not to say that he has ever had any news from me; for every trifle is made of consequence, and what goes from hence no bigger than a flea, returns to us the size of an elephant.

"Warren has just said that he left the Speaker with the cold sweat of death upon him. I fear his loss at this time will add to the difficulties Ministers have to encounter. I pressed Dr. John Willis very much this morning upon the subject of the King's general health. He assured me it was good: 'a certain degree of low fever,' he said, 'attends, or rather perhaps occasions, his complaint; but that it is of no importance, and that his pulse has never been so good as during the two last

days.' The King told him that it was strange that till he and his father came, he had never been informed how ill he was. Dr. John answered, 'Perhaps, Sir, you would not have believed the other physicians.' 'Perhaps not,' he replied; 'I have passed my life in a Court, and with political persons in such a place, and from such men, one seldom hears the truth; you and your father come from the country, and are used to being sincere.'

"Could better sense be spoken? When Warren was with him, he took up a Tully that lay upon the table, and, having read a sentence in Latin, construed it perfectly well; he asked if he was right, saying, 'that he had never been a good Latin scholar, and was afraid he had forgotten the little he once knew, but he would try to regain it.' He talked not only sensibly, but kindly, to Warren about his family; yet that man had the heart to come out of his room as determined as ever to assert, that while there was the least derangement he could not allow that there was any amendment."

Earl of Harcourt, January 1st:—

"Your favourable account of the King is particularly satisfactory, as alarming reports of his bodily health have been circulated in town.



There has been a strange one at Oxford of his singular manner when there. You know that when he was with us at Nuneham, the peasants were surprised to see him without his crown and sceptre, having been accustomed to see kings so represented upon sign-posts; and perhaps the benign condescension of his Majesty to every person around him, his taking off his hat to whoever bowed to him, and the easy familiarity with which he treated his nobility, might be taken for symptoms of derangement of mind by those who have read Wood's account of James the Second's last visit to Oxford, where he went to conciliate the minds of the University; and with royal pride never lost an opportunity of displaying in rude speeches the haughtiness of his disposition.

"The illness of the Speaker at this moment is unfortunate; but he is known not to be well affected to the present administration. Had their opponents carried their point respecting the Regency, it would have put into the power of any ambitious heir hereafter, who might perhaps be only a distant cousin of the then reigning king, to assume all the prerogatives of royalty the first time the sovereign kept his bed with a fever, or was prevented from writing his name by having the gout or rheumatism in his hand."

From the Honourable Mrs. Harcourt :—

"The General is vexed that he is not well enough to resume his attendance at Kew. I have just got the following note: 'At Cumberland House last night there were mostly men in opposition, they were violent in their language, but not in spirits. The Duke asked of her son-in-law, if the Duchess of Ancaster had been at Kew, and how things really were; he answered that she knew nothing about them. This was said with a sneer. The Duchess of Cumberland said that Mr. Pitt was deservedly popular, for that he did the cause he had undertaken much service; whereas the speakers on their side too often did them harm. I heard the Duke give an account of the pages, and found Ernest the man they most depended on; he said he was their steady one, but that latterly his hand was so known that he got another to direct his letters, unless he could give them unseen to *Warren*. He mentioned another they heard from, but I could not ask the name without exciting suspicion. Lord Westmoreland and Lord Walsingham were there, and said it was as pitiable to see the long faces at that assembly, as it was delightful to see the happy ones in the streets, from the hope now felt of the King's amendment.'

"Burke was more wild than ever the other day. The Princes and Warren always threaten that they will see the Queen alone, but I fancy they dare not propose it. Warren's intentions of seeing the King by himself will probably be equally fruitless. A story he told in London some days since gained credit; he said he asked to go in to the King, but that Willis seemed unwilling that he should do so, saying, that the King was quiet, and that it would disturb him; but that he had insisted, and found his Majesty remarkably ill, which he then knew was the reason of Willis's refusal. Such falsehoods will be repeated, unless Warren be dismissed. I fear there is little doubt of his principles. He will always plague the Willises, and with minds ill at ease may not they be less able to do good? His being the Chancellor's physician is a misfortune, for he depends on his protection."

From the Earl of Harcourt, Jan. 2nd:—

"My brother is still confined with the gout, he wishes to be at Kew, and I wish you had the comfort of having him with you; for I am sure the having a man you can confide in, and who is truly attached to the King and Queen, is very necessary to you in your present situation.

"The Speaker is dead, but it is said that there

will be no difficulty about the appointing his successor. There are two precedents, one at the Restoration, the other at the Revolution, when Speakers were chosen without the choice being confirmed by the King. I cannot desire you to return as long as you can be of use where you are, and where you owe so much for the esteem and confidence with which you are treated."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 2nd:—

"A thousand thanks for your letter. I was just going to send Maurice to town with one for your brother when it came, and purposed also writing to you. The King is going on as well as possible. When John Willis went to London yesterday he bid him call upon the Chancellor, and tell him he was better. In the evening he played three games at picquet, with as much judgment as he could have done at any time. He told the Willises that he was convinced their advice was good, that he had found benefit from it, and would never again drink those large draughts of cold weak liquors, which he believed to have been one of the causes of his illness; he settled the size of the glass he would drink out of, and adhered to it; he slept well, his bed was not more deranged this morning than when he went into it, and the Willises and his pages think him better. Not so



that detestable Warren, he sent up the bulletin by General Gordon<sup>f</sup>, without any expression in it that would lead the world to think there was any amendment. The Queen ordered the General to say, that as she had submitted to the harsh and alarming expressions that had been used, because she supposed they contained the truth; the same love of sincerity made her now wish, that those who were anxious about the King should know the favourable change in his situation.

"Warren begged to be admitted into her Majesty's presence, and was received with a courage and dignity that charmed me. Intimidated, hesitating, and embarrassed, yet firm to the plan he has always pursued, he said that while any insanity remained, he could not see that there was any material alteration; that if a man was perfectly reasonable for twenty-three hours, and deranged during the other hour of the twenty-four, he considered him in the same light as if he had no lucid intervals. The Queen told him she had understood that he had passed some time with the King, did he judge from the conversation he had with him that he was in the same state as when he had formerly seen him? He answered that he formed his opinion partly from what he had

<sup>f</sup> The Groom of the Bedchamber in waiting.

seen, and partly from what he had heard; and all that could be gained was, that he would add to the bulletin, that his Majesty was in a comfortable state this morning. After he left the room, we thought it advisable to desire him to say from whom he had the information he had alluded to; and Lady Charlotte Finch went down with me to enquire. He named Charles Hawkins, the surgeon, for whom I immediately sent, but gained no satisfactory account. I asked Warren what he thought of the King's bodily health, and he said it was good; and good, thank God it must be, if *he* owns it. You may guess how distressed I was when I found myself obliged to have such a conference with him upon so important a subject. I should be glad never to see him again; the Queen has told me she never will; to do him justice, he was respectful in his manner to her, and constrained the rage that evidently shook his frame when I saw him again below stairs."

As there is much conversation at this time in the world, and many reports have gone forth respecting the interview between her Majesty and Dr. Warren; we, who were present at it, think it our duty to try to recollect, as nearly as possible, every circumstance that happened, and every expression

that was made use of, and to commit them to writing; so that, in case we are called upon, either privately or publicly, to speak upon this subject, we may be enabled to do it with accuracy and precision.

On Friday the 2nd January, 1789, when General Gordon brought the bulletin to the Queen, her Majesty said, that as she had heard that the King was much better, she thought the physicians might have said in the bulletin that the King *continued mending*, and wished to have those words added. General Gordon carried this message to the physicians, and returned with a request from Dr. Warren to be admitted to the Queen. Upon his entrance, her Majesty said, "I think you might have conveyed what you have to say by General Gordon;" and added, "how do you find the King this morning?" Dr. Warren replied, that he found his Majesty quiet, but that he was sorry to say he perceived no amendment. The Queen asked him whether he observed anything wrong during the time he was in the King's room.

Warren said he was disturbed; and upon being desired to explain what he meant by that word, answered that the King had cried very much. "If you call that being disturbed," said the Queen, "then, indeed, is the whole house disturbed." She inquired what the nature of his Majesty's conversation had been, and was answered that it had been partly in Latin; and that he had read some passages, construing parts of them, and asking if he was right. The Queen saying that she did not think that this gave any strong proof of a great derangement of mind, the Doctor added, that he had formed his judgment that day, partly from his interview with the King, *and partly from what he had heard previous to it*, and that he was sure her Majesty wished him to speak the *truth*. The Queen in the strongest manner asserted her love of truth, and her wish of making it known to the world; that this alone had made her consent to the bad accounts that had been published; and the same motive now made her most anxious that the world



should share the comfort she felt in the amendment which she had reason to believe had begun to take place. The Doctor would not allow that the amendment *was* begun, but said he hoped the King was in a *comfortable state, tending towards recovery*.

A conversation then ensued upon the disorder, and upon what changes must happen before the Doctor would allow that there was an actual amendment; he did not seem to consider the present very considerable abatement of the most alarming symptoms in the light of recovery; and urged, that while the King should in the course of the twenty-four hours say or do anything that he would not have said or done before his illness, he should continue to consider him as insane as ever. The Queen declared herself unconvinced by his arguments; but said she would take his own words, and wished that "*His Majesty is in a more comfortable state*" should be added to the bulletin. She then dismissed Dr. Warren, telling him that it was not her intention to see him again.

After Dr. Warren left the Queen, she recollected that he had not said from whom he had heard, previous to his seeing his Majesty, that the King had appeared deranged this morning, and her Majesty ordered us to go down and ask that question. Dr. Warren named Mr. Charles Hawkins. We informed the Queen of this, and were directed to ask Mr. Hawkins, in Dr. Warren's presence, what he had said. When Mr. Hawkins came into the room, Dr. Warren told him the occasion of his being sent for, and added, "I believe you will not think it proper to repeat to these ladies what the King said." Mr. Hawkins answered, "Certainly not." A little warmth arose between the physicians upon the subject of the King's being better or not; Dr. Warren asserting that, while he held such language at any time in the twenty-four hours, he should not think him better; and Dr. Willis and his son maintaining, that a person who was able to converse rationally for a great part of the day, must necessarily be in a better state than

one who had no such intervals. Dr. Warren declared that he had given his opinion, and that he could not depart from it. Dr. Willis thought such an opinion against common sense. Dr. Warren answered, "Then you say I have not common sense." Dr. Willis replied, "Upon this occasion you have sacrificed your common sense." Dr. Warren called upon us to bear witness to what had been uttered, and said, "That, having given his sentiments, he should make no further answer;" in which he persisted.

We expressed our concern at the unpleasant situation of things, and our earnest wish that there might soon be but one opinion upon the state of his Majesty's health.

Besides those who have been named, there were present, General Gordon and Dr. Reynolds, but they took no part in the conversation.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Jan. 3rd :—

"Dr. Willis carried Colonel Greville into the King's room last night; he was pleased with see-

ing him, but rather flurried; the bulletin, therefore, says he was less calm. He certainly played at back-gammon less well with the Colonel than he had before done with the Willises. The interview, however, did him no harm, for he had five hours' quiet sleep, and is tolerably well this morning, though he is always less well when he first gets up. We expect the Chancellor every moment, and when he comes I must go down. His business to-day is to settle with the Queen a plan he proposed yesterday, in consequence of the disputes between the physicians: it is to give Willis the power to refuse signing the bulletin, if at any time it be drawn up in such terms as he may not approve of. He is also to be at liberty to write to the Chancellor, the Prince, or any other person he chooses, stating that the other gentlemen of the faculty have given opinions which he cannot agree with; because, after passing the whole of the day with his Majesty, he sees reasons for arriving at different conclusions from those who have only seen the King for a quarter-of-an-hour.

"I like this plan; it will prevent future alterations; it cannot be objected to by those who would have been offended by the dismissal of the regular physicians, and the public will have the different opinions before them, and, in some degree, be enabled to judge for themselves.

"The Speaker's death is an awkward circum-



stance ; in fact, we have now no Government ; neither the King nor the Parliament can act. I fear the Opposition have a better plea than ever to excite the Prince to take some violent step. I have availed myself of being able to command a quarter-of-an-hour to begin this letter ; I will finish it, if I have another moment, in the course of the morning.

"Four o'clock.—The Chancellor has been here ; but I suppose he has been seduced by the evil spirit, Warren, for he does not seem disposed to conform to what he said last night ; at the same time, he has not contradicted what he then directed. God help us ! I dislike many things that passed, and dread the poor Queen's sinking under all the sorrow and vexation she undergoes. I endeavour to give her the comfort I cannot feel. Willis is so hurt, that he has just told me that nothing but attachment to her and the King should induce him to stay here ; everybody seems to counteract him. The page you used to like, because you thought he loved his master, has behaved ill again. I am the only person with whom the Willises feel safe ; I hear their grievances ; I lament, but know not how to redress them. I believe I shall resolve on desiring the Queen to send for Colonel Digby ; this you must not tell your brother, lest it should make him come before he is quite well ; and his being here for an hour

or two, and more he cannot be till he is again in waiting, would be of little use to us. As Digby is Vice-Chamberlain, his staying would not be thought improper."

Upon Sunday, the 4th of January, it was again Dr. Warren's turn to attend at Kew as visiting physician. When I, as usual, went down to ask from the Queen the state of the King's health, I found General Gordon, Colonel Greville, Dr. Warren, Dr. Gisborne, the two Dr. Willises, and one or two other persons, sitting around the breakfast-table in the equerry's room. In answer to my questions, Dr. Warren said, that, having found the gentlemen at breakfast, he had been unwilling to disturb them until they had finished, conceiving that it was not material whether they went into his Majesty's room a few minutes sooner or later ; but that they were ready to go that moment, if I thought the Queen desired it. I replied, "By no means, I am sure the Queen would wish the gentlemen to finish their breakfast, and that I would inform her Majesty that

I had told them so." The Queen approved of what I had done, and in about an hour I again went down stairs. All the physicians were then together in the consultation-room, and Dr. Warren having answered my inquiry in nearly the same words which were afterwards repeated in the bulletin, I was retiring, when he followed me, saying, that he hoped the Queen was not displeased with him. Concluding that this question referred to what had passed that morning, and that he was afraid he had offended her Majesty by sitting down to breakfast previous to his visiting the King, and so obliging her to send twice before she could obtain an answer to her message; I answered, "Oh no, I told the Queen what had passed, and she was very well satisfied."

*This* was the whole of our conversation; yet *this* is what Dr. Warren chose afterwards to represent to the world in the light of an apology made to him by me for the Queen; and this is what he meant when he declared in his evidence, that when he

returned to Kew, after Friday, the 2nd of January, he was treated with more civility and respect than had been shewed to him before. When I heard this circumstance, I was so struck with it, that I asked Dr. John Willis, who had been present, whether he had at the moment conceived that what Dr. Warren had said on the Sunday had borne any reference to what had passed on the Friday before, or was simply confined to the transaction of that morning; he answered, "I did understand it as referring only to what had just happened, and as a proof that *at the time* Dr. Warren himself had no other meaning, he added, after your ladyship had shut the door, 'You know, gentlemen, it was not my fault; it was you who wanted to breakfast, not I.'"

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 4th:—

"I finished my letter last night in great haste, to send it by your servant, and afterwards I pressed the sending for Digby; but motives of delicacy prevented the Queen from doing what appears to



me so necessary; I fear, however, that I shall be obliged to urge it again. Dr. Willis sent to beg to see me this morning, his object was to tell me how ill Ernest had again behaved, and to consult with me what should be done. Unwilling to torment the Queen, who has been almost overpowered by the events of the last two days, I thought it best to try once more whether he would profit by the strong lesson the Doctor had just given him; if not, I must inform her Majesty, and advise her, as far as relates to the pages, to empower Colonel Greville to settle all such dissensions in future; as Equerry to the King, he will be stationary here for some time. I choose to decline speaking to Ernest myself, thinking it a business quite improper for a woman to engage in; and well knowing that to such a man nothing that could be said by a woman would have any effect. Added to this, my interference would subject me to misrepresentations that might be disagreeable.

"When I went down to the physicians this morning, Warren was not *le petit médecin* whom I have seen drinking tea with fine ladies, but respectful; and I think seemed humbled by the scene of Friday, yet firm to the same opinion he had then given. Willis, who really always speaks as he thinks, said in addition to the report of the other physicians, that to him the King appeared less well bodily; but that his being so did not

make him uneasy. When I saw him later in the morning, he told me the irritation was gone off, and his Majesty was as well, if not better, than he has been yet."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 5th:—

"I find Willis has taken a hint from my having told him that if he had any fresh cause of complaint, I would desire the Queen to order Colonel Greville to speak to Ernest; and he has himself spoken to the Colonel, who has promised to take care that the attendants shall do their duty, and properly too; so the good old Doctor is easier, and I have one distress off my mind. I could not have borne the idea of a repetition of such scenes; I could not myself have interfered without impropriety, and I dreaded adding to the misery of the Queen. Ernest not only sat down in the room with the King with his hat on, but told Willis he did many things out of *charity*. Willis advised him to substitute the word *gratitude*, but I fancy that is one he does not understand the meaning of. Ernest was a child when his father died, and the King then said that he would not take another page in his room till the boy was old enough to have the place. He did appoint him at an early age, and has ever treated him with the greatest kindness.

"I am sorry to add, that I am uneasy about old Willis. In the interview I have just had with him, he appeared thoughtful and dejected, though he said he was satisfied with respect to the King. Upon his leaving the room, I mentioned what I had remarked to his two sons; they both agreed with me, and said that he was used to a great deal of air and exercise, and to having a quiet mind. All he now had to think of and to struggle with would, they feared, be too much for him; and that having no gentlemen to speak with confidentially, or to support him, made his situation very distressing. Upon hearing this, I took it upon myself to desire Mr. Thomas Willis to come and reside here, that he may be ready to attend to his father, when Dr. John Willis is with his Majesty. Both the brothers seemed pleased with my proposal, and I shall settle the arrangement with the Queen. Zeal for the King, and humanity for the old man and his family, suggested the idea.

"The Queen wishes to name Mr. Pitt as one of her Council, but cannot do so unless she can satisfy the scruples he entertains upon the subject. These scruples appear to arise from his thinking that, in the decision of the various questions that may be brought forward, and particularly with respect to the question of his Majesty's being able to resume the reins of government, the public

mind would be better satisfied, if it rested on opinions other than his own, as he might be supposed to be influenced by the wish of becoming minister again."

The Honourable Mrs. Harcourt, January 6th :—

"It is hoped that there will be no difficulty in choosing Mr. Grenville for the new Speaker on Monday next. The Opposition wish to propose Sir Gilbert Elliot, or Sir Guy Cooper, but are not likely to succeed. Lord Fielding has just been here, he insisted upon coming in, but we punished him for his intrusion by telling him nothing, and gaining all the information we could from him of the plans of his party.

"The Duke of Portland is intended to be the First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Rawdon, and Mr. Fox, Secretaries of State; Lord Stormont, Privy Seal; Sir Guy Cooper, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Sandwich, to go Ambassador to France; Lord Malmesbury, to Spain; and Lord Beauchamp<sup>s</sup> to Holland; Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief; Sir Robert Keith, Captain-General; Lord Robert Spencer, and Lord Foley, Postmasters; Mr. Burke, Paymaster of the Army; Mr. Sheridan, Paymaster of

<sup>s</sup> Son of the Earl of Hertford.



the Navy; Mr. Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War; Lord Spencer, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Duke of Norfolk, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Duke of Northumberland, Master of the Ordnance; Lord Derby, Chamberlain to the Prince; General Burgoyne, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; Lord Maynard, Master of the Staghounds. He added, that he does not believe that at present the Opposition will propose a Speaker, because they pretend that none can be legally appointed till there is a Regent.

"They are angry that the King's private property is to be taken care of. A person I know, heard Fox the other day, in a mixed society in the house of an acquaintance, talking with great delight of the use to which they would apply it. General Harcourt's friend said, 'In this house I can do nothing; but say as much in the House of Commons, and I will impeach you.'

"*The party* are trying to seduce the editors of the newspapers that have hitherto been favourable to the Government. They have succeeded with three out of the four who conduct the 'Morning Post'; the other, not being able to stand his ground against his partners, has sold his share in the concern."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 7th:—

"If I had written at an early hour to-day, I must have sent you a very indifferent account; but the fidgetiness, as they call it, is gone off, and the King is as well as he has been any day yet; the Willises, you know, have always talked of *periodical storms*, and they say that if his being less well yesterday and this morning should be all the storm we have this week, it will be a proof of as great an amendment as they can even wish for; that were it in their power to have his Majesty as perfectly well to-morrow as ever he was in his life, they would not desire it, for that his recovery, to be permanent, must be gradual and progressive.

"Dr. Gisborne told the Princesses this morning that the King had gained a great deal of ground in the last few days; and I have had a conversation with one of his pages, an attached sensible man, who has attended him throughout his illness, that has given me great satisfaction. He said, 'God knows his Majesty is far, very far, from being well, but I am firmly convinced he is essentially better within the last week; at the times when he is worst, he is less violent than he used to be, and when he is calm he continues so longer; he has more command over himself, and is more

willing to listen to advice, and to follow it ; and I am persuaded that he will recover, and that perfectly.'

"We are all better to-day ; the unpleasant circumstances that occurred on Friday and yesterday were almost too much for the Queen, and I was very uneasy about her ; yet the fortitude she exerts is wonderful ; it does not proceed from insensibility, for, believe me, she feels, and most acutely too. One of my greatest distresses is, to decide what I ought to mention to her, and what I ought to suppress. I hope the rule I have laid down for myself is right, never to give her pain unnecessarily, but never to conceal anything that, upon consideration, I think she should be informed of. I trust that those who are now struggling for power, will only be dressed in a little brief authority."

I must go back to the day before the date of this letter, to resume my account of the proceedings in Parliament ; for it was on the 6th of January that Mr. Pitt, having given notice that he should propose to the Houses the restrictions under which the exercise of the royal power should be granted to the Regent, made a motion for

the physicians to be again examined, to ascertain whether any change had taken place in his Majesty's malady. This occasioned a warm debate, and a change of Ministry was immediately expected in consequence of the appointment of the Prince of Wales to the Regency. As the restrictions which Mr. Pitt had declared his intention of proposing, could not fail to weaken and embarrass a new Administration, and were only contended for upon a presumption of the King's speedy recovery, the Opposition caught at a report that then prevailed, of there being a difference in the opinions of the medical gentlemen who attended him. Dr. Warren was known to profess that his were less sanguine than those of some of his associates. Mr. Pitt considered this statement to be dictated by partiality for the rising power, and hinted that the warmth with which the idea was taken up, gave reason to suppose that the supporters of it spoke rather from their wishes, than from any convictions they felt. These insinua-



tions were repelled as unjust and illiberal; and in return Dr. Willis, who was confident in his expectations of effecting a cure, and consequently the favourite of the other party, was represented as a tool employed to serve the designs of Mr. Pitt's faction.

After much altercation it was agreed, that a new Committee should be appointed, and the physicians again examined. The Committee sat till the 13th, when upon the report being brought up, Mr. Wyndham moved that it should be re-committed; the opinions of the different physicians as to the probability of the King's recovery not having been sufficiently explained. This was negatived without a division, and the report ordered to be taken into consideration in a Committee of the whole House on the 6th of January.

I again return to what was passing at Kew and in private societies in London.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 5th:—

"The pages have made no fresh disturbances, and the Queen approved of what I had done about Mr. Thomas Willis; but we both thought, upon further consideration, that the step must be taken with precaution. His being made an absolute inmate of the house, without assigning any reason for it, might give umbrage to those who are already sufficiently disposed to find fault; if the true reason were known, it would immediately be said, that the old man is superannuated, and that his son is wanted to take care of him. Mr. Thomas Willis is therefore to lodge in the town, but to be almost constantly here.

"Mr. Pitt seemed in good spirits this morning, and I still hope all will end well. The advertisement you sent me is a most extraordinary one, and I cannot guess what purpose it was intended to answer, unless it be to raise an alarm in some one, who may think it worth while to pay a good sum to stop the publication.

"I am pleased with the ray of Lord Mansfield's setting sun, and think it would enlighten many if they did not wilfully shut their eyes. The event of to-morrow is important; in your House, I find, there is to be no business till Monday, when I shall be satisfied if it makes as good a figure as it did in the last debate."

From Lord Harcourt, January 5th :—

"Fox and Sheridan are certainly not upon good terms; jealousy, and the wish of the latter to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, are the occasion of it. I suppose you know the reason of Lord Stormont's not signing the late absurd and dangerous protest was the displeasure expressed by Lord Mansfield at the vote he gave on the division."

Mrs. Harcourt, Tuesday, January 6th :—

"There is a vile report that comes from Warren, that the Chancellor has been at Kew and scolded Willis heartily for his bad behaviour, and that the Queen had sent you down to Warren to make him an apology from her. These stories, I know, cannot be true, but they make a great uproar in London."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 6th :—

"I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Pitt this morning, and was delighted with him; he seemed so zealous and attached, and looked as cheerful as if he had not a weight to support that would almost require the strength of an Atlas to bear, with poverty staring him in the face if he fails."

"I am sorry to say that the King was less calm yesterday evening, owing to the irritation the blisters occasioned, and to a cold attended by a slight degree of fever. The night was not good, but he lay so quiet during part of it, that they hardly knew whether he was asleep or not; he is hoarse this morning, has still some fever, but is good-humoured; his legs are less inflamed, and are inclined to heal. On the whole, Willis is satisfied; he seems to love the King, and the opportunities he has had of observing his heavenly temper, add to his zeal. Have I ever told you that even in his present unhappy state, his Majesty's piety is as warm as ever; he never omits his daily prayers, and, however violent he may have been before, the moment he is upon his knees he becomes composed, seems sensible of his situation, and prays to be relieved from it. His devotions finished, he often becomes directly as wild as ever; is not this extraordinary? The kindness and confidence with which I am treated here could alone reconcile me to my absence from home."

Mrs. Harcourt, January 7th :—

"The Duke of York and the Duchess of Gordon have had a great quarrel, but it is made up again; she told him that he and the Prince of Wales



were playing for kingdoms, whilst those into whose hands they had thrown themselves could only lose straws. 'Do you know,' said she, 'what your brother is doing in Ireland? he is trying to make that country take a separate line of conduct from England. That may be easily done, but it will not be easy to restore order again; if they choose their own Regent in their own way, they will next choose their own Lord-Lieutenant.'

"Mr. Harcourt will be at Kew to-morrow; he is now gone to Mr. Pitt, and will see others, to get the fullest information he can of the business in the House yesterday. Many of the speeches, I hear, were insidious and malignant, and the subject was treated in the most indelicate manner by those detestable wretches. May Heaven avert their malice; they will, however, I hope, be taken in their own snares, for it is probable the examination may prove advantageous to the good cause. In the mean time it leaves the King more at the mercy of his enemies; I hope they will be well watched. I tremble when I think that Warren is at Kew; pray do all you can to support Willis, and prevent his spirits from sinking; his son Thomas is alarmed for his health. I fear the Queen will be much affected by this inquiry; let me know how she bears it."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Wednesday,  
January 7th :—

"The little degree of judgment I may possess was never tried as much as it is now; I live in constant dread of forming a wrong one upon occasions when, by so doing, I might mislead others. Yesterday, though in the morning I sent you a tolerable account of the King, was a most distressing day to the poor Queen; I dread her sinking under all she goes through, and think her so ill that I shall press her to have some advice; I try to keep up her spirits, yet I see many causes, independent of the all-absorbing one, why I cannot expect her to attend to me. In the first place, I want the comfort I endeavour to give, and have fears I cannot conquer.

"Strange reports reach us, and, though I *say* they cannot be true, I tremble lest they should turn out so. We expect the Chancellor to-morrow, when many things will be settled. I told you that Mr. Pitt was all warmth and zeal; not so our other visitors; so much coldness, reserve, and constraint were visible on all sides, that the interview had much better have been spared. I have mentioned the Duke of Gloucester's wishes; if he comes he will be received, but do not tell him this at present; some time hence you will be

authorized to do it, and for the sake of all parties I shall be glad.

"I shewed the printed papers to the Queen; she thinks it as extraordinary as we do, and can as little guess what purpose it was intended to answer."

From Lord Harcourt, January 8th :—

"I do indeed grieve for the situation of the poor Queen, and for you, who are a constant witness of it; but she has a very strong mind, and an equally strong judgment: in them I trust. If she does not take proper care of her health, never cease to represent to her that everything depends upon her, and that it is her duty not to neglect herself.

"From what I hear, I believe the Duke of Gloucester is firmly attached to the good cause, and that there is no intimacy between him and his nephews. Have you heard that Mr. and Mrs. Sheridan are now living with Mrs. Fitzherbert?"

General Harcourt, Thursday, Jan. 8th :—

"I lost no time in conveying her Majesty's command to Lord Hawkesbury, who desires me to express his gratitude to her for having been graciously pleased to approve of any attention of his;

and to add, that there is no thought of appointing any one to be of her Council whom she does not herself name, or whom she could not change or dismiss when she thought proper; and that she will not be considered as under an obligation to consult any of the members of it, unless she should wish to avail herself of their advice and support, as circumstances may require. The persons fixed upon should be of consideration, and must necessarily be chosen before the present Government is dissolved; otherwise the new Officers of State may expect to be advised with, and may occasion great trouble to her Majesty.

"I had written thus far when Mr. Steele, Mr. Pitt's confidential secretary, called upon me, and told me that Mr. Pitt certainly waited upon the Queen yesterday evening, in order to explain to her every part of the Regency Bill, which the present Ministers hope will meet her Majesty's wishes entirely. Lord Hawkesbury has been prevented by illness from attending the Council the last two days, but is confident that there is no one who has the most distant thought of doing anything her Majesty does not approve of."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 9th :—

"It will give you pleasure to hear that Sir Lucas Pepys told Lady Charlotte Finch this



morning, that there was an evident amendment in the King in the last fortnight; that he had passed a considerable time with him yesterday evening, and was much pleased with his conversation; that he thought, but this must not be repeated, that exercise would do him good; that he should have no objection to riding out with him; and would as soon walk up and down St. James's-street with him as with any other person. I do not mean to say that he thinks him *sane*, but that he is in a fair way to be so. Sir Lucas added, that he knew he should be abused by many for saying this, but that it is his opinion, and, as an honest man, he must give it. We, however, think it would be unfair to publish it till he makes it more generally known himself, which is the reason of the caution I have given you."

Mrs. Harcourt, Friday, January 9th :—

"Warren said publicly the other day, 'Can they pretend to say that the King is better, when he holds such language as Charles Hawkins heard yesterday?' and then repeated things, which, if his Majesty did say, any man of common honour or humanity would have suppressed.

"I find that, before the Princes went to Kew, they declared they would see the Queen by herself, and that positively no lady should be in the

room; they spoke also of many things they intended, which, by your account, did not take place. The General will tell you much that I have not time to write. I have been much agitated yesterday and to-day, from the fear that good old Willis, in the warmth of his heart, should say anything in the Committee that those who do not wish well to the King can lay hold of.

"I never have been so uncomfortable as since this examination began; I do not tell you all the horrors I hear; many, I hope, may not be true. A member of the Opposition, but a candid man, has just told me that at Brookes's *the* party appeared to catch at the intelligence obtained in the Committee. They said that fine things had come out about the Queen's interference; that she had sent you and Lady Charlotte Finch down to dictate to the physicians, and make them alter the bulletins, and that they thought it very likely they might have you both before the House of Lords.

"Lord Lothian called upon the Duchess of Rutland the other day; all her children got round him, and began pulling his hair, and calling him a 'Rat'; he was in agonies, for fear his wig, which it has been the object of half his life to conceal, should be dragged off. As he went out the Duchess called after him, that now her children had smoked one old rat, she should go to the enquiries at St. James's in the hope of smoking an-

other, as she supposed she should find the Duke of Queensberry there ; but I believe his conscience made him ashamed to take his waiting, and that he got another Lord to attend for him.

"The Duke of York has had a dinner of above twenty of both Houses of Parliament. He made them a speech, to explain his conduct from the beginning of the King's illness, and abused Mr. Pitt as the invader of the rights of the Prince of Wales. The editor of the 'Morning Post' has received £5,000 to be silent ; *the* party was afraid of its attacks. I hear that at White's, where almost all the members are loyal, they wish that Willis was in Parliament, that he might take care of Mr. Burke, and hold up his finger at him when he is going to expose himself by his violence. You know he proposed to have Charles Hawkins examined."

General Harcourt, Friday, Jan. 9th :—

"The proceedings of the Committee of Enquiry are deemed *secret* until the report is made to the House ; but, from what I can learn from Steele, who was with me last night, and whom I have called upon since the arrival of your letter, we have great reason to believe that the cause will be rather benefited than injured by the examination. Of course, the conduct of the Willises will appear, as it ought to do, full of anxious and honest zeal,

with well-grounded hopes of success in the great work in which they are engaged. The object of the Opposition in instituting this enquiry was a personal attack upon the Queen, and to enable them to boast at their Club, and with their friends, that they have discovered an improper interference, and a desire of throwing out false hopes of the King's recovery. Believe me, however, their threats and their boasting will be but of little avail ; and, should they dare to introduce her Majesty's name improperly in another place, Mr. Pitt is prepared to call forth the best powers of his eloquence to do all the justice to the Queen that the most amiable motives and the most perfect conduct so highly deserve. There has been much ill-humour and altercation in the Committee ; and as every question has been carried by Government in the proportion of 20 to 9, Mr. Montague not having attended, a sort of threat was thrown out of an appeal from their proceedings to the House. This has created a necessity for us to be upon our guard, and our friends are therefore summoned to give constant attendance, which will probably baffle their attempt to take us by surprise."

Lord Harcourt, Friday, January 9th :—

"The dreadful state of the roads prevents my visiting you ; not that I should fear any danger



for myself, but I will not risk the servants having any accident. So long since as Sunday last I was asked at Gloucester House if there was any truth in the Queen's having made an apology to Dr. Warren for the warmth of her expressions towards him. I could only answer, 'that I did not think it probable.' Your name was not then mentioned, nor did I know that it ever had been in question till the Bishop of Salisbury told me so yesterday morning; for though Mr. Haggitt had heard the report in Portland-place, yet, lest it should make me uneasy, it had been agreed that I should not be informed of it. My brother sent for me last night to talk over this affair, and some other subjects.

"Lord Fife makes no secret of two messages having been sent to him. If facts are wanted, let him be applied to; but, for my own part, I cannot enter into my brother's reasoning, that, because the Queen is attacked, she ought to attack in her turn. What does it signify what the Club at Brookes's say of her; are they the English nation? and can their malice destroy the character that has stood the test of twenty-seven years in various trying situations, and is beloved, approved of, and almost venerated by the people at large? You know I abhor every species of warfare, and can the Queen, consistently with her own high dignity of mind and of rank, place herself on a level with

men, who are most of them low in birth, and still lower in character? Besides, she receives the heads of *the* party, and, while she does so, she cannot declare war against their adherents."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Saturday, January the 10th:—

"It is two o'clock; this is the first moment I could command to-day; and now the Queen has desired me to dress, and return to her as soon as I can. The King had been so particularly well the last three days, that he hoped to see the Queen yesterday, and was partly promised that he should; but his being again disappointed made him rather uneasy in the evening, and the night was not good; restless, but not violent; and this morning he is calm, and good-humoured.

"Both the Willises are gone to be examined; if my turn comes, do not be uneasy. I promise you I shall not be frightened, for I shall have nothing to conceal, and by declaring the truth, I may be able to vindicate injured innocence; and bring some things to light, which those who may occasion my appearing had rather should remain in darkness. You give me no opinion as to what I ought to do with regard to Warren's gross misrepresentations. Do not, with your usual diffidence in your own judgment, say that you do not love

to give advice. Remember that this is a matter of consequence to me ; I have been accused of speaking words I never uttered, and of using the Queen's name, without being authorized by her, to unsay what she had said ; this is no light charge, and to whom should I apply for advice but yourself? Remember, too, that I am in a situation of some responsibility, and one that raises envy and jealousy in many who would be glad to find fault with me ; they would be cured of those bad passions if they could for one day feel the anxiety I do ; sincere love and attachment for the Queen can alone support me under it ; but when I witness her wretchedness, I cannot think of myself.

"Seven o'clock.—I wrote the enclosed in haste before dinner, but not having any opportunity of sending it, will add a few lines in the cover. The King has been quiet all day, though both the Willises were absent ; we kept Gisborne, in case anything should be wanted. Doctor John Willis is just returned, without having been examined. The old man, whom I fancy they wish to kill, has been the whole day in attendance upon the Committee, and is not yet dismissed. Warren and, I believe, Baker, have been again called for. It may seem odd to send you London news from hence ; but, if you are sitting over your own fire, these particulars might not reach you till to-morrow. All our accounts tend to convince us that

this attack will end in the defeat of the assailants. The messenger can wait no longer."

Mrs. Harcourt, Saturday, Jan. 10th :—

"I hear that the wrangling every day in the Committee is beyond conception violent, and the language abusive. Burke's passions are quite frantic, and burst forth every minute to interrupt the business. It is thought that one great object of the Opposition in creating this delay, was to have time to see what they could do in Ireland, where they are labouring to do all the mischief they can ; and they are trying to get the Prince declared Regent there before the Bill passes here.

"The report of his Royal Highness being tired of Mrs. Fitzherbert gains ground. The old Duchess of Bedford said at a party she had the other day, that she knew he had written to her to say that he could not stand the unpopularity occasioned by his connection with a Catholic, and that he entreated her to go to France, or anywhere abroad, and he would give her £10,000 per annum ; she, however, refused ; saying that she would take her chance in England. The agitation the proposal had caused her, brought on a violent illness, for which Turton was attending her ; this, they say, was the reason she did not appear at the supper at Lady Elizabeth Lutterell's. I doubt the truth



of this story ; it is a measure of *the* party to persuade people that the Prince is grown indifferent about the lady in question, which I do not believe ; because Sheridan, who quite lives with her, is entirely the Prince's counsellor. I hope we shall see Steele to-day, and probably Dundas ; I particularly wish to see the latter, because he is on the Committee.

"Dundas<sup>b</sup> has just been here, and I am sure you will be glad to have all the particulars we learnt from him. He told us that Mr. Fox began with a speech insinuating that there were plots and conspiracies carrying on that it would be necessary to bring to light. Dundas answered that those were strong words, that they implied much, and that they ought to be explained or proved, and that he called upon Mr. Fox to do so, or to retract them. Much altercation ensued, and in the end he did soften his assertion, but not sufficiently so to satisfy his opponent, who still pushed him to the point, till he said he would not be dictated to by him.

"Burke was vehement, indecent, and almost outrageous ; all the bent of his questions tended towards making out that the King is incurable, in which he failed, as he deserved. He asked Warren which were the common methods of cure

<sup>b</sup> Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville.

in cases of insanity. 'Were blisters efficacious?' 'Yes.' 'Had they been tried?' 'Yes.' 'With effect?' 'No.' 'Were there not medicines that sometimes did good?' 'Yes.' 'Had they all been given?' 'Yes.' 'With success?' 'No.' He continued to ask about coercive measures, and restraint of mind and body ; all of which Warren said had been resorted to, without any benefit being derived from them.

"Mr. Scott then said, 'Pray, Dr. Warren, allowing that all the powers of blisters, of medicine, of mechanism, and management, have been tried hitherto without effect, are you, or are you not of opinion, that the probability is still in favour of his Majesty's recovery?' Obligated by this question to speak the truth, Warren answered, 'I think it probable he may recover.' This one reply did away with all the effects of Burke's questions. He asked Dr. Willis what were the signs of the disease in an incurable state. He answered, 'I will tell *you*,' laying such an emphasis on the word *you*, and making such a pause after it, as to alarm his friends a little, as they thought, however just the application might be, it was going rather too far in that place ; however, he soon relieved them, by continuing with the explanation of the common symptoms of the disease when incurable, which were of a totally different nature from those of his Majesty's case.

"All they could prove of the Queen's interference, amounted only to her having objected to an unfavourable bulletin on a day when the King was known to be particularly well, from her wish that the public should be informed of the truth; and that she had been the cause of Warren's inserting the words, 'his Majesty is in a comfortable state,' instead of his making a more unfavourable representation of the King's situation. On this trivial circumstance coming out, and as no other proof of the Queen's interference could be proved, *the* party looked discomfited.

"At this stage of the proceedings, Dundas luckily observed Sheridan whisper something to Fox which at first he did not appear to understand. Sheridan repeated it, and Dundas caught enough to make him think that he was advising Fox to make it appear as if Warren from delicacy had forbore entering into more particulars; this Dundas determined should not have the effect intended. Fox, in consequence of Sheridan's hint, said to Warren that he concluded that delicacy to a great personage prevented him from saying more; and that they should be sorry to push him beyond what that delicacy required. Warren seemed to acquiesce, and gave a tacit consent to that idea. Thereupon Pitt and Dundas called upon him for every possible explanation, and dared him to repeat every circumstance; for that truth, the whole

truth, was what they wished to appear, and no insinuations. Warren was then obliged to confess that he had not suppressed anything, and had no farther information to give. His duplicity was afterwards proved with regard to the letter Willis had been said to write to Mr. Pitt; which shewed the constant communication between the Prince of Wales and Warren. He prevaricated much; saying on the first day that he had forgotten how he had heard of the letter; and shewing the next day that he recollected every circumstance about it. This gave Mr. Pitt a noble opportunity of demonstrating the duplicity with which he had acted, and that the whole affair of Willis's letter to him (Pitt), which they had made such a bustle about, was a false representation of facts, and meant to prejudice the public against Willis.

"Sir Lucas Pepys's evidence was candid in favour of the King's amended state, and the prospect of his recovery. On the whole, Mr. Dundas said, and Mr. Steele confirmed it afterwards from Mr. Pitt, that their opinion is that the examination disappointed the expectation and intentions of the persons who proposed it; that it had made the Queen's conduct stand, if possible, in a higher point of view than ever; and would rather give the country more hope than less of the King's recovery. Meantime, as the proceedings of the Committee are not yet made public, the Oppo-



sition pretend that it has had a contrary effect, both as to her Majesty's conduct, and as to his Majesty's state of health. Lord Mansfield said the other day to the Chancellor, 'I hear, my lord, that they want to disparage the Queen; are they all insane? Why, her Majesty has more character than all of them together, if what each has could be united in one.'

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 11th:—

"I wish I could send you a better account; but the night was restless, yet such as a month ago would have been thought good; this morning the King is peevish and fretful, which they think arises from his having been teased for the last two or three days with hopes of seeing the Queen, and going out to take the air; but his disappointment was especially owing to the Committee's keeping the old Doctor from eight in the morning till late at night, and yesterday they took the young one away also. That his Majesty should be no further vexed, it was settled that he should go out to-day; but, as he has been in a profuse perspiration, it is thought it will be better to defer it, and we hope the perspiration may do him as much good as it has done before.

"Colonel Digby's return is a great comfort to me; I have, however, not yet had a moment's

conversation with him, for I am less than ever out of the Queen's room; and much as I wish to return to you, the kind things that are said about my staying here, put it out of my power to propose going away. I hope you will soon come again to see me, for I can always stay as long as I please in my room, when I have so good a reason for being absent from her Majesty."

Monday, January 12th:—

"I had a message before I was up this morning from the Queen, to beg me to go down as soon as possible to Dr. John Willis, to desire him not to leave the house till after Dr. Warren was gone; and not to mention anything the King had said of Thomas Willis to any of the physicians or surgeons, except that he had ordered him to come to him this morning. This message was conveyed to me in a note from Princess Augusta, who added that the Queen would speak herself to Dr. Gisborne about his staying here."

Mrs. Harcourt, January 12th:—

"I can think and write of nothing but Kew, indeed, I hear of nothing else; for at last people begin to credit that there is an amendment in the King. The belief has been gradually advancing

for some time, though their hardened hearts would not willingly accept it.

"The General and I think it right you should know what will grieve you as much as it does us; but it will shew you how necessary it is that Warren and Baker, I know not which is the worst, should be dismissed; they are doing what may be irreparable injury to the King's character, by misrepresenting everything he now says. They declare that he is quite sane enough to speak the true dictates of his heart, and his real opinions, though not prudent enough to conceal them; they want to prove that he was false in his professions when well, and that he dislikes those he formerly pretended to be attached to. If you could hear the particulars, you would be aware of the infinite consequence the propagating these ideas is to the future political comfort of the King. I shudder when I think what harm those men may do; by alienating his affection from the Queen, who has kept the crown upon his head; and by setting him against those who have been most true and faithful to him, they may give impressions that may destroy his peace, and throw him back into delirium.

"Mr. Pitt has got Mr. Hoare, the banker, to stand for Surrey, in the room of Lord Grantley, who, by succeeding to his father's peerage, vacates his seat. Mr. Hoare's purse may hold out against

the Duke of Bedford's, but the Duke of York, by having Oatlands, has great interest in the county, and is very active in it.

"The General begs you will not mention anything we have told you of the proceedings of the Committee till they come out in form, as nothing should be supposed to transpire till then.

"Pray give my love to Lady Charlotte Finch, and tell her that I expect a most admirable defence will be made at the bar of the House of Lords by her, and by you. I do not know two women's heads in England fitter for the purpose. I intend going to see you there.

"Since I wrote the above, Thomas Willis has been here; he wants much to talk to you privately, and I have promised you will see him."

Lord Harcourt, January 13th :—

"The Chancellor came up to me in the House of Lords yesterday, and with a smiling countenance, and more appearance of cheerfulness and good humour than is usually seated on his majestic brow, told me he had not long before given you a squeeze of his hand. 'Has she asked you a question,' said I, 'which I desired she would?' 'No,' replied he, 'but what is it?' 'I will not tell you,' returned I; and so ended our short conversation, which would have been still shorter if I had re-



ceived your letter before it took place, as I find from it you think it better not to name the subject at present. Burke, in going in or out of the Committee, I know not which, said to somebody, 'The question is now come to this, Is it to be the House of Hanover, or the House of Strelitz that is to govern the country?' Did you ever hear such unfeeling, insolent nonsense? but from that political charlatan what can surprise one?

"The mysterious pamphlet I hear is very bad, and far too indecent in the slanderous style for me to send it to you. The Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert are supposed, and I believe with some reason, to be less well together; but she had some hold over him that will prevent an open rupture. The Sheridans still live in her house, and it is supposed that there is some other reason for it, than the having been driven out of the house he hired by his landlord's frequent executions.

"It is said that Charles Fox has not even the *entrée* of Carlton House; but this I do not believe.

"The Lieutenantcy of Ireland goes a begging, from the certainty of expense, and from the uncertainty of the tenure, and of the disposition of the party in that country."

General Harcourt, Tuesday, Jan. 13th:—

"I am just returned from the Chancellor, whom I found in a very good humour, and as firmly attached to the good cause as we can wish him to be; he desires the Queen may be informed, that if the physicians think it necessary that the King should take the air, there cannot be any impropriety in his being attended in his carriage by Dr. Willis, or his son; his expression was—'our first and great object ought to be, to do everything that may tend to forward his Majesty's recovery, and it will be time enough to think of State when that is effected;' he added, that he 'hoped the Queen would treat with the indignation and scorn it deserved every attempt made to misrepresent her conduct or disturb her repose;' but he could not give me any information respecting the proceedings of the Committee, further than that he found his friend Scott had had some altercation with Mr. Fox. He said, that, so far from shrinking from bringing the proceedings of the Committee before the House, he should be happy to have the subject introduced there, and should meet the Opposition upon it with pleasure.

"Mr. Pitt was engaged upon the Committee till midnight, and you may venture to assure her Majesty, that, though her name has never been

mentioned, Mr. Pitt is determined to resist every attempt to introduce any other persons than those already employed about the King. I trust, therefore, that her anxiety on that subject will be removed."

Lord Harcourt, Tuesday, January 13th:—

"Lord Aylesbury will probably have related to you to-day the heads of the debate yesterday. In general, we had good speaking, but I wish I could give you an idea of the Chancellor's speech in opposition to Lord Rawdon's motion of an amendment, which contemplated leaving out of the Queen's power all that related to the household; and the part of his speech in particular, in which he described the wretched, deserted, and deplorable situation the King would be left in, if that power was taken from her Majesty, was allowed to be a tirade of such shining excellence, as has seldom been equalled in spirit, pathos, and real eloquence. The tear that glistened in his eye while he spoke, and the majesty of his voice and countenance, perfectly corresponded with the sentiments his heart had dictated; and the effect it had upon every man of feeling was evident. Think, then, with such a preparation, what heightening that effect received when his description of the abandoned

King concluded with this sublime quotation, that he would be like Darius, great and good,—

'Deserted at his utmost need,  
By *those* his former bounty fed.'

Did I mention to you how much I was pleased with a former speech of the Chancellor's, in which, after naming the King, he said most solemnly, 'if ever I forsake him, may Heaven forsake me.'

"The Opposition only gained one vote yesterday, that of Lord Carteret, who swam away from our glorious but sinking ship; more honourable in its wreck than that which will be made to supply its place, though gilt and painted with a profusion of false glare, and with 'youth at its prow and pleasure at its helm.' Send me word that your cold is better. Your letter, however short, will be acceptable."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Tuesday, Jan. 13th:—

"I thank you for your letter of this morning, and for your affectionate solicitude about my cold; it is better; how can it be otherwise, when that sweet creature, Princess Elizabeth, is my nurse and my physician—'The medicine makes, and gives.' Seriously, were it at all necessary, I would consult Dr. Willis, who has already more than once bid me take care of myself. I have just left him; he told me the King had ate a very good dinner,



but that he was very *bustling*; this, *we* know, in his days of perfect health would not have appeared extraordinary to *us*. The Doctor, however, added, that he had made him quieter; all will end well if the old man has his way, and if the attending the Committee does not kill him; he has sometimes, and that when his presence here has been very necessary, been kept by the Committee from an early hour in the morning till a late one at night, and has returned teazed, dejected, and exhausted.

More than once I have been afraid he would ask to be dismissed. The Queen always desires me to go down to him as soon as he comes back, not only to learn what had passed, but in the hope of my being able to soothe him and keep up his spirits. One night I found him very much elated by a triumph he had had over Burke, who, with his usual intemperate violence, asked him what method he used to subdue the King when he was outrageous? Willis answered, 'I do it *by my eye*,' and at the same time darted such a look at his antagonist as made him shrink into himself, and stopped his questions for that time. It is very lamentable that a man of such pre-eminent abilities, and whose character, in many respects, is that of an amiable man, should be so warped by party spirit as to become illiberal, unjust, and cruel.

"I rejoice that your brother's gout is better, and that he is coming here; I hope he will be able to assist in inspiring the Queen with the courage it is so necessary for her to have. Her timidity arises from her not doing justice to herself; few persons are her equals in understanding, yet she is afraid of deciding upon any point, without the opinion of some one less capable of forming a just opinion. I adore the Chancellor for the speech he made yesterday, and can well conceive the effect it must have had upon his auditors."

Mrs. Harcourt, Wednesday, Jan. 14th :—

"I find that Charles Hawkins talks more than ever, and does inconceivable mischief. I cannot tell you particulars without breaking my promise to my informer; suffice it to say, that the other day he expressed his wishes openly and most improperly; I have also reason to think that it was from him that Lord Rawdon had the intelligence which he produced at the enquiries, when, seeing everybody in spirits about a good bulletin, he said he knew the King could not be much better, for that yesterday (Tuesday) he was all day in the attitude of one catching butterflies, fancying he was playing with them, and that he was making the Chancellor a Marquis. If there was

any truth in this, how vile in one of the medical attendants to repeat it. I wish the poor King could be prevented from seeing, or rather from being seen, by such persons as this man and some others; I fear things of a much more evil nature have been circulated within these few days, which could only be known by the physicians and apothecaries in attendance.

"What I am going to tell you I beg you not to repeat to anybody but the Queen, who I know is safe, or it will ruin my friend. The Duke of Cumberland complained to one who shall be unnamed, that the removal of the Pages was the most d—d measure that had ever been thought of, for now they did not know half so much of what was going on; that, till then, they knew everything very exactly, but now they were obliged to depend upon the physicians alone, and that d—d old fellow Willis was always with the King, and prevented Warren from getting him to himself; but they were determined that Warren should have some private conversation with the King, and they ordered him to see his Majesty alone yesterday, which he promised he would do. I hear Warren himself said positively to a person the other day, that he was resolved he would see the King *alone*, in spite of *you all*. Now, it is of the utmost importance that no one you are not *sure* of should see him; for it is not doubted that

their intention is to poison his mind with accounts of persons and things, so as to serve their own objects."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Thursday, Jan. 15th:—

"I hear, to borrow an expression from Lady Bab Lardoon, that 'I came out at full length to-day.' I certainly was sorry when you first heard of what Warren had said about me, as I feared it might vex you, and therefore did not name it myself. Your brother and General Goldsworthy are to send me full information as to what has really been said, and advise me what to do; and, as I conclude you *now* know all the particulars, pray send me your opinion; my own clearly is not to suffer my name to be tacked to a falsehood, but I will be guided by my friends. After the threats that have been thrown out, I shall not be surprised if my evidence be called for. Do not think I should be nervous upon such an occasion; no, I repeat the assurance I gave you in a former letter,—I should feel the courage of a heroine, when speaking the language of *truth* warm from my heart in defence of injured and oppressed innocence. Thank God, this examination, which I consider as levelled at the Queen, is likely to end to her glory. To-day she is a little revived, but she has all this week been very low,



and very far from well. Can we wonder at it, with such a weight of woes as she has to sustain; her husband in so deplorable a state; her sons acting in a way she disapproves of, and which, in the end, she feels will injure themselves; and her own conduct attacked because she performs her duty as a wife. If I can afford a single spark of comfort to one so truly wretched, and where I am so strongly called upon by humanity, as well as by duty and affection, can I hesitate, can I murmur, at the melancholy life I lead, or even at being detained from you? No; *you* would despise me if I did. Adieu; it is one in the morning, but I would not go to bed without writing to you, and I had no time in the day. This will go by the early messenger."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Friday, January 16th :—

"The night was good, and the King is nearly, if not quite, as well as he was yesterday; but you will see your brother in the course of the morning, and he will give you a more particular account. The Chancellor looked very surly when he came this morning, but before we parted he said, 'God bless you,' and gave me a kind squeeze of his hand; he has more kindness in his nature than many people give him credit for. I had

a strong proof of this one day when the poor Queen had been particularly wretched, and I had been exerting myself to the utmost to try to keep up her spirits. She was not able to see the Chancellor immediately, and desired me to go to him; it was no longer in my power to command myself, and when I got into the room where he was I had a violent fit of crying. I assure you all the sternness of his brow vanished, and if he had been my brother he could not have taken more pains to soothe and comfort me."

From Mrs. Harcourt, Friday, Jan. 16th :—

"The Irish will be punished for their conduct by having every needy Englishman pensioned upon them; and half the House of Commons here will be paid by Irish Peerages. We have just seen a man, who, though connected with the Opposition, is warm with us. He said, that if the King should recover, it was known through the Pages that he was determined never to reign again, but that they had reason to believe his illness would end in reducing him to the state the great Duke of Marlborough was in before he died. He shewed us a letter from Bath, where, you know, Fox now is. It says that he really seems well, but is very anxious at present to keep out of the way, as he disapproves of every measure,

and is angry that the Post-Office is refused to Lord Robert Spencer. Lord Hinchinbrooke is to retain it; Lord Maynard to have the Household; the Duke of Bedford insists upon it. Lord Cartaret, notwithstanding his vote, is to go out. The majority last night was much increased. Sir Charles Gould, and other *rats* who had for some time crept into holes, came out and voted with us.

"Lady Charlotte Bertie and Lady Willoughby appeared at the Opera on Tuesday in Regency Caps. During the dance the account came of the Prince's being voted out of the Queen's Council. The Duke of York was very angry, and said it was meant as a personal slight to him. The man who brought the account went on, and told him they talked of bringing him before the House; 'in short, Sir,' he added, 'I cannot tell you how they talked of you.' The Duke of Cumberland said, 'I suppose they may talk of bringing me, too, before the House; but I will tell them I won't go, for I never go anywhere I do not like.' The fact is, that Lord Graham said on the 22nd that one objection to having the Princes in the Council was the putting them into a responsible situation, which *might* make them liable to be called before the Bar of the House to be examined; and this, in their high situations, would be improper. You may see by this how things are misrepresented;

but the Princes hear only one side, and see with the eyes of those whose interest it is to delude them. This strikes everybody; but what grieves us most is, that some people are beginning to find fault with the Queen for want of resolution, and for what they impertinently call *trimming* between the parties; as if it were not as much her duty, as it must be her inclination, to support the King and at the same time to avoid an open rupture with the Princes. Some of the violent members of the Opposition are insolent enough to say that they have got her down, and that she dares not dismiss the physicians; 'nor shall she,' say Messrs. Burke and Sheridan. You know best if anything can be done, and I am sure are deeply wounded by the language some of those tools of faction use, to speak of our beloved Monarch as 'A pageant dressed up with useless splendour and degrading dignity; a sick King, smitten by the hand of Omnipotence, hurled from his throne, and plunged into a condition below the meanest of his subjects.' Can Burke ever again pretend to have the common feelings of humanity? It was supposed that he was a Jesuit, and this speech proves it.

"The glorious speech Mr. Pitt made was a striking contrast to Burke's. He expressed himself so beautifully that night in the House, that there was hardly a dry eye. They tell me the debate



is not done justice to in the papers, and that there never was any thing so fine as the manner in which the Chancellor mentioned his beloved Sovereign's illness, and the effect of it upon the heart of every Briton. He adores the King and Queen, and the object of Opposition is, to ruin that attachment and deprive their Majesties of his powerful support. They hope to make his unfortunate partiality for Warren the means of effecting this; but I trust he is too firm in the good cause to be shaken.

"I was at Lord Harrington's the other night; there was a great assembly; the Regency Caps nodding at each other all over the room, and boasting against those who were without them, and against those who wore the Constitutional Coats, which were also very numerous. You may be sure the Duchess of Rutland did not wear the cap; she repeated the story of Lord Lothian, and told me he saved his wig from being pulled off by her children with the utmost difficulty; they had a paper written to pin upon his back, but could not contrive to do it. He said (how ungrateful!) that he had no obligations to the King, and therefore ought not to be blamed for joining his enemies. One Duchess spoke highly of the Prince of Wales; said how she loved him, and how she pitied his being so deluded by those who had no real object in view but their own

interest, and added, 'those caps make me sick.' I see Burke and Sheridan perched under every feather. Charles Lennox<sup>1</sup> was at a club the other day when they were playing 'God save the King' in the street, on which some of the Opposition produced a new and very vile song made to go to that tune, and said they would go to the playhouse and sing it. On this Charles fired, and answered with great spirit that no words were so good and so proper as the old ones, and he was quite sure the Duke of York (who was present) would concur with him in that opinion. This silenced the whole crew. George Selwyn says he hopes the restrictions will extend to the Jewel Office, or he shall see them all brought to Brookes's in crucibles, and a new Mint established there. Some of the heads of the party talked much yesterday of all that had come out in the Committee, and seemed to enjoy the idea of what the nation would think of the Queen's interfering about the physicians, and sending her ladies to try to deceive the public; but Steele assures us he has been told by Mr. Pitt that nothing will do her Majesty and the cause so much good; that she is adored by the people in general; and that her name mentioned in the House of Commons would produce a burst of applause; and that no one would dare to speak of her without respect; that everything that ap-

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Duke of Richmond.

peared in the Committee so entirely proved her perfect love and attachment to the King; and that all her motives and ideas had no other object but his health, his comfort, and his honour; so that she must gain the greatest glory from the examination. As for Mr. Pitt himself, he says he quite adores her, and would as little bear as you or I should, a syllable uttered to her disadvantage. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox had violent words in the Committee. There were many divisions; our friends gained by one vote."

I return to an account of what passed in the House of Commons on the 16th of January. On that day Mr. Pitt, after expressing his satisfaction at having consented to the re-examination of the physicians, said, that it had justified his former opinion as to the probability of his Majesty's recovery; and then proceeded to open the business he had to lay before the House. He divided it under three heads; first, the nature of the King's illness; secondly, the principle upon which Parliament was authorized to act upon this occasion; and thirdly, the application of the measures he should propose

for remedying the present defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority. He stated that all the physicians were agreed that his Majesty was rendered incapable by his illness of attending to the duties of his station, but that it was probable he would recover and resume them; that it was remarkable that those least conversant with the disorder his Majesty was afflicted with were least sanguine; that others who, without having had great experience in such maladies, but from being in more constant attendance upon him, had opportunities of being better acquainted with the general state of his health, were more confident that he would recover; while those who had been most accustomed to the treatment of such complaints, and who were in still more close attendance upon his Majesty, had no doubt that he would recover, and possibly in a short time. Mr. Pitt reprobated a disposition some Members of Parliament had shewn to discredit what had been said by the physicians, as if undue influence had



been used to induce them to publish opinions they did not really entertain. The fact he alluded to, he said, he should not hesitate to state, on account of the respectable personage involved in it, as he was convinced that the more her conduct was investigated, the more it would redound to her honour. "Surely," he added, "it must be allowed that it was natural for the Queen to wish that the people, to whom she knew that the King was so dear, should be made acquainted with any, even the slightest, alteration for the better in his health; and thinking that such an alteration had one day taken place, as would justify a more favourable report than that the physicians had signed, was it wonderful for her to express a desire that the bulletin might be so changed as to contain what she conceived to be a more correct statement of the case?"

Having explained this transaction, Mr. Pitt proceeded to consider the principles upon which Parliament was authorized to act, in providing for the deficiency in the Execu-

tive Government. It had been determined that the right of supplying it devolved on the two Houses of Parliament. There was reason to hope that the occasion would be temporary, and that they had only to provide for a short interval; if, however, his Majesty's illness should be unfortunately protracted, Parliament might then do what at present was clearly unnecessary, and consider of a more permanent form of Government. They were now only to provide for the immediate exigency, and to guard against the King's having any embarrassment in a re-assumption of his Royal authority, whenever it shall please God to enable him to exercise it again. Such powers, therefore, and none others, should be granted as were requisite to carry on the Government of the country with energy and effect.

I shall not attempt to follow Mr. Pitt in the able and eloquent speech which he made. The general outline I have given is sufficient for my purpose. Mr. Pitt was answered by Mr. Powis, Lord North,

Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fullerton; and they were again replied to by Mr. Grenville (the Speaker), who defended the proposed plan on the same ground Mr. Pitt had taken. The resolutions suggested by the Ministry were carried by a considerable majority, with the exception of those which referred to committing the care of the King's person to the Queen, and granting her Majesty the power of removing from, and appointing to, all the offices of the household. The debate upon these subjects was postponed to the following Monday, January 19th.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 17th :—

"The King has had a bad night, but they think it was owing to the fatigue which the emetic he had taken occasioned him. It brought away a great quantity of bile, and has prepared him for the bark, from which it is hoped he will derive great benefit; although it did not agree with his Majesty when it was tried before, from his stomach's being too much loaded. This morning he is very calm; Dr. John Willis heard him say to himself in a low voice, 'Here I lie, like Patience on a monu-

ment. I had no sleep all night, but I hope the Queen slept well, that will comfort me.' The physicians say they found him better this morning than they expected, but I believe he was very incoherent, and I own my very sanguine hopes a little flag. I cannot think he has gained any ground the last two days, but they tell me, notwithstanding, that all is going on well."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 18th :—

"The King was so much better yesterday evening, that the Queen passed an hour and a-half with him. I find that the Opposition try to make it be believed, that allowing him to see those he loves will hurt him. They have attacked Willis upon it, but he asserted that at proper times it would be beneficial. We have a strong proof of this, for Sir Lucas Pepys told me this morning that he was a long time with him after her Majesty left him, and that he had never yet seen him nearly so well; and he has slept seven hours without interruption. This morning he is a little agitated from recollecting that it is the day on which the Queen's birthday used to be kept, and wishing to keep it as well as he can; but they hope he will be calmer before evening, that they may be able to gratify him by letting him see her.

"Mr. Pitt's speech was beautiful, and I hope he



has now secured the safe return of our beloved Sovereign to his throne, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made to prevent it."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 19th :—

"The Queen was great part of yesterday evening with the King; when she retired to her room, she told me that he had been so much pleased with a sermon Thomas Willis has published lately, that he made him give him several copies of it; that some he had set apart for her and the Princesses, and that he had said you and I should each have one; but before he gave them to her for us, he wrote in the margin of each a few lines that will please you as much as they do me, for they prove that even in his present state he thinks of us with kindness. In yours he alluded to the boyish days you passed together. I shall keep it till I see you."

Every one had looked forward to the 19th of January as an important day. Mr. Pitt opened the debate by reprobating the conduct of those who seemed to suppose it possible, that the power to be placed in her Majesty's hands might become the instrument of any factious opposition; if an Op-

position should be formed to the Government of her son. He was supported by Mr. Dundas.

The Solicitor-General, Lord Maitland<sup>k</sup>, and Mr. Grey<sup>k</sup>, took up the other side of the question. They objected to the limitations of the Regent's power, and argued that were he inclined to make a bad use of it, what could oppose him, invested as he would be with the patronage of the army, the navy, and all the great offices of the kingdom? Surely not the Lords with the white staves, or the feeble bands of the Household! With regard to granting the patronage of the Household to the Queen, they observed, that it would be destructive of that political disinterestedness that made her the fittest person to have the care of his Majesty. They urged that, upon general principles, the possession of the power given her by the resolutions, and the complications arising therefrom in case of the continuance of the King's illness, would

<sup>k</sup> Afterwards Earl of Lauderdale and Earl Grey.

tend to disqualify her for the greater trust. Among all the virtues that adorned her character, was there any that exceeded her moderation; was there any part of her public or private conduct that recommended her so much to the esteem and reverence of a loyal people, as that prudent caution with which she had, through the whole course of her life, abstained from any interference in the affairs of Government? And was it wise, they asked; was it proper; was it consistent with a true regard for her interest in the affection of the nation, to place her in a situation new to herself, unknown to the Constitution, and which might, eventually, draw her aside from that line of discreet and amiable moderation which she had hitherto followed with so much circumspection, and for which she had obtained so much praise?

The amount of the patronage proposed to be given to her was one-fourth of the Civil List. Her Majesty might have had advisers as well as the Prince; and by the mention of a Council of Advice, it appeared

that she was to have advisers, and it was pretty evident who those advisers would be. The present resolution did not even secure its professed object, the continuance of his usual attendants about the King's person, as it gave the Queen not only the power to continue, but to remove them.

Here I must remark, that though the justice done to the exalted character of her Majesty could not fail to give pleasure to her real friends, they were yet well aware that this apparent candour was of a most insidious nature. She stood so high in the estimation of the public, that a direct attack upon her would not have been borne; therefore those who wished to deprive her of all power, pretended that they were actuated by personal regard for herself.

To continue my account of the debate, I must state that Mr. Fox spoke at large on the several points of the subject in question, and concluded by asking the Right Honourable gentleman opposite him, to what period of time he proposed to confine the limita-



tion ; what revenue would be assigned to the Prince during his Regency ; and who were the persons of whom the Queen's Council of Advice would consist ? Mr. Pitt answered, that whenever the physicians should pronounce his Majesty's recovery less probable than it had been, he should think it necessary to remove most of the restrictions, and to re-model the Household. The Queen's Council would consist of the great Officers of the Household, and four Prelates. As for the revenue to be provided for the support of the Regent's dignity, he should not be deterred by the unpopularity of such a measure, from proposing, as his last act, whatever additional tax it might be necessary to impose for such a purpose.

After an attempt by the Opposition to make some alterations, the resolutions were reported, and agreed to be delivered at a conference to the House of Lords.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January the 19th, Monday :—

"After the alarm we had while you were with me this morning, you will be glad to hear that towards evening the King grew calmer."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Jan. 20th :—

"The sad scene of yesterday will make you impatient for a letter to-day. His Majesty had a very indifferent night, and the morning began ill ; but about ten o'clock he grew better, and about half-past twelve he sent to desire the Queen to take the air, and that she might be told that he would walk : he did so for an hour and twenty minutes, saw his exotic garden, was pleased with it, was very good-humoured and quiet, and has continued to be so since he returned to the house."

From Lord Harcourt, Jan. 20th :—

"If you are not satisfied with the last division, you are very unreasonable indeed, it exceeded the most sanguine expectations of those the most zealously attached to the present Administration ; and, consequently, made many Opposition faces an ell long. Do not be the dupe of Mr. Sheridan's fine compliments to Mr. Fox, they are merely

made to *jeter de la poussiere aux yeux*, since the jealousy conceived of him by Mr. Fox and his friends is certainly very far from being diminished. A few days since, at Devonshire House, the Prince, in view of many of the principal persons of the party, took Sheridan by the arm, and drew him to a remote part of the room, where they had a long *tête-à-tête*. What satisfaction this gave to the rest of the company you may easily suppose.

"Whatever may be said to the contrary, Fox is really in so bad a state of health, that nothing but a course of Bath waters, relaxation from business, and mental repose for a considerable time, can restore it; and if this be his only chance for life, it is a very poor one. As long as Sheridan enjoys the sole and exclusive confidence and direction of the Prince, jealousies and smothered animosities will subsist, which may tend as much to the overthrow of *the* party as if they broke out into a visible flame.

"Assure his Majesty, with my duty, that the sermon you delivered to me was carefully sealed up and deposited in my strong box, before I went to bed on Monday night; and that within the paper that enveloped it, I left a note hinting what is to be done with it at my death. The few words written on the first page shew that unequalled goodness of heart which forms the basis of the King's character, and betray no symptom

of any mental derangement; but, mixed with a soothing kind of melancholy, produced many gloomy reflections in my mind when I compared the days to which those words alluded, with the present time<sup>1</sup>.

"A curious handbill has been stuck up at Whitehall, which perhaps you have not seen. 'The Right Honourable Edmund Burke had last night three hours' sleep; he is calm this morning, but tending towards unquietness.' A thousand thanks for your note last night, which was more satisfactory than I expected."

From General Harcourt, Tuesday, Jan. the 20th:—

"Enclosed you have the Chancellor's answer to her Majesty's letter. In the short conversation I had with him, he asked me if I knew of any fresh inconveniences that had arisen, which occasioned his receiving his Majesty's commands. I told him that the letter had been delivered to me by a private hand, but from something that had passed, I had reason to believe that the inconvenience that had been felt had arisen from the long absence of the Willises, which might be

<sup>1</sup> The Sermon is still at Nuneham, but the scissors of the curious have deprived it of the King's writing, which probably constituted its greatest value.



obviated in future ; and that it was thought desirable that the younger Willis should also be examined. I hear from Mr. Steele that they have great hopes the Committee may make their report to-day, though they are by no means sure of it."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 21st, Wednesday :—

"The King continued remarkably well yesterday evening ; he chose that those who were in the room with him should keep at a great distance ; he read a good deal. I do not know what his book was, but his favourite, Shakespeare, is what he generally prefers, and he particularly likes to read King Lear. I believe I told you that when Willis thinks him well enough, the Princesses take it by turns (I mean the three eldest) to accompany the Queen. Sometimes she takes more than one with her. When they went into his room one day he said he had been reading Lear, but in some respects he was not like him, he had no Goneril, nor Regan, but three Cordelias. Judge how this affected them all. For four hours before he went to bed last night he talked very little ; he slept quietly and without interruption for eight hours and a-half ; he was agitated when first he awoke, but is now growing calmer ; and, if it is fine, will walk presently.

"Three o'clock.—The rain has prevented the King from going out, but he is very calm, and has never had so good a day after so good a night ; for, strange as it may seem, sleep sometimes appears to give strength to the malady. Lord Salisbury will convey this to you. Surely I shall hear from you to-morrow. I hardly dare hope for another visit after our disappointment on Monday. I really hardly saw you, but it could not be helped. My advice is taken, and for the present the bad behaviour of the Pages will be overlooked ; it has not been repeated since. I think it probable that I shall stay here a little, but not much longer. After saying some very kind things of me to a person the other day, the Queen added, 'She will be a great loss to me when I must part with her.' This looks as if she begins to think that on your account it will be right to dismiss me ; but I am sure you will not wish me to propose leaving her, while she thinks that I am any use or comfort to her."

From General Harcourt, Wednesday, January 21st :—

"I fear I must have expressed myself very ill, when I had the honour of communicating to the Queen that part of the proposed plan that respected the appointment of her Council, which

I ought to have said was particularly meant to stand between her and the advisers of the Prince, and was intended to consist of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Bishop, and two others to be named by her. I again repeat that this was only the general idea, subject to such alterations as may be thought necessary, and which, of course, she will be informed of by the Chancellor, or Mr. Pitt, before the plan is carried into execution. I must beg you to say for me, that I will not lose a moment in signifying her Majesty's commands; but as the intelligence came from Lord Hawkesbury for her private information, and merely to prepare her for its coming in a more regular form, I believe it will be proper for me to communicate with him in the first instance. The Speaker being taken ill, I know not whether the illness be real or political, the business in the House of Commons is put off till to-morrow."

On the 22nd of January the Lords, in a Committee upon the state of the nation, proceeded to take the resolutions into consideration. The debate chiefly turned upon the same points that had been discussed in the Lower House. On the same grounds the same alterations were proposed and

negatived. The debate was renewed the following day, the 23rd, and the resolutions were agreed to, though fifty-seven Peers signed a protest.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Sunday, Jan. 25th :—

"I *write*, and you will *read*, my letter with pleasure to-day, for Dr. Gisborne assures me he thought the King better last night than he had ever seen him since his illness. He slept six hours, awoke composed, and is remarkably well this morning; and you will think these few lines worth a volume. I send them by the messenger, that you may share my pleasure as soon as possible."

From Lord Harcourt, Sunday, Jan. 25th :—

"It was a measure of the Ladies of the Opposition party, I suppose to shew their vulgar folly, to come to the Opera in the new bonnet *à la Regence*; and to endeavour to make people stare at the silly ornaments that decorated their sillier heads. Lady — dressed herself, and, I am sorry to say, her daughters too, in this absurd costume, when she appeared at a great assembly. Lady B— was to accompany her to the Opera,



so she insisted on her likewise purchasing one of these mountains of tumbled gauze, with three large feathers in front, tied together with a knot of ribbon, on which was printed in gold letters, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense, de la Regence.' This collection of trumpery costs seven guineas and a-half.

"I believe I did not mention that when I was at Gloucester House the other night, I was convinced, from the conversation I heard, that all is going on well for our friends; Lord Charles Spencer owned that all was going on ill for the party which he belongs to. Mrs. Keppel, with her usual violence, abused Mr. Pitt, and assured us that England was become an absolute Republic. An odd kind of Republic this, and such as I have never read of, the object of which is to secure the throne to a popular Sovereign.

"If the Queen has not seen a 'Letter from a Country Gentleman to a Member of Parliament,' persuade her to peruse it, for it is not only the best publication of the present period, but one of the best I ever read on any political subject. It is strong, but perfectly decent and candid, and admirably written. I only disagree with the author upon one point—the impossibility of a King's having a friend—difficult it is, I allow; but if they would choose amongst the nobility such men as are free from political ambition, not subject to

gossip, or to repeat improperly, and too high-spirited to be importunate beggars, Kings and Princes might pass their days with more comfort than they usually do.

"I suppose you know that the Duke of Gloucester employed the Duke of Cumberland to object, in the House of Lords, to his name's being inserted in the Commission to set the Great Seal in the manner proposed. People could scarcely believe their own ears when they heard the objection made, and many concluded that the Duke of Cumberland did it unauthorized. Pray read what Lord Camden said respecting these royal names. Some of the oldest and wisest heads in the House were indignant at the Duke of York's telling the two Houses of Parliament that, throughout the whole business, they had acted illegally and unconstitutionally; and said that they were persuaded it was the first time the House of Lords had ever been told by one of the Royal family that they had acted *illegally* and *unconstitutionally*.

"You ought to read in one of last week's papers a short speech of the Duke of Richmond's, in vindication of the Chancellor's speech, in which he makes the nice, but just distinction, between speaking to the passions, and speaking to the feelings of the House; and at the conclusion gives a wonderful proof of his acuteness, by stating to demon-

stration that the Opposition objected to the Resolutions on one principle, and protested against them upon another very different one, in which 'the truth came out.' It is said that Lord Spencer has agreed to take the Vice-royalty of Ireland, if no other person will. Jack Payne is to be Secretary of the Treasury, and Lord Sandwich one of the Secretaries of State. Mr. Fox's friends make no secret of their opinion that his journey to Bath was undertaken more to get out of the way of the intolerable teasing he met with here, than for the sake of his health. Mr. Rolla's impending motion is a more likely cause of his absence, than any other that has been assigned for it."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 26th, Monday :—

"I had some hope of seeing you to-day ; when I cannot have that pleasure, your letters are the greatest comfort I can have, in a situation which *I know* some envy ; but which, believe me, is so deplorable, that, did not humanity and principle strongly call upon me not to imitate the wretches I despise, I should wish myself away ; but I cannot be a copy of the Duke of Q——, and desert the Queen in 'her hour of need,' for never sure did any woman need a friend more than she does at this moment ; and I know you will never desire

me to add to her distress by leaving her. She has now an inflammation in her eyes, which obliges her to sit in a room almost dark ; her spirits are *very low* ; one cannot wonder that they are so. The King grew very high towards night ; he had walked twice in the day ; before he went to bed he was put into a warm bath ; but he had little more than three hours' sleep, is very violent, and has been under coercion most of this day. It will not do if other means are not tried ; the Willises *must have their own way* ; they have just given in a plan, and I shall do all I can to enforce it."

On the 27th of January, Mr. Pitt, after recapitulating the steps that had been taken, observed that, before they proceeded further, he thought it would be most respectful to the Prince of Wales, and most expedient in the order of their proceedings, to endeavour to know whether his Royal Highness was willing to accept the Regency upon the terms of the Resolutions the House had come to ; and he therefore moved, that a Committee should be appointed to wait upon him for that purpose. This motion gave rise to much altercation. Ministers were accused



of having, throughout the whole course of their proceedings, treated the Prince of Wales with the most shameful want of attention and respect. On the other hand, the Ministers defended their conduct. The motion was voted without a division, and ordered to be carried to the Lords for their concurrence; together with a similar resolution for a Committee to lay before the Queen what had passed in the House relative to the care of his Majesty's person. These Resolutions were read in the House of Lords on the 28th of January; the Duke of Northumberland moved an amendment, but it was negatived without a debate.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 27th, Tuesday:—

"Your<sup>m</sup> brother is going to town to the Chancellor, so I hope things will be put in a better train, for I am wretched at the ground we lose. The King had a sleepless night, but was quiet, and is so now. He will be particularly anxious to see his family, and it may not be thought

<sup>m</sup> General Harcourt.

right to indulge him. The Queen's eye is better, but she is very low, very thin, and eats nothing. The Princesses are unhappy about her; should she fail, what will become of the poor King? Her not being well is a secret; it is best that it should be so; for there are those who would rejoice at it. The King anxiously combines circumstances in a manner that quite surprises us. When he was told of the death of the King of Spain, he said: 'I am glad of it, for it will be better for England; the late King was in his heart a Frenchman; the present King is an Englishman.' This is very true, for it has always been known that the Prince of the Asturias was well-inclined to this country. I have not a chance of going to town for an hour or two; there are reasons I could TELL, but cannot WRITE to you, that will make it necessary for me to be always ready in case I should be wanted."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 28th, Wednesday:—

"After I wrote to you yesterday we had some great visitors. I acted the part of Flora, and 'got the Doctor clear off;' it was not more necessary for her to conceal the Colonel from Don Falia than for me to secrete young Willis. However, gone he was, before those we did not wish

to see him entered. They sent no Page to announce their arrival; and, as it was the hour they must have supposed me dressing, I fancy they hoped to see the Queen alone. The *abond* on each side was *à la glace*. Little as I was disposed to enter into conversation, I found I must do it, or there would be that sort of silence that would distress all present; and, luckily, the merits of Mrs. Siddons and Mrs. Abingdon, who are both favourites, afforded us a subject that held out tolerably well throughout the visit. A few minutes to four they said they believed it was dinner-time, and bowed off; they found your brother below in the library, and told him they understood that the King was not at all better. Mr. Harcourt assured them that his Majesty was a great deal better. 'Aye, so old Willis says,' was the answer. 'Not only Dr. Willis,' replied your spirited brother; 'Sir Lucas Pepys told me the same thing this morning.' Nothing further passed.

"Is it not dreadful that there should be wretches who labour to poison and pervert minds naturally amiable? The exemplary conduct of the Queen has been so misrepresented to them, as to make them think she acts unkindly and unjustly by them; and they have been brought to believe that Warren is the only one of his physicians on whose accounts they can rely. You know he declares he shall not think the King *better* until he is *quite*

*well*. This new doctrine has produced the following epigram from Dr. Willis's youngest son:—

"That the sick ere they're well must be better, I thought,  
 'Twas agreed would hold true to the letter,  
 But Warren, reversing this maxim, has taught,  
 That the sick must be *well* to *grow better*."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 29th,  
 Thursday:—

"I hope I have a prospect of returning home at no distant time. The Queen means soon to see Lady Weymouth<sup>n</sup>; she is a great favourite of the King's, so there can be no objection on his account. We already find the good effects of his being kept more quiet; he has not seen his Pages since yesterday morning, and to Dr. Willis's *men* he does not wish to talk. He was a little displeased last night when he found THEY were to put him to bed, and that none of the others were to sit up in the room; but he soon composed himself, began his prayers, and was asleep before he had finished them. He slept fully six hours, and awoke calm. Sir George Baker told me this morning, of his own accord, that he found his Majesty better than when he last saw him. He has walked quite round the garden (nearly

<sup>n</sup> Afterwards Marchioness of Bath, and sister to the Duke of Portland.



three miles), has come back quiet, and eaten a good dinner. I am writing in Dr. Willis's room; he likes your account of Mr. Emery's friend so much that he wishes to have him; but we think it right to speak to the Queen before he is sent for. She is now setting about receiving the addresses, with Lord Aylesbury; he and Lord Waldegrave are to bring that from the House of Lords to-morrow; that from the Commons will be brought by four of the King's household. We are anxious about some points in the Bill, which I have not time now to explain. This has been a hurrying day; the Queen has not had leisure to take the air. I must not omit telling you, that, in his walk, the King called at the Observatory, and the old attached man who resides there thought him so well that his joy quite overcame him."

From the Earl of Harcourt, January 29th, Thursday:—

"Your letter of this morning, by Lord Aylesbury, gives a most excellent account of his Majesty; may Heaven, in mercy to the nation, and to those who love him as sincerely as I do, continue this amendment. If you read the debates, you will certainly observe, by the various attacks in both Houses on the famous speech of the Chan-

cellor's, how much the Opposition are galled by it; how earnestly they endeavour to do away the effect of it; and how, by so doing, they in fact acknowledge its transcendent excellence."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 30th, Friday:—

"The King had only three hours' sleep last night; he is disturbed this morning, and certainly less well than yesterday; but they say we must not mind these little changes. We are all uncomfortable about the ceremony of this day; the Queen and Princesses dread it. The Lords and Commons are to come together; from the former, the Lords Ailsbury and Waldegrave are deputed; from the latter, Lord Cranborn, Mr. Howard, Mr. Villiers, and General Manners. The Queen will read her answer, and then give it to them. I think you will be pleased with it: it expresses her duty and gratitude to the King, and her obligations to the nation; her pleasure in having the assistance of a Council; her desire of deserving the confidence of Parliament, and of acquitting herself properly of the important trust in which her own happiness, and what is of more moment, that of a great and loyal people is concerned. This is the substance of her speech. She will want me to be with her before the deputation

arrives, so I must hasten to dress myself in readiness.

"Four o'clock.—I was so nervous when I left the Queen, to receive the Lords and Commons and conduct them to her, that it was with difficulty I could speak to any of them. Her Majesty was much agitated, but endeavoured to command herself, and went through the trying scene quite as well as I could expect; her voice faltered a good deal, but her manner was dignified. Lord Waldegrave and Lord Ailsbury are now with me, and will carry this to you. Send us the man Emery recommends to-morrow morning; we like the account of him, but Dr. Willis wishes for an interview before he makes an engagement; he must ask for *him*, and be told that except to *him*, he must not say by whom he is recommended, and he must consider himself as Dr. Willis's servant for the time. Let him be here by nine if possible. I could not write upon this subject yesterday. I waited in vain for an hour and a-half in the Doctor's room; but the Queen was with the King, and of course all the Willises were in waiting. His Majesty saw her at the window when he was walking in the garden, and wanted to go up to her; this could not be allowed, so she went down and walked with him for a short time, and then sat by him while he dined. I believe she did not think him better.

He is not very connected this morning, though his pulse is that of a person in perfect health; I own I am disheartened, but the Willises say there is no reason for being so, though they lament the numberless circumstances that are against them, and which must retard his Majesty's recovery.

"This has been a dreadful day to the poor Queen and the faithful friends who share her sorrows. You know the Address stated the trust to be reposed in her. The following was her answer, which as I have now time I will transcribe, though I have already given you the substance of it.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—My duty and gratitude to the King, and the sense I must ever entertain of my great obligations to this country, will entirely engage my most earnest attention to the anxious and momentous trust intended to be reposed in me by Parliament. It will be a great consolation to me to receive the aid of a Council, of which I shall stand so much in need, in the discharge of a duty in which the happiness of my future life is indeed deeply interested, but which a higher object, the happiness of a great, loyal, and affectionate people, renders still more important."



From the Earl Harcourt, January 30th, Saturday :—

“There is so much feeling and propriety in the Queen’s answer, that I should suppose it was her own composition, and, if so, she writes our language with more eloquence than the person employed to draw up the Prince of Wales’s answer; for it is *embrouillé* in point of style, and the periods unharmonious and ill-turned. I was shewn a copy of it at Gloucester House last night. The Duke of Dorset has had the offer of remaining at Paris. His answer was, that till he received overtures from those who were authorized to treat with him, he could say nothing.”

The Queen and the Prince of Wales’ answers having been read on the 31st of January, the Lord-President moved, as the only plan that in the present exigency could be resorted to, that a Committee should be established to open and hold the Parliament in due form; which resolution, at a convenient time would be followed by another, for empowering the Royal assent to be given in his Majesty’s name to the bill of Regency, by the same or by another

Commission; he therefore moved, that it is expedient and necessary, that letters patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, be empowered to be issued by the authority of the two Houses of Parliament, in the tenor and form following. Here followed an exact transcript of the writ usually issued under the sign manual, empowering certain Commissioners to open and hold the King’s Parliament at Westminster. The Commissioners proposed to be named in the present letters patent were the Prince of Wales, the Royal Dukes, and the other persons usually inserted therein. This motion was seconded; but Lord Porchester<sup>o</sup> observed, they were now going to do by a pretended Act of Parliament, what should have been done two months sooner by a declaration of the two Houses; that this application of the Great Seal was a fiction; and that, by two Acts of Parliament, the sign manual was essential to the validity of any Act.

<sup>o</sup> Afterwards Earl of Carnarvon.

Lord Camden replied, that those Acts were merely affirmative, that is, that they merely assented that Acts so signed were legal, but not that they could not be legalized by any other form; and instanced a precedent in point, that of the twenty-eighth of Elizabeth, which had passed under the Great Seal *only, without* the sign manual.

The Duke of York said he would not sanction the proceedings with his name; his opinion of the system was known; he deemed the measure proposed, as well as any other that had been taken on the same subject, unconstitutional and illegal, and desired that his name, and that of his brother the Prince of Wales, might be left out of the Commission.

Lord Camden said he should not for a moment resist the Royal Duke's desire, and would readily omit his name and that of the Prince of Wales. The Duke of Cumberland then desired that his name and the Duke of Gloucester's might also be omitted.

Some difficulty arose as to the means of complying with these requests, but at last it was settled, that the motion should stand as it was; and that when reported to the House, Lord Radnor should move as an amendment, that it might appear on the journals, that it was at the desire of the Dukes of York and Cumberland (being present), that their names and those of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Gloucester were omitted.

The resolution, as passed by the Lords, was communicated by Mr. Pitt to the Commons on the 2nd of February, for their concurrence therewith. It gave rise to a warm debate, but the resolution was at last agreed to without a division.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, January 31st, Friday:—

"I have hardly recovered from the affecting scene I went through yesterday, but can have the comfort of telling you that the King is remarkably well this morning, and is now walking before the house; he looks hardly altered. The old



Doctor has this moment come in, and says he never saw him walk so well."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, February 2nd, Sunday :—

"I hope the visit we have had from the Chancellor this morning will be of great use to us, for he seems disposed to enforce the authority of the Willises, and I believe thinks a late inquiry as *silly*, as it appears *wicked* to us. I took an opportunity of telling him my tale, but without making a serious business of it; so if you see him in the House of Lords to-morrow, take no notice of it. I believe (but he says little) that he approves of my letting the business drop."

From Lord Harcourt, February 3rd, Monday :—

"I was at Gloucester House last night, where I heard nothing, and saw nothing but two Regency Caps, which I had not before been near enough to examine. They have the Prince's complete crest: three feathers issuing out of a diamond or pearl coronet, with the simple motto, 'Ich dien.' The motto I had before been told of, was a misrepresentation."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Monday, February 3rd :—

"Dr. Reynolds, who always seems to me very cautious, told Lady Charlotte Finch this morning that he thought he saw the King's mind taking the preliminary steps. Now Warren always speaks as if he thought no such thing could happen, and as if there must at once be a jump from the present state to perfect health, for degrees he admits not of. Mrs. Harcourt, in a letter I had from her yesterday, speaks of a report there is, that Warren had been refused admittance to the King.

The true state of the fact is, his Majesty had passed the night very indifferently, but had been in a quiet sleep for about an hour when Warren came. He was told this, and *desired* not to go in; he answered, that he *would* go in, and added, 'Gentlemen, I am a spy upon ye all, and must see what is going on.' He *did* go in, and awoke the King, who (to use his favourite words), was for some hours after much disturbed. Could any conduct be more inhuman? I think this passed soon after I came here, and know not why I did not mention it before; for it shews what that man is capable of; but the truth is, I always write in such haste, and am so often interrupted when I am writing, that I hardly know

what I have or have not said. We have now a grand *embarras* about the King's going out; the Willises wish it, and go he must; but the manner is the difficulty; it is too cold just at present for him to walk, and there is no place where he may go in a carriage, without being in some degree exposed to the observation of the curious. Richmond Gardens seem the most eligible; but even there he must be seen from the terrace, and if he found himself near it he would not be easy without walking upon it. I foresee another distress: the Queen is not aware that it will be absolutely necessary for one of the Willises to be in the carriage; she speaks as if only Colonel Greville is to go with him. This must not be; but I shall say nothing about it, till I see whether, as the moment draws nearer, she may not recollect that some person ought to be with him who can check him if he wishes to let down the glasses, or do anything improper.

"I am not partial to Dundas, but he pleased me this morning by confessing that the last week had been better than any of the preceding ones; that in his worst hours the King is never nearly so violent as he was formerly, but will listen to advice. Tell me all you can; every anecdote, every circumstance is interesting to us, and of use, by making some little variety in the conversation, and for a time drawing the Queen's thoughts

from the one great object they are usually fixed upon.

"Half-past three.—I have just returned from the Willises. The King is going on as well as they can wish; his present employment is drawing plans of houses, which he does methodically and upon a rule, and does not like to be interrupted. You know this was always a favourite amusement, and his returning to it is a good sign. I am diverted with a report about myself, and so will the Queen be; she is better to-day, and I believe no two persons were ever less disposed to part, though I regret being absent from you."

From the Earl Harcourt, Tuesday, February 4th:—

"The first news I heard in my morning walk was, that Mrs. Fitzherbert is to be created a duchess. This cannot be true; for how can the Regent make a Peeress when he is restricted from making any Peers. It appears to me an absolute impossibility. Mr. Fox will probably now again come forward on the stage, but he cannot ever be a favourite after what has passed. After resisting every effort that has been made use of to induce him to give up the letter which authorized him to make the famous declaration he made in Parliament two years ago, he says he



has lost it. This is not very likely, considering what a very important one it was. I hear that the Prince of Wales has declared that no difficulties, no exigence whatever, shall make him forfeit the oath he has taken,—never to employ Mr. Pitt for his Minister; an oath, however, not very alarming, as sooner or later Kings of England must employ such men as can transact the national business, whether they like them or not. Witness the Prince's great grandfather, who hated the late Lord Chatham as heartily as he can possibly detest his son. They say that no ladies, except such as wear the distinguishing 'Cap,' are spoken to."

On this day (February 3rd), the Speaker, with the Commons, being at the bar of the House of Lords, the Earl of Bathurst, in the absence of the Chancellor, acquainted them that the illness of his Majesty made it necessary that a Commission in his name should pass the Great Seal; the Clerk read it, and then Lord Bathurst opened the cause of their meeting, and stated the objects for which they were to provide. When the Commons returned to their House, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a Bill to pro-

vide for the care of the King's person, and for the administration of the Royal authority during his illness; leave being given, the bill was brought in, and read without a debate on the following day, and committed.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, February 4th, Wednesday :—

"I did not write to you yesterday as I heard you were at the House of Lords. The King continued so well, that in the evening the Queen and Princess Mary passed an hour with him, and her Majesty returned more delighted than I have ever seen her after any of her visits. She said he was calm and collected. Twice she believes he was going to say something wrong, but he put his hand upon his mouth, and said 'hush,' and then in a moment spoke properly. He slept near seven hours last night, and awoke composed; he walked out this morning more than two hours, ate a good dinner when he returned, and is just gone out again. Our spirits and hopes are much revived, but the Chancellor's illness at this time is very unfortunate; he was to have come here to-day, so was Mr. Pitt. The first sent word he was not

well enough. I do not know what prevents the other."

From Earl Harcourt, Wednesday, February 4th:—

"The improved state of the King's health, I believe, causes no small confusion amongst the Opposition. They say Mr. Pitt is to remain in (to be *suffered*, is the expression) till the Mutiny Bill, and the Land and Malt Taxes are passed, and I suspect they now wish to delay the business they appeared so eager to settle; for their own arrangements are not made, nor can they be so, for Vice-Treasurers of Ireland may possibly grow cautious of accepting offices that require a long and expensive journey, and for which they must risk their seats in Parliament; and lose them at last (perhaps) without gaining any lucrative employment to discharge the cost of a re-election.

"I hear Lord Spencer has taken alarm about the Vice-royalty, which originally he accepted very reluctantly; he is obliged to make more and handsomer plate than what he inherited, though his mother gave up her service to him in addition.

"Old Q.<sup>p</sup> is gone to Paris, and has left behind

<sup>p</sup> Duke of Queensbury.

him a legitimate claim to wit, which I never could have supposed he would have been entitled to. Three or four ladies having attacked him at once upon his political apostacy: 'How,' said he, 'can one poor solitary *rat* defend himself against so many *cats*?'

"I must be just enough to own that Warren's acknowledgment of the improved state of the King's health is fair, candid, and open; and the remarks he has made upon the present stage of the disorder judicious, and highly necessary to be observed. What may be his motives for acting as he now does, I am sure I cannot pretend to guess, but I hope for his sake that a respect to truth gave rise to it. The removal of this man is expected, but when the time for taking such a measure does come, it will be productive of much disapprobation, and of every species of abuse, which in some measure his late conduct may justify.

"It is said that old Q. is sent to Paris to desire the Duc D'Orleans to speak less openly of what relates to the P—— and Mrs. F——. That he has been *sent* thither is indeed more than probable, for he has been more in the secret of that mysterious business than anybody, and more in the confidence of the parties; for Mrs. F——'s settlement is an annuity payable out of his estate; which circumstance being now known, it is justly



supposed that he might possibly be asked disagreeable questions by Lord Abingdon, or some other Peer in Parliament; and therefore had better be out of the way of such enquiries."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, February 5th, Thursday :—

"The Queen and Princess Sophia were an hour with the King yesterday evening. He was very calm, though rather in high spirits; he had five hours' sleep in the night, and lay so quiet for two more, that they were uncertain whether he was awake or not. At eleven he went into Richmond Gardens, where for two hours he was so well that not a look, word, or action, would have led any one to suspect his situation. He carried the Willises into the tea-room; shewed them Hogarth's prints, with which they were unacquainted, and explained them all with method and composure. He took up a book of plays, and read a witty prologue with judgment. At the menagerie, he asked very proper questions, and was then returning home; his walk was however prolonged half-an-hour, and he unluckily met the shepherd-boy, who not being properly prepared, answered his enquiry of how many men were at work, by saying, '*None.*' 'Good God,' he cried, 'then those poor creatures must be in distress; must they starve

because I have been ill? I will have them all sent for and set to work again, for I am well now.' This idea dwelt upon his mind, which, even in his present state, feels its accustomed benevolence. However, he was satisfied that they would be sent for, and came in composed, declaring that he had not passed so happy a morning since his illness began. I conclude he will go out again presently; the air is certainly of more use to him than anything.

"The Willises are in ecstasies to-day. A younger son of the Doctor's (the same who wrote the letter I repeated to you the other day) is the author of the Epigram.

"I will read the speeches you recommend. The Opposition must be distressed to find a Viceroy if they can think of Lord Pelham. I do not think the Duke of Dorset will join the new Administration, but surely we may now hope there will be no occasion to form one."

Mr. Burke attacked the principles of the Bill, when it was read the second time in the House of Commons, with a warmth that caused him to be called to order. This was on the 6th of February; on the following day, the 7th of February, Mr. Burke again

objected, without effect, to several of the thirty-two clauses of which the Bill consists.

On the seventh clause being read, which provides against the Prince of Wales's not residing in England, or marrying a papist, Mr. Rolle rose, and mentioned the rumour that had formerly prevailed of his Royal Highness's marriage, and concluded by moving, that the words, *or who is—or shall be, married in law—or in fact, to a papist—shall be added.* This occasioned much altercation, in which the mover was answered with great asperity by Lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Courtney. Mr. Wilson Ellis desired the Royal Act to be read, by which it is enacted that the marriages of any of the descendants of George II. shall not be valid without the Royal assent. He stated that it was a full answer to all cavils, as that could not be valid in fact that was not good in law. The amendment was negatived without a division. Some of the other clauses brought forward that day were opposed, but carried.

On the 9th of February, Monday, the twelfth clause was read, when Mr. Anstruther expressed doubts as to the safety of the King's private property, unless a Commission should be appointed to empower the Queen, the Princes of the blood, the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and the Great Officers of State to take care of it. Mr. Pitt answered, he was satisfied it would be safe in the hands it was already deposited in.

When the fourteenth clause was read, it was urged that the expenses of the Household might be diminished. Mr. Pitt replied that his Majesty's situation rather tended to increase than lessen them.

The sixteenth clause, relating to the King's privy purse, was opposed on the ground of the impropriety of refusing to the Prince, who was to support the dignity of the Crown, the power of disposing of the amount of it. £60,000 was the sum granted to the King for his privy purse, soon after his accession, as a compensation for his giving up the demesnes of the Crown; and out of this it



was proposed by the clause in question, to give the Queen £16,000 per annum. This, it was urged by Opposition, was for purposes unknown to Parliament, and they censured the idea of locking up the remainder during the continuance of his Majesty's illness. On the other side, the clause was supported on the plea of the propriety of not suspending the King's benefactions; and of not seizing the moment of his calamity to strip him of his property. Out of the £16,000 to be given to the Queen, £12,000 was to pay a list of charities settled by the King, and the other £4,000 to enable her to assist persons who were not on that list, but who, she knew, received charities to that amount. Sir William Molesworth thought they ought to agree to the sum proposed to be taken for benevolent purposes, but that the residue should be paid to the Prince's treasurer. The House divided, and the clause passed.

The twenty-seventh was then read; Mr. Powis objected to the part of it that gave

her Majesty power over the Household. He condemned it as a division of influence with the Executive Government, that was inadmissible; that, and the restraining the Prince from creating Peers, not only gave a dangerous control over the two Houses, but put it into irresponsible hands. After arguing upon the mischief that might attend such a measure, he moved an amendment to the preamble of that clause, leaving it open for future revision. Mr. Pitt consented to this, and said that in the whole course of the business, one of the principles he had invariably maintained was, that the whole of the Bill ought ever to be kept open to the future revision of Parliament, and to any alterations it might be expedient to make.

Sir Peter Burrell<sup>a</sup> objected to the patronage being so loosely worded and given, that it was impossible to ascertain the amount of it. Mr. Pitt answered that the whole was about £200,000 per annum; that of this one half went to the payment of tradesmen's bills;

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Lord Gwydir.

that the salaries of the Household, from the highest officer to the lowest turn-spit, did not amount to more than the other £100,000. Of that sum about £30,000 was received for salaries by members of the two Houses of Parliament. There were seven in the House of Commons whose salaries amounted to about £4,000 per annum, and eighteen Lords in the other House whose salaries he estimated at about £20,000. Such influence he could not conceive likely to produce any considerable alteration in the system of economy adopted in the present exigency. Mr. Burke and Lord North objected, on the old ground of her Majesty having any share in the Executive Government. They thought that dividing that power would be unconstitutional and dangerous, and feared it might operate as a pernicious precedent. There was a majority of fifty-five in favour of the clause as it stood.

On the clause relating to the Queen's Council being read, Mr. Pitt proposed that it should consist of the Great Officers of the

Household, viz. the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, the Master of the Horse, and the Groom of the Stole for the time being; to whom should be added, John, Archbishop of Canterbury; Edward, Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor; William, Archbishop of York; and Lloyd, Lord Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice. He meant that the four last should be appointed Councillors by name, and not as persons filling, for the time being, the stations they now hold. The Council was objected to on account of the omission of Princes of the blood, and on that of the nomination being in some instances personal, and in others official; and because some other eminent persons were left out, whose situations made them fit subjects to be chosen.

Lord Graham advised that there was no necessity for inserting the names of the Princes of the blood, as her Majesty could at all times procure their advice; and he thought respect to them might prevent those acting as Commissioners under the Great



Seal, from putting them into situations which would render them responsible to Parliament, and might cause them to be brought to the bar of that House, to answer for the discharge of the trust reposed in them.

Colonel Phipps said that another strong reason for omitting the names of the Princes was, that the two Houses having agreed that the Regent would not have the custody of the royal person, those ought not to be appointed Councillors to the Queen who might be supposed to be as much at the devotion of his Royal Highness; and, for the same reason, it was not proper that the two Archbishops, the Chancellor, and the Chief Justice for the time being should be named; for then, in case of any change, the Regent would have the nomination of Councillors to advise the Queen about the care of the King's person, with which he was not to interfere; the Officers of the Household in right of their offices might be appointed, because the Bill had put them entirely under the control of her Majesty, who could alone remove

them. And Mr. Phipps added, that it was held a principle in law, that in all cases, those who by their proximity could be supposed to have any possible interest in the succession, were for that reason excluded from the care of the principle if he required being taken care of. This, therefore, was a conclusive reason why the Princes of the blood should not be allowed to have any participation in the Council appointed to advise the Queen, which in its nature, of course, included the care of the King's person.

The names of the Lord Mayor of London, and of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, were those that the Opposition wanted to have added; the omission of the latter was strongly animadverted upon, and Ministers were accused of looking to the politics of men, as the criterion of their qualifications for the trust to be vested in them. A division took place, on a motion made by Lord North that the Duke of York should be one of the Queen's Council, which was negatived by a majority of fifty-three. Prince Wil-

liam , Prince Edward<sup>r</sup>, the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, were also proposed and negatived, as were proposals for naming the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Lord Mayor of London.

The twenty-sixth clause provided for the resumption of the royal authority and government by his Majesty. Mr. Pitt said, that though the right of resumption did not depend on the votes of either House of Parliament, yet as the King of this country was not capable of doing any act of State by himself, but was obliged to make use of the medium of persons responsible to the laws for such act; so, in the present case, the bare consciousness of his Majesty that his incapacity was removed, ought not to be admitted as a proof of the fact, but he should employ some organ known to the country to satisfy the people of so desirable an event. It would not be reasonable that he should be obliged to resort to the political servants of the Regency to desire

<sup>r</sup> Afterwards Dukes of Clarence and Kent.

them to take the proper steps for restoring him to power; for the servants of a Government that would be destroyed by such a measure, were certainly not the most fit to carry it into execution. His proposal, therefore, was, that as soon as it should appear to the eight Councillors of the Queen that his Majesty's health was restored, they should signify it, under their hands, to the political servants of the Regency, who should be bound to record the presentment in the Council Books; to signify it to the Lord Mayor of London; and afterwards to the public in the "London Gazette." The King should then summon a number of such members of the Privy Council as had belonged to it before his indisposition, or had been added to it by the Regent. The number he should propose would be nine. These, sitting in Council with his Majesty, would have an opportunity of judging whether his incapacity was really removed or not; and, should six of them be of opinion that it was, then a proclamation, signed by the



King, and countersigned by these six Privy Councillors, notifying his Majesty's capacity, should immediately be published, and instantly all the power of the Regent should cease and be determined. These six persons should be responsible for the opinion thus given under their hands, and that responsibility would be the people's security that the trust reposed in these persons would not be abused. Having said this, he moved that a blank left for the names of those Councillors should be filled up with the word "nine."

Mr. Powis replied, that of all the measures the right honourable gentleman had proposed in the course of this unprecedented business, this was the most extraordinary. He had first maintained that Parliament had a right to settle everything relating to the present exigency; he now abandoned that principle, and did not intend to suffer the interference of Parliament in the restoration of the King to his authority. He thought the public would not have much confidence

in the responsibility of the nine Privy Councillors, picked and chosen from their colleagues in the manner proposed. What, he asked, would be the nature of their responsibility? Their grounds for declaring the King restored to health could not be ascertained, and if they were wrong, it could not be proved whether they were so wilfully, or from an error in judgment. Of what use, then, would a responsibility be, that would not draw down upon them the punishment and vengeance of the law, because it would be impossible to bring such proof as might shew that it was not from error, but design, that they had deceived the public.

Mr. Sheridan strongly urged the necessity of the King's capacity to resume the Government being ascertained by Parliament rather than by the Queen's Council, and observed, that, by the present Bill, everything that may be done by his Majesty during his incapacity was declared to be invalid and of none effect. Now, should it be resolved by the nine Privy Councillors during

the recess of Parliament that he was capable of resuming the Government, the most serious consequences might ensue; for, before the two Houses could meet to ascertain the fact, the Great Seal might be put to a Commission of Regency, that would put it out of their power to interfere any more should his Majesty relapse; and thus these Councilors, whether from error or design, would be the means of making an incapable King establish a Government which Parliament could not afterwards overturn.

A clause to remedy this objection was proposed by Mr. Marsham<sup>a</sup>, but rejected. Mr. Powys then moved that the physicians should be examined upon oath by the Queen's Council. This was also negatived. Mr. Sheridan again urged the necessity of Parliamentary investigation on the recovery of his Majesty, and moved that the Regent should be obliged, if it should take place, to notify it to Parliament. The House

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Lord Romney.

divided upon this motion, and there was a majority of sixty-eight against it.

The Committee having gone through the whole Bill, the report was brought up and agreed to, and the third reading ordered for the next day, Thursday, February 12th; when two clauses were prepared, one by Mr. Pulteney, limiting the restrictions relative to the creation of Peers to three years, which was adopted; the other, by Mr. William Smith, reserving to the Regent the power, in certain cases, of giving the Royal assent to a Bill, or Bills, for the relief of Dissenters from the Church of England, was withdrawn. The Bill then passed, and was ordered to be carried up to the Lords.

On the 17th, the Regency Bill, having passed in that House through the previous steps without opposition, was committed, after two new clauses were added to it; the first, placing all the palaces, houses, parks, gardens, &c., possessed by his Majesty, under the control and management of the Queen; the second, committing to her the care of



all the Royal offspring under the age of twenty-one.

I would not interrupt my account of the dissensions that took place in Parliament upon the Regency Bill, by reverting to what was passing at Kew; from whence, on Saturday, the 7th of February, I was able to inform my Lord, that the King had passed the preceding day much better than any day since his first seizure. He was good-humoured, quiet, asked for his medicines himself, and in the evening played five games at backgammon with perfect composure, and perfectly well. I saw some directions he wrote about a Commission; nothing could be clearer, more concise, or better expressed. The night was good; for, when he did not sleep, he was quite tranquil. I have this instant returned from a long conference with Dr. Willis, who assures me that the King is still better than he was yesterday; that he has *every* symptom that attends those who recover, and *not one* that attends those who do not. In his own mind he has

not a doubt as to the state of convalescence. He has this morning had a conversation of three hours with his Majesty, who had hardly ever rambled in the course of that time, but had given him accounts of various things that had happened at Cheltenham and in other places. Some of these Willis repeated, and the King seems to have expressed himself in the same words I have heard him use when speaking on the same subjects.

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Feb. 8th :—

“Prepare yourself, my dear Lord, for hearing me abused; the storm is gathering; a complaint, and that a strong one, is already made of my remaining in the room the other day when certain persons wanted to see the Queen *alone*; and her reply will not lessen their displeasure, but I care little about it. The scene of happiness we have had this morning would have rejoiced your feeling heart, and I am now firmly persuaded that a short time will perfectly restore the King's health. When I had written thus far I went down to Dr. Willis's room, and upon my enquiring after his Majesty, Thomas Willis said, ‘I almost won-

der you ask now ; we can only answer, 'better and better.' He has been walking in Richmond Gardens, and we, instead of stopping the works, sent to all the men to go on, that the King might have the pleasure of seeing them, for we knew he would neither say nor do anything wrong. As he came near them he said he was much pleased to see them, and we think it best to accustom him by degrees to seeing people. He now speaks of his old system as having been a bad one, and declares his resolution of keeping more quiet, and being less abstemious in future ; in short, it would be endless to attempt telling you how right he is growing upon every subject."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, February 9th :—

"You will rejoice to hear that the Queen and Princesses found the King remarkably well yesterday evening, and that he has had a good night. When I went down as usual to the physicians at their breakfast-hour, I said to Warren, 'Sir, her Majesty desires to know how you found the King this morning?'

"Dr. Warren.—'His Majesty, madam, has had a good night, and is very composed.'

"Dr. Reynolds.—'I never saw the King near so well.'

"Dr. Warren.—'Part of his Majesty's conver-

sation was very good ; part shewed marks of his complaint.'

"Dr. Reynolds.—'I never saw the King so near being himself.'

"Does not this little dialogue tell a great deal ? Warren entirely lowered his note, and Reynolds said all he dared. Thomas Willis followed me out of the room, and told me that the King is perfectly sane ; that the only thing Warren could ground an idea of anything wrong upon was, a question he asked him about a message he has for this fortnight wanted him to carry to the Chancellor, and about which Warren has kept up his illusion by always promising to do it. The old Doctor is jumping about the house, and cannot command his joy, and you will easily believe that we are all in high spirits ; but to the world you had better only say, that your accounts are particularly good ; for, as a relapse is possible, we would not give our enemies a greater triumph by seeming too secure. The King talked of you last night, and said he concluded you attended Lady Cecilia to the Opera as usual. He asked after my cold in the kindest manner ; adding, he hoped it was not so bad as one I had at Cheltenham. He expressed having more pleasure in reading than ever he had, and said he should not dispute with me about Poetry again, for that he was growing to like it as well as I could do. You



will see no symptom of a deranged mind in this account."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Tuesday, February 10th :—

"'Oh, I never saw the King so well since his illness began as he is this evening.' This was the Queen's joyous exclamation as she entered the room after her visit last night ; to which she added, 'there has not been a look or word unlike himself.' The Princesses spoke of him in the same manner. The night was good, and in answer to my enquiry this morning, Sir George Baker said, 'I have the pleasure, madam, of being able to desire you to inform her Majesty that I have never found the King so well as he is to-day.' To which Reynolds added, 'I have never seen him so like himself.'

"I shall send this by the messenger, for I can but half enjoy the happiness I feel until you share it with me ; but I must not omit telling you, that as his reasoning faculties return, his mind opens to the ideas that must naturally arise in it. He now enquires how business has been carried on during his illness ; what his sons have done, &c. ; but he asks these questions without agitation, and acquiesces in the propriety of his not dwelling upon such subjects at present. If he goes on

gaining ground as fast as he has done the last two or three days, Mr. Fox will hardly have time to be re-elected for Westminster, or the fine ladies to wear out their Regency Caps."

To Lord Harcourt, February 10th, evening :—

"Though I wrote to you this morning, as I have an opportunity of sending a letter, I cannot resist telling you that when the King went out this morning Willis ordered his man to keep at a distance, and said he should hardly object to his walking quite alone."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, February 11th, Wednesday :—

"The Queen has employed the Princess Royal to find out my wishes about returning home, not thinking it reasonable to detain me, now that the state of things is so much improved, if my prolonging my stay should be attended with any inconvenience to you or myself. I answered, that though nothing should have induced me to leave her in the distress she was in some time ago, I would not deny that, now her mind was more at ease, I felt that I ought to return to you, after having been absent from you more than twice as long as I ever had been in my life. I added,

that I knew you wished to have me at home again, though, from attachment to her, you would not ask for me to be dismissed. In consequence of this conversation, I think you may expect to see me very soon.

"I have just been with the physicians; Warren said, 'The King is better, there was nothing the least wrong while I was with him this morning. His bodily health has gradually improved for the last fortnight; but Saturday was the day I was most favourably struck with the change in his countenance. I must however observe, that it is the most critical moment in his disorder, the greatest care and quietness are necessary; all ideas, of business should be kept from him, at least they should not be presented to him, and if they occur to him they should be got rid of as soon as possible.' Sir Lucas Pepys confirmed all that the other had said. I have given you his very words as nearly as I can. Old Willis whispered to me as I went out of the room, 'The King is well, but we must not say so.' His sons told me afterwards, that there was only a shade of delirium left, that they had said so to his Majesty, and convinced him of the necessity of the utmost care to remove it. This care he now seems on all occasions desirous of taking, and to you I will own that I am not clear whether the shade they talk of may not be merely his own natural man-

ner, which being different from that of the generality of the world, and very unlike what they may expect from a King, may perhaps be considered by them as some remains of disorder. Confine the answers you give to enquiries, to saying, that your accounts are better and better; it is important that just at present his Majesty should not be thought TOO well. I will tell you *why* when we meet. If the business in Parliament is not likely to be over very soon, I think I shall be desired to stay a little longer. We are to-day very uneasy at an intimation we have received that one of Willis's men is in the pay of Charles Fox. God knows what mischief this may produce should it prove true."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Thursday,  
February 12th:—

"The bulletin will tell you that the King continued in a state of progressive amendment since the account of yesterday. Sir George Baker's expression to me this morning was, 'I have the pleasure to inform you that his Majesty is a great deal better.' Gisbourne gave the same account, and what confirms it to me is, that the King said himself last night, 'I must indeed be well, since Warren allows that I am better.' Of course, this remark must not be repeated.



"Thursday evening.—I was eager this morning to tell you what I had heard from Baker and Gisbourne, but you will observe that I did not name the Willises. I have now had an interview, and am sorry to tell you that Thomas Willis says that his father, his brother, and himself, do not think the King *quite so well* to-day as he was yesterday, but he added, 'it is only a shade, and so slight a one, that we think the Queen and Princesses will not perceive it;' as to the opinion of the physicians, he says, that 'as they could not see when he was a *little better*, it is not extraordinary that they should not see when he is a *little worse*.' The King returned from his walk rather more irritable than he has been for some days, but that the Willises do not mind, they rather think he has a slight cold that may heat him a little; and besides, as they justly remark, no man is always in the same temper.

"I felt encouraged by the good account I had heard in the morning, to mention to the Queen, during our airing, my return home. Nothing could be kinder than she was about it; she said she should be very sorry to part with me, but as her mind was now more at ease, she felt that she ought not to detain me any longer from you. I have therefore written to Lady Effingham<sup>†</sup> (who has been very desirous to be sent for) to come

<sup>†</sup> First Lady of the Bedchamber.

here on Saturday, and I think nothing is likely to prevent our meeting on that day."

To Lord Harcourt, Kew, Friday, Feb. 13th :—

"Let the coach be here by twelve to-morrow. If I do not attend the Queen in her airing, I shall be at home by one; if I do, not till three. I have promised that my absence shall be a short one. This has been a busy morning; the Princes and Mr. Pitt have been here, and I must in haste finish what I hope will be my last letter."

I left Kew on the following day, and on the next Colonel Digby wrote to me from thence, and said :—

"After you left us yesterday, I saw our good King in everything nearly himself, nothing incorrect, but his manner in some small degree hurried, which you know was not unusual before his illness. I felt very well satisfied with all he said, and everything since has passed well. The Prince of Wales has signified a wish to visit him, but his Majesty has desired to postpone the interview for a few days, till after he shall again have seen the Chancellor. Warren has written this, he, Gisbourne, and Willis, have signed it, and the

Queen has enclosed it to the Prince. I have been writing letters for Willis, and been completely hurried all day. Adieu."

From Lady Charlotte Finch, Kew, Monday evening, Feb. 16 :—

"I have delivered your letter to the Queen, she orders me to thank you for it, and assure you that she is pretty well. The King continues as yesterday, that is, as near well as possible, without being quite so. You will be pleased to hear that the Queen walked with him this morning, and that I was made happier than I really can express, by a few very gracious and connected words I had from him. I was standing at a window that looked into the garden, and he called me to open it, that he might speak to me. The Princesses send their love, and join with me in regretting that you have left us."

On Friday the 20th of February, as soon as the Lords were assembled, the Chancellor rose; and, after observing that it had appeared from the official accounts of the physicians that his Majesty had for some time been in a state of convalescence, he informed them, that the accounts just received

conveyed the happy intelligence that the improvement continued to be progressive; which he was sure would be highly gratifying to every man in the kingdom. In this situation of things he conceived that they could not possibly proceed with the Bill before them, and he therefore moved that their Lordships do adjourn to Tuesday, February the 24th.

Before the question was put, the Duke of York said, he trusted their Lordships would do him the justice to believe, that no one in that House could feel equal pleasure with himself at the favourable account the noble Lord on the Woolsack had given, and the motion he had made, in which his Royal Highness assured them he heartily concurred. He added, that he should have had great satisfaction in making the same communication to the House, if he had been enabled to do it from any certain information; he said he had thought it his duty on the preceding day, in consequence of the favourable reports given to the public, to request to be



admitted into his Majesty's presence, but that from some reasons that were no doubt very justifiable, it had not been thought right to allow him that satisfaction. His Royal Highness declared, that though he had not had any immediate communication with his brother on the subject of the present motion, he was convinced that he felt equal if not greater pleasure than himself, in the hope of his Majesty's recovery; as it would relieve him from the embarrassment of the situation in which the Bill would have placed him, and which nothing, but a strong sense of his duty to the public, would have induced him to undertake.

On Saturday, February the 21st, I returned to Kew. The countenances of the Queen and Princesses were alone sufficient to prove the happy improvement that had taken place in the King's health, during the week I had been absent. They told me he had for the last two or three days come upstairs to visit them; and, while we were talking, one of the pages opened the door,

and I heard Colonel Digby tell the King as they came along the passage, that he would find me with the Queen. He answered, "Oh, how glad I shall be to see her," and, as soon as he came into the room, he embraced me with the affection of a brother; and, in the kindest manner, expressed his pleasure at finding me with the Queen. I stayed some time with their Majesties, and everything the King said convinced me that he was quite well. He continued to be so, and on Tuesday, the 24th of February, the Chancellor informed the House of Lords that he had on that day attended his Majesty by his own express command, and had found him perfectly recovered; but that in order to bring the pressure of public affairs as gradually as possible before his mind, he should propose an adjournment to the Monday following.

On that day the House again adjourned to Thursday, the 5th of March, when the Lords were informed by the Chancellor that his Majesty would signify his pleasure to

both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday, March the 10th; on which day, the Commons, with their Speaker at their head, being at the bar of the House of Lords, the Chancellor stated that the King, not thinking it then fit to be present in person, had caused a Commission to be issued, authorising the Commissioners, who had been appointed by former letters patent, to hold that Parliament, and to open and declare certain further causes for holding the same.

The Commission being read, the Chancellor addressed the two Houses in the name of the Commissioners, and informed them that his Majesty having recovered from his late severe indisposition, and being again enabled to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, had commanded them to convey his warmest acknowledgments to Parliament, for the additional proofs he had received of affectionate attachment to his person, of anxious concern for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the security and good government of his dominions.

The Chancellor added, that he was further commanded by his Majesty to acquaint them with the treaty of defensive alliance signed with the King of Prussia, &c.; and to inform the House of Commons that the estimates for the current year would forthwith be laid before them.

An Address of Congratulation was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Chesterfield, and seconded by Lord Cathcart; and in the Commons, by Earl Gower and Mr. York. Some doubts were expressed by Earl Stanhope as to the regularity of their proceedings, from their not having the King's recovery ascertained in the manner proposed in the Regency Bill; but they were overruled by the Chancellor.

In the Lower House, Mr. Fox observed, that though the praise bestowed in his Majesty's speech on the proceedings of the two Houses, appeared to be designed to prevent his joining in the Address, yet he should readily do so, considering it merely as the Minister's eulogium upon himself. He was



confident that it would be considered in no other light, because it had fallen to his lot to know, from authority, that those who alone could inform his Majesty of the reasons and grounds of the different opinions and doctrines which had been formed and maintained, had not had an opportunity of giving such information; and he knew his Majesty's sense of justice and duty too well, to believe that, without any explanation on the subject, he would give a decided opinion. At the same time, Mr. Fox remarked, that on such a step as that, he conceived at least that the Right Honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) might have been kept in the background, in order to let his Majesty stand forward as a prominent figure.

Neither the Minister nor any of his friends thought proper to make any answer to this illiberal attack, and the Address was voted unanimously; so was one to the Queen, proposed in the House of Lords by the Earl of Morton, seconded by Lord Hawkesbury; in the House of Commons, the mover

and seconders were Lord Graham, and Mr. Hamilton.

I have endeavoured, as briefly as I could, to give some idea of the transactions in Parliament during the important period to which my narrative relates. It was necessary sometimes to connect them with it, to shew the difficult situation in which the Queen was placed, and from which nothing but her good sense and strict integrity could have extricated her, with the approbation of her own heart, of the King, and of the nation.

It may not be improper here to say, that while party spirit raged in England, it shewed itself with equal, if not greater, violence in Ireland. Mr. Fox had many and powerful connections in that country. The Lord Lieutenant wished as much as possible to delay any resolutions being taken by the Irish Parliament, until the resolutions of the English Parliament could be proposed to them for their concurrence; but this desire was opposed as derogatory to the independ-

ence of Ireland; and Mr. Gratton's motion for an early meeting of the House was carried, after some severe animadversions upon the Lord Lieutenant, by a majority of fifty-four.

On the 16th of February, Mr. Conolly moved an Address to the Prince of Wales, praying him to take upon himself, as Regent, the government of Ireland during his Majesty's incapacity. This was voted in the Commons, as was a similar one proposed by Lord Charlemount in the House of Lords, but a protest signed by twenty-seven Lords was entered in the Journals.

On the 17th both Houses waited on the Lord Lieutenant, to request him to transmit their Address; this he refused to do, returning for answer, that, under the impression of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay before the Prince an Address, the purport of which was to give his Royal Highness power to take upon himself the government of that realm, before he should be

enabled by law to do so; and he was therefore obliged to decline transmitting the said Address to Great Britain.

On the 20th of February, Mr. Gratton said, that as his Excellency had thought proper to refuse the request of the Houses of Parliament, he must move that a competent number of members should be appointed to carry the Address to England, and present it to the Prince of Wales. This motion was carried without a division, and a message sent to the House of Lords, praying them to appoint some members of their own body to join with the Commons; this being agreed to, Commissioners were named, who lost no time in repairing to London, where they arrived on the 25th of February. The next day they presented their Address to his Royal Highness; but as the King's convalescence was then apparent, the Prince, after thanking them for it, and expressing the satisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and



Government of his Majesty, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place; and added, that he hoped in a few days the joyful event of his Royal Father's being able to resume his functions, would put it in his power to give them a final answer, and make it only necessary for him to repeat the assurances of the gratitude and affection he felt for the loyal and generous people of Ireland, sentiments which would ever remain indelibly impressed upon his heart. In March the delegates returned, and reported to the two Houses the Prince's answer.

I have mentioned that an official declaration was made to Parliament on the 10th of March of the complete restoration of his Majesty's health. In the morning of that day the bells of all the churches were rung; at noon, the Park and Tower guns were fired, and the standard hoisted on the White Tower; and nothing could exceed the joy that was felt and expressed by the generality of the people, who were eagerly desirous to

see their beloved Monarch again. But quiet for some time had been strongly advised, and it was thought that change of air and scene would be beneficial and pleasing to the King. The going to Windsor was therefore proposed, and he was delighted with the plan. Their Majesties did me the honour of desiring me to be of the party, and it was settled that we should go as soon as the Lodge could be aired and prepared.

Everything was ready on the 14th of March; the King and Queen went in their post-chaise, the three eldest Princesses and I followed in the coach. His Majesty was at the door when we arrived, and took each of us in his arms as we got out of the carriage. The pleasure the returning to his favourite habitation gave him; his gratitude to God for the restoration of his health; his joy to find himself again living in society with his family; their happiness in having him with them, altogether formed a scene so interesting and affecting, that the remembrance of it will never be effaced from my

mind. At night there was a *feu-de-joie* from the Round Tower. The old embattled walls, lined with soldiers, had a striking effect, and carried our ideas back to the chivalrous days of Edward the Third. The fireworks and illuminations were beautiful, and the air was rent with acclamations that came from the heart. The King's own heart overflowed with kindness to every creature about him, and the only alloy to our satisfaction was the fear of his suffering from the agitation it was impossible for him not to feel. The next day (Sunday, the 15th) he went to church between eight and nine to receive the Sacrament, and returned at ten to a service that lasted nearly four hours. The Bishop of Worcester was then at Windsor. From the time of his being preceptor to the Princes the King had been very partial to him; this made the Queen think he would be glad to have him of the party.

On Monday, the 16th, the Earl of Chesterfield desired to see me; he was deputed by the club at White's to say, that they

meant to give a fête to celebrate the King's recovery, and that they should be highly gratified if the Queen would honour it with her presence. I carried the message to her Majesty, and was ordered to return her thanks, but to say she must decline accepting the invitation. When I went down to breakfast on Wednesday, the 18th of March, I saw, by the looks of intelligence that passed between their Majesties, that there was something I was to be told; at last the Queen said, "The King longs to see Lord Harcourt, and wishes he would make him a visit here." He interrupted her, saying, "I would not ask him till every place was warm and well-aired, for we must make him comfortable if he will come." The Queen added, "that she would do all in her power that he might be so." I mention their very words, to shew how kind they are to those they honour with their regard.

The King went out as soon as breakfast was over, but the Queen bade me not fail to settle a time for my Lord's coming, as



soon as he returned. I had no opportunity of asking his orders till after dinner, and he then desired me to write by that night's post, adding, "The sooner I have him with me the better." I said, I knew my Lord would eagerly comply with so kind an invitation, but that I should advise his not coming till Friday, as there was so much to be done the next day (Thursday), when we were to go to Kew, full-dressed, at half-past nine in the morning, for their Majesties to receive the Address of the City of London.

The King was more than ever displeased with the physicians after reading the account of their examination by the Committee, and told me he must have some conversation with me about the part in which I was named.

I accompanied their Majesties and the Royal Family to St. Paul's on the 23rd of April. The fête at Windsor took place on the 1st of May; the French Ambassador's fête on the 29th of May; the Spanish Ambassador's fête at Ranelagh on the 9th of

June; and the entertainment at White's Club also took place in June.

The following is an account of the ceremony of receiving the Queen at the fête given (by order of the King of France) in commemoration of the King of England's recovery. It was given by the Marquis de la Lugeme, the French Ambassador, at his house in Portman Square, May 29th, 1789 :—

#### "ORDRE DE LA FÊTE.

"LA Reine entrera par Portman Square. Elle trouvera un tapis rouge qui couvrira tout l'espace depuis sa voiture, en traversant l'antichambre jusqu'au grand escalier. À la portière de la Reine se trouvera l'Ambassadeur de France, sa nièce et son neveu, qui auront l'honneur de la recevoir.

"Dès le premier antichambre seront l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, et celui de Naples. Au bas du grand escalier elle trouvera le reste du corps diplomatique qui lui rendra ses respects. Après quoi sa Majesté entrera dans le salon du dais, où elle se reposera quelques minutes. Du salon du dais, la Reine se rendra par l'escalier de la salle du bal. Elle trouvera cette salle illuminée et tout

préparée pour la recevoir. Cent vingt ou cent trente personnes de celles qui composent la fête auront été priées de se trouver dans cette salle un quart d'heure avant que la Reine arrive, ce qui fera assez de monde pour la recevoir décemment, et pas assez pour qu'elle soit pressée ou foulée.

"Sa Majesté, si cela lui plait, se promènera un peu dans les parties du jardin illuminées, et verra en général le local.

"Après qu'elle se sera promenée, elle sera suppliée de prendre place, ainsi que les Princesses, sur l'estrade qui sera préparée pour la recevoir. On sonnera alors une Pamphare et l'on verra sortie du fond de la Salle, M<sup>lle</sup> Guimard et douze danseurs ou danseuses qui représenteront un Ballet adapté à la circonstance.

"Après que les acteurs auront donné le petit Ballet, qui ne durera pas plus d'une demie heure, les Princes et Princesses, les danseurs et danseuses qui se trouveront dans la salle, seront priés de commencer la première contredance, et le reste de la compagnie qui est invitée pour dix heures et demie s'assemblera successivement. Alors le Bal général continuera et durera jusqu'à une heure du matin. L'Ambassadeur se propose de faire souper la Reine dans le salon de compagnie à une table de six couverts pour elle et les Princesses. Dans cette chambre, mais à quelque dis-

tance, sera une autre table de vingt deux personnes que sa Majesté aura plus particulièrement désignées.

"En face du salon où soupera la Reine est celui du dais où l'Ambassadeur se propose de placer une table de vingt quatre couverts pour les Princes et les personnes qu'ils auront désignée pour souper avec eux.

"Pendant que la Reine sera à souper, le reste de la compagnie soupera aussi à des tables préparées à cet effet.

"Enfin après le souper de la Reine, elle redescendra dans le salon, le Bal recommencera et durera le temps qu'il plaira à sa Majesté."

A fête was given (by order of the King of Spain) in commemoration of the King of England's recovery, by the Marquis del Campo, the Spanish Ambassador. It was very magnificent, and took place at Ranelagh, on June the 9th, 1789. The Queen was received there in great state. A beautiful service of china, with appropriate medallions and mottoes, was manufactured at the Royal Sèvres Porcelain Works for the occasion.

On the 24th of February, 1796, the Marquis del Campo was appointed by the King



of Spain Ambassador to the French Republic. The departing Ambassador sent the following notes to Harcourt House :—

"The Marquis del Campo presents his best compliments to Lord and Lady Harcourt, and begs they will accept kindly the small case he takes the liberty of sending by the bearer."

This case contained the china above alluded to, and which is now preserved at Nuneham.

The second note was of a true Castillian character; it was addressed to Lady Harcourt, and ran as follows :—

"At the foot of Windsor Castle" an honest Spaniard lies,  
A goddess dwells within doors; who might order, 'get  
up, rise !'"

#### NOTE.

No trace is to be found amongst Lady Harcourt's papers of the painful quotations which Jesse gives in his *Life of George III.*, vol. iii. pp. 82—89, under the heading of "Lady Harcourt's Diary; Massey's History of England, vol. iii. pp. 384, 385."

" Lady Harcourt was in waiting at Windsor.

#### EPIGRAM,

WRITTEN ON A WINDOW AT WINDSOR,  
BY AN ETON SCHOLAR.

YOU may send, if ought should ail ye,  
To Willis, Heberden, or Baillie ;  
All exceeding skilful men,  
Willis, Baillie, Heberden ;  
But doubtful which most sure to kill is,  
Baillie, Heberden, or Willis.

MEMOIR  
OF  
GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF  
DEVONSHIRE,  
BY  
ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF HARCOURT.



## Memoir of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

GEORGINA, Duchess of Devonshire, was the eldest daughter of John, Earl Spencer. At the time of her marriage with William, Duke of Devonshire, in the year 1774, she was just seventeen, and might have sat for the portrait of a Hebe; youth, health, cheerfulness, and good humour, gave a glow and animation to her countenance, that well supplied the want of regular features; her complexion was brilliant, her hair beautiful, her teeth remarkably fine, and her smile fascinating. Her person was tall and showy, but her limbs were not finely formed, and her deportment was neither dignified nor graceful, except when dancing; in that accomplishment she as far surpassed all the women of her time, as the Prince of Wales did all the men of his.

When she first entered into a world of which she soon became the idol, a great degree of natural timidity and unfeigned modesty gave an awkwardness to her manner that might have been excused in favour of the amiable qualities from whence it proceeded; but which was declared to be becoming, because it was the law to admire whatever the Duchess of Devonshire did or said. This ill-judged flattery induced her to continue from vanity what originated in humility, and strange as it may seem, the slaves of fashion rather than not resemble her in something, would gnaw their fans, and imitate tricks for which a boarding-school girl would have been reproved, stick out their chins, and affect to be short-breathed:—

“Till those who boasted sixteen quarters,  
Might be mista'en for chandlers' daughters.”

But happy would it have been for her if flattery had stopped here; unfortunately, as she advanced in life, it took a more pernicious turn. I have ever thought, and still

think, that nature never formed a more charming creature: she had sense, she had information, she had talents; few women ever wrote as well both in prose and verse; and few could converse more agreeably; her temper was excellent; she was affectionate, warm, and steady in her friendship; charitable, and benevolent; but a want of judgment, and too great a facility in yielding to the wishes and opinions of others, obscured the good and great qualities of her head and heart; and it was her misfortune to fall into the hands of those who availed themselves of the weak part of her character.

Married as she was before errors of character could be corrected, and placed at an early age in the highest rank, with the uncontrolled disposal of an immense fortune, she enjoyed a degree of admiration I never saw bestowed upon others, her equals in situation, and her superiors in beauty. Candour must acknowledge that there is more cause for regret than surprise, that her sub-



sequent conduct did not answer the expectations of her real friends.

The Duke of Devonshire was a sensible man, and had some good qualities, but was of too indolent a temper to guide an inexperienced wife. He wished her to be happy, but the indulging her in unbounded expense and dissipation was the only method he adopted of making her so; fire and water could not be more opposite than their dispositions, everything was indifferent to him, everything was an object to her. They had been married many years before they had any children, and, having no object at home to engage her affection and occupy her time, she became too much devoted to the world. Her house was open to all who found it pleasant, or convenient to resort to it; her thoughtless good-humour checked her powers of discrimination; the gay and the profligate were received, their society amused her; it was their interest to estrange her from her more respectable connections, and from all who were likely to be a restraint on them;

and though she never ceased to love, and behave with respect to her mother, they weakened the influence she ought to have had over her. A thousand follies in which she had little share were sanctioned by her name, and such was the popularity she had acquired by her affability, the sweetness of her manners, and her constant desire to please and oblige, that for some years even the most rigid were inclined to be indulgent to her,—but—

“Never let man be bold enough to say,  
Thus, and no further shall my passions stray.”

Her associates had brought her to tolerate, and by degrees they brought her to partake of, many of their failings. The love of gaming was not natural to her, in their society she acquired it; she played too ill and too carelessly to be successful, and while she lost large sums in the evening, she was pillaged in the morning by crowds of tradesmen, who attended her toilette with trinkets, silks, laces, and a variety of things she neither wished for nor wanted, but which they

knew she would not have the resolution to refuse buying. And thus with a pin-money (£1,500 per annum) large enough to have supplied her with everything she could desire, and to have allowed her to gratify her generosity and benevolence, she became distressed; and that distress was attended by its natural consequences, mean resources at first, and desperate measures afterwards.

She had unfortunately adopted the fashionable but spurious idea, that fashion was such an old hobbling beldame, that it was impossible to make her keep pace with generosity. Had she permitted herself to reflect, her good sense would have told her that she could not be generous, if she was not just; and that when she made a present she did not pay for, the gift was not hers, but the unfortunate mechanic's who, deceived in his expectations, and defrauded of his profit, might for a time be patient, but would not fail in the end to claim his right, and expose her to difficulty and disgrace. This she fatally experienced; after suffering great

anxiety of mind, and trying every subterfuge, it became impossible to conceal her situation from her husband; he paid her debts, and she resolved not to contract new ones. It was not in her nature, however, to keep a resolution that called for prudence, subjected her to restraint, and exposed her to the ridicule of the parasites by whom she was surrounded, and who had found their advantage in her extravagance. Her usual habits were resumed, and from increased distress there was too much reason to believe that she gambled in the alley, and obtained money in ways that were shamefully disgraceful.

Previous to the time I am speaking of, a new source of expense had opened itself to her. Party rage ran high in the years 1783 and 1784. The Duchess of Devonshire had passed a great deal of time in France; she was connected with many of the first persons in that country, and very conversant with French literature, it was therefore natural for her to think that there was no impropriety in a woman's being a politician.



Some of the leaders of Opposition, and many of their dependants, were of her society. To have constant dinners and suppers, and a large house always open for them to meet and cabal in, was an object of no small consequence. They, therefore, changed their battery, and from flattering her as the arbitress of fashion, they taught her to think she had talents to be the head of a party. Celebrity was the idol to which she was ever ready to sacrifice; Devonshire House became a second Hotel de Longueville; and when the contested election for Westminster was carried on with the most indecent violence between Mr. Fox and the member supported by the Ministry, the Duchess of Devonshire was seen in every dirty alley soliciting and purchasing votes from chimney-sweepers and butchers. It was in vain that every print-shop was filled with caricatures, and that the Press teemed with lampoons and satires; she was intoxicated with the praise bestowed upon her by her selfish associates, and ascribed to envy the

honest indignation which the more thinking part of the community could not but feel, when they witnessed conduct so disgraceful to her sex and rank. The sums she squandered upon this occasion were enormous; nor did the folly end with the election; she would have ceased to be the head of the party if her purse had ceased to support it.

There was, however, another motive for the court paid to her by the Opposition. The enthusiasm she inspired was at its height, at the time when the Prince of Wales first mixed in the fashionable society of London. It was natural for him to give his preference to the society of a woman not much older than himself, and who possessed, in no uncommon degree, the power and the inclination of contributing to his amusement: most of his time was passed at Devonshire House, and those who felt the importance it was to them to obtain the favour of the heir-apparent, had opportunities of knowing and making themselves agreeable to him there, which they assiduously cultivated.

It is foreign from my intention to go deeper into the politics of that time than is necessary to illustrate that part of the Duchess's character; yet, in justice to her and to the Prince, I must observe, that whatever might be the cause that first united them, a sincere and steady friendship (which was only interrupted for a very short time) subsisted between them for near twenty-five years, and was only terminated by the death of the Duchess.

Late hours, dissipation, and anxiety of mind had early in life affected her constitution; but, as it was naturally a strong one, she was enabled to struggle against repeated and violent illnesses. One of these gave a fatal blow to her beauty, by depriving her of the sight of her right eye, and disfiguring the appearance of it so much, that for a time it was distressing to her to bear; but here the sweetness of her temper had an occasion of manifesting itself. She bore extreme pain with firmness and patience, and when all hope of recovering her eye was lost, she submitted to the misfortune

without a murmur. The seeds of religion that had been early implanted in her mind were never eradicated; and when sickness "left her leisure to be good," she suffered agonies of mind, that one might have hoped would have been productive of a lasting reformation; but with returning health her good intentions vanished, and the world regained its power.

On the 6th of March, 1806, she was seized, while at dinner at the Marquis of Stafford's, with the illness that, on the 30th of the same month, put an end to a life which had been more splendid than happy. From the time of her seizure she was thought to be in danger; several of the most eminent physicians attended her; they differed in their opinions as to the nature of her disorder; and it proved to be a complication of diseases, that baffled all their skill. For many days she was delirious, and the weight that oppressed her mind evinced itself in the things she said; she reproached herself for the injury she had done to others by her



extravagance, and lamented her misconduct in the most affecting terms. Her sufferings, bodily and mental, were such, that those who loved her most must have considered her release from them as an act of the Almighty's mercy.

Thus died the once lovely and amiable Duchess of Devonshire, affording a most striking and awful lesson, that every advantage human nature can possess is insufficient to bestow happiness and ensure esteem, without a proper sense of moral rectitude and a well-regulated mind. She was snatched from the world before she had completed her forty-ninth year, and at the moment when the first wish of her heart seemed to be accomplished; for the death of Mr. Pitt about two months before, had placed her friends in the situations she had so ardently desired to see them obtain. To the honour of those friends it must be said, that they truly lamented her loss. To her children it was a severe one; there could not have been a fonder parent; and, conscious of her

own deficiencies, she had entrusted much of their education to an excellent woman. Under her care Lady Georgiana Morpeth and Lady Harriet Cavendish were taught to love and practise every virtue; and, too sensible of the consequences of bad examples, the Duchess rarely suffered them to mix in the society she had not herself the resolution to give up. Their grief at her death was sincere, and that of their brother knew no bounds; he passed hours sitting by and kissing the lifeless remains of an adored mother. Even the natural apathy of the Duke of Devonshire gave way, and, bathed in tears, he endeavoured to make her sensible in her illness, that if she recovered all should be forgiven, and every step in his power taken to make her conscience easy with respect to others.

The affliction of her sister, Lady Bessborough, was such as to alarm her family, and though the strong and religious mind of Lady Spencer enabled her in the trying scene to attempt giving that comfort to those

around her which she herself wanted, there is too much reason to fear that she will never recover the loss of a darling daughter, once as much the object of her pride as she always was of her affection.

During the last days of the Duchess's life Devonshire House was crowded with persons who came to make anxious inquiries, which her servants were hardly able to answer, from the concern they felt for a mistress whose constant kindness had warmly attached them to her. Surely the good qualities of a person so beloved must have precedence above her failings. Let us, then, draw a veil over the errors of her character, and view the brighter parts of it with pleasure. Perhaps it was not in human nature to resist the temptations to which she was exposed; had she done so, she would have been an angel. Let not man,—weak erring man—presume to judge her too severely; but let us rather hope that “the deeds of mercy she has done, the orphans’ and the widows’ cries may rise to Heaven, and draw a blessing on her.”

ODE TO HOPE,  
BY  
GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF  
DEVONSHIRE.

1781.



## ODE TO HOPE.

**D**ECEIVER! Shadow though thou art!  
Fair Hope, thy rays dispense,  
With fancied blessings fill my heart,  
And mock the rules of sense;  
By canker'd sorrow when opprest  
Thy fairy dreams shall soothe my breast,  
And drown in future joys my pain;  
The happy hours the fates bestow  
Should teach in brighter hues to glow,  
And fix their wayward reign.

Whilst passions fierce, and sorrows wan,  
Extend their iron sway,—  
Whilst guilt, and woe, attend on man,  
And veil his brightest day,—  
Thy fostering hand, and gentle smile,  
Can e'en the sighs of pain beguile,  
Can grief assuage, can comfort bring;  
Thy whisper soft, and buxom cheer,  
Can deck with early bloom the year,  
And winter turn to spring.

By rosy youth, with dimpled cheek,  
With eyes that fire impart,  
With looks that frolick pleasures speak,  
And credulous of heart,

Thy precepts are ador'd as true ;  
 From joy possest, they fly to new,  
     They cull the rose, nor heed the sting ;  
 Pleasure with them no period knows,  
 To them her syren wiles she shews,  
     And hides her rapid wing.

For thee no thought too wild appears,  
     But clad in fancy's trim,  
 O'er the deep flood of passing years  
     Thy airy bubbles swim ;  
 By thee, the wretch in dungeon pent  
 Can schemes of future power invent,  
     Can kingdoms give, and sceptres wave ;  
 Though prest with chains, his bosom beats  
 For conquer'd realms, and warlike feats,  
     Nor feels that he's a slave.

Thou lov'st with flattering hand to paint  
     New wreaths on virtue's brow,  
 Misfortune veil in colours faint,  
     And guilt, reluctant shew ;  
 E'en love with thee no falsehood knows,  
 His purple light serenely glows  
     With sparkling blaze, yet still the same ;  
 Friendship to thee no dream appears,  
 But on her snow-white shrine she rears  
     A pure, though fainter flame.

Come, then, I woo thy summer reign,  
     Thy fleeting moments hail,  
 Though short-lived blessings fill thy train,  
     And disappointment pale.  
 All nature courts the gladsome hour ;  
 To meet the sunbeam, blows the flower,  
     And blossoms through its little day ;  
 Thus I, though fate no bliss bestow,  
 Thy frail, but radiant gleams would know,  
     And bask beneath the ray.



EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS  
OF THE  
HON. MRS. HARCOURT,  
TO  
ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF HARCOURT.  
1791.

Extracts from Letters, &c.

EXTRACTS from the letters I received from the Hon. Mrs. Harcourt when she was at Weymouth, while their Majesties were there in the months of September and October, 1791 :—

“I suppose by this time the three youngest Princesses have left Nuneham, and am sure you and Lord Harcourt will regret them. I shall comply with your request, and inform you of all I can learn here respecting our future Duchess of York. Upon the whole, the accounts of her are good, and we have nothing to do with any former attachments she may have had. Sydney Smith (who is just come from Berlin) is here, so is Lindsey, and we talk eternally of that Court and the persons who compose it. They say that the old Queen Dowager of Prussia cried for joy when the marriage was announced to her, and said her dear child would now be the happiest of mortals. The King said to the Princess,—‘ Ma Fille vous avez attendu longue temps mais vous avez tiré le gros lot.’ He is to give her £30,000, and it is said that he will privately pay the Duke's



debts ; they are supposed to amount to £200,000. A proposal is to be made to Parliament to give him £25,000 per annum, which (with Osnaburgh) will make his income £40,000. Opposition will probably make this a pretence to ask something for the Prince of Wales.

"The Duke behaves so well at Berlin that everybody is charmed with him ; he is now quite Prussian, and outrageous with Opposition for sending Mr. Adair to Petersburg, and for other parts of their conduct. I am glad St. Leger is with him ; he is so right-headed, and unlike many of the set in behaviour and opinions.

"The Duke and the Princess are so much in love with each other, that they are like the hero and heroine of a romance, and talk of nothing but retiring to Oatlands, and living with and for each other. The Prince of Prussia is to come here ; we shall see which of our three goddesses will have the apple. Princess Wilhelmina (who is to go to Holland) is the most angelic creature that ever was seen. Our future Duchess is very lively, so there have been fêtes without end at Berlin, and the Court dreads the losing them. Lord Malmesbury is gone to Berlin ; I fear he will do no good.

"According to the Marriage Act, the King must give his consent in Council to the marriage of any of the royal family ; this has been delayed

till this very day (Sept. 28), and the Duke is to be married to-morrow. Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Walsingham, and Mr. Dundas, came for this purpose last night ; Lord Chesterfield, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Pitt were here before. It is thought that the 29th was fixed for the wedding in compliment to the Princess Royal, as it is her birthday.

"I have just got a letter from Lord James Murray, who is at Berlin ; he tells me that the Princess said to him the other night, '*demandez beaucoup d'indulgence pour moi en Angleterre ;*' she repeated it twice with emotion ; Lord James adds, '*she is very little, not handsome, and has not good teeth ; but she has fine eyes, fine hair, a pleasing countenance, a lively manner, a great deal of conversation, and, by all accounts, an exceeding good temper.*' The Prince of Wales has uniformly declared that he will join in doing everything that is kind by his brother, but begs it may be understood that he by no means says he shall never marry.

"Before the King came here, I thought he looked heated, and full of blood ; and he was sometimes sleepy, but now he is delightfully well. He told Mr. Harcourt yesterday he had never felt so well since his illness, nor so strong.

"The Princesses enjoy the ease they have here ; even the Queen walks about with only a lady,

and goes into the shops. Yesterday she gave me a pretty pair of travelling candlesticks, made upon a new plan. The plays here are good ; the Royal Family go twice a-week. Lady Poulett, Lady Digby, I, or any of the persons of fashion here, secure the boxes on each side of theirs to keep off improper company. Once a-week they go to the Assembly, where people crowd to see them ; and those who have any claim to their notice are asked to drink tea with them in an inner room. The other nights they have parties at home, but Lord Chesterfield, and the gentlemen in attendance, are the only men who are invited ; they do not wish to encourage people to pursue them here.

“The King was at Lulworth yesterday, and in the course of the morning rode thirty-two miles as fast as he could go. We were all afraid it would be too much for him ; it was a warm day, he perspired violently, and is so well after it, that General Harcourt says, that though bathing does him much good, he thinks hunting will be still better for him. Everything goes on quietly and comfortably, no jealousies, no contretemps, to disturb any of the party.

AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
DUKE OF SUSSEX' MARRIAGE,  
BY  
ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF HARCOURT.  
1793.



### Duke of Sussex' Marriage.

IN the month of March, 1793, Prince Augustus (who had for some years chiefly resided in Italy, upon account of his health,) met Lady Augusta Murray at Rome; though fourteen years older than himself, she was still handsome, and her manner, which was always insinuating, easily made an impression upon the heart of a youth naturally full of affection and sensibility, and who had long been separated from his family and friends.

A thorough knowledge of the world gave Lady Augusta a great advantage over her artless lover, and she had the address to conceal, or to gloss over, some of the earlier transactions of her life, and to persuade the young Prince to marry her, in defiance of the Act that made the marriages of the descendants of George II. illegal, unless the consent of the King and Parliament were

previously obtained. This ill-assorted union was, however, kept secret; and Prince Augustus, being tolerably recovered, was allowed to come to England in September, 1793.

Some months before this, his marriage had been pretty publicly talked of both at Rome and in London; but if the rumour did reach the Royal Family, they gave no further credit to it, than as supposing that the lady's friends wished it to be spread to excuse an attachment which no one could doubt subsisted between her and the Prince. To his sisters, to me, and a few others, he sometimes dropped hints, but never spoke clearly; and, indeed, we all avoided the subject as much as possible, considering any ceremony that had passed abroad as a mere farce, to reconcile Lady Dunmore to her daughter's conduct.

In November Lady Augusta came to England, in a situation which she took no pains to conceal; the Prince saw her by stealth, but it must have been very seldom,

as he was only in town once in a fortnight for two days at a time; and there is no reason to believe that he visited her from Windsor. They, however, took lodgings, he in Audley, and she in South Molton-street, and were asked three times in the Parish Church of St. George's Hanover-square, by the names of Augustus Frederick, and Augusta Murray; and on Thursday the 5th of December, at eight in the morning, they were again married (or rather the ceremony was again repeated) in that church, in presence of the persons with whom she lodged (a coal-merchant and his wife, of the name of Jones). To these people she had previously said, that she had married a Mr. Frederick in Italy, but, as he was under age, they thought it right to be married again in England. She added that she (though some years older) was by a particular rule in her own family still a minor, and that they were obliged to be very secret in what they did, as his father, who was a baronet, and hers, who was a gov-



ernor abroad, would oppose their union if they were apprised of it in time.

After this second wedding the Prince continued to live with his family as usual; Lady Augusta retired into Essex, where, on the 13th of January, she was brought to bed of a son. When first she was taken ill, she told the man-midwife who attended her, that, to prevent his having any suspicion injurious to her character, she would shew him the certificate of her marriage. She did so, and did not enjoin him to secrecy; of course he mentioned what he had heard, and, about the same time, some persons accidentally saw the entry in the Register. Questions were asked of the clerk, who said he remembered that couple were married almost before the Canonical hour; that the man looked like a foreigner (which certainly the Prince always did); that he was muffled up in a great-coat, buttoned over his chin; and that the lady was covered with a veil, and they spoke very little English. These circumstances soon became the topics of

general conversation; numbers went to see and copy the Register, and much curiosity was excited as to the consequences that would attend this event.

On Tuesday, the 16th of January, the Prince left England, after repeatedly declaring that it would be many years before he returned, if, indeed, he ever did. It was not, however, to his *father* that these declarations were made, and *he* certainly at that time flattered himself that the Prince had only felt a boyish attachment for Lady Augusta, which time and absence would cure; but after the levée on Friday, January the 24th, the Lord Chancellor (Lord Loughborough) asked an audience. The King was struck with his manner when he entered the room. He walked up to his Majesty, and, with an assumed firmness, said, "However painful the task may be, I am sure, Sir, you would wish me to do my duty." Seeing the King struck with this address, he added, "Your Majesty's Proctors have been at work for some days to settle the manner

of proceeding to set aside Prince Augustus's marriage; for, as the Royal Marriage Act was formed under your own immediate direction, I can have no doubt that it will be your pleasure to have it enforced."

The King signified his acquiescence, and the Chancellor issued the writ the next day. Their Majesties were much grieved by the imprudent step their son had taken, but never expressed themselves with any bitterness against him to the very few to whom they ever spoke upon the subject.

SHIP NEWS EXTRAORDINARY.



### Ship News Extraordinary.

“PORTSMOUTH, July 8th.—Remains fast at anchor, the ‘Conqueror,’ flag-ship, Admiral Pitt; the Union flag, it is said, will be displayed in a few days at her main top-mast head. Also, at their several moorings, as per last, the ‘Modeste,’ Captain Dundas; the ‘Lively,’ Captain Grenville; the ‘Heart of Oak,’ Captain Richmond; the ‘Trusty’ (formerly ‘la Patriote’), Captain Loughborough; and the ‘King’s Fisher,’ advice-boat, Hawkesbury, master and commander. The ‘Vigilant’ (Chatham guard-ship) continues riding only at single anchor, and has been expected to quit her station every day, being kept here, it is supposed, merely for temporary purposes, till some other ship is appointed to supply her place.

“N.B. The ‘Amherst,’ an old hospital ship, in her station, very much out of repair, and totally unfit for service.

“July 9th.—Some steering for port; the ‘Impregnable,’ Commodore Portland, with the following vessels under convoy:—The ‘Alarm,’ Captain Fitzwilliam; the ‘Discovery’ (a new launch), Captain Spencer; the ‘Dissonant,’ Captain Windham; and the ‘Nimble’ cutter, Captain Mansfield.

"July 10th.—Wind blows hard and contrary, with frequent squalls; the squadron, however, continues working and beating up against wind and tide, and making every exertion to get into harbour. They appear most of them in a very leaky condition, and as they have been so long a time at sea, some apprehensions are entertained for them.

"July 11.—This morning the whole squadron arrived safe in port, the 'Alarm' had been visibly more than once in danger of parting company. Captain Fitzwilliam thought it advisable at one time to alter his course and bear away, but afterwards rejoined the squadron, and brought to under the Commodore's stern, to which he instantly tied his vessel, and was towed in with some difficulty. In their passage the squadron gave chase to three sail, which they discovered at a considerable distance, and which at first appeared to approach them, but soon put about and stood from them. For a few days they seemed to gain a little in the chase, but the wind shifting, and a thick fog coming on, they lost sight of them, and the next day they had the mortification to find that they were no longer discernible, even with their glasses, from the main-top. We since understand that they are supposed to have been the good ship 'Integrity,' a Devonshire 'Snow,' and two small stout brigs, called the 'Good Intent,' and the 'Steady Sailer,'

John and George Cavendish owners, homeward bound; they were originally part of the convoy, but separated in the late hurricane.

"July 17.—This day, to our surprise, the 'Impregnable' wore out into dock, when Commodore Portland took the opportunity to have her sides daubed and covered, which was thought absolutely necessary previous to her intended voyage."



PORTRAIT OF CHARLES FOX,

BY

LAVATER.

Portrait de Charles Fox, par  
Lavater.

FRONT inépuisable — plus de richesses d'idées, et d'images que je n'ai jamais vu peint sur aucun physionomie au monde. Sourcils superbes, regards dominants, les yeux remplis de génie, perçants, fascinants, magiques. Nez médiocre, les joues sensuelles. Bouche pleine d'une volubilité surprenante, et agréable, et le bas du visage doux, affable, sociable.

“ Mon premier est un Tyran,  
Mon second fait horreur,  
Mon tout est le diable.”

Answered by Charles Fox :—

“ Quand on aime le premier  
On ne craint point le second,  
Et le tout fait le parfait bonheur.”



PARODY ON "GOD SAVE THE KING,"

BY

SHERIDAN.

PARODY ON  
"GOD SAVE THE KING."

FROM the assassin's blow,  
From each false friend and foe,  
God save the King.  
From Ryder's flippancy,  
Rochester's piety,  
Auckland's apostacy,  
God save the King.

From Pepper Arden's law,  
From Buonaparte's paw,  
God save the King.  
From war and want of bread,  
From Portland's stone and lead,  
From Boge Grenville's head,  
God save the King.

From Billy Pitt's device,  
Dundas's Scotch device,  
God save the King.  
From Windham's sophistry,  
Pybus's poetry,  
From my Lord Hawkesbury,  
God save the King.



Oh Lord our God arise,  
Send us some new allies,  
That we may treat ;  
And should their amities  
End in new perfidies,  
Get back our subsidies,  
That we may eat.

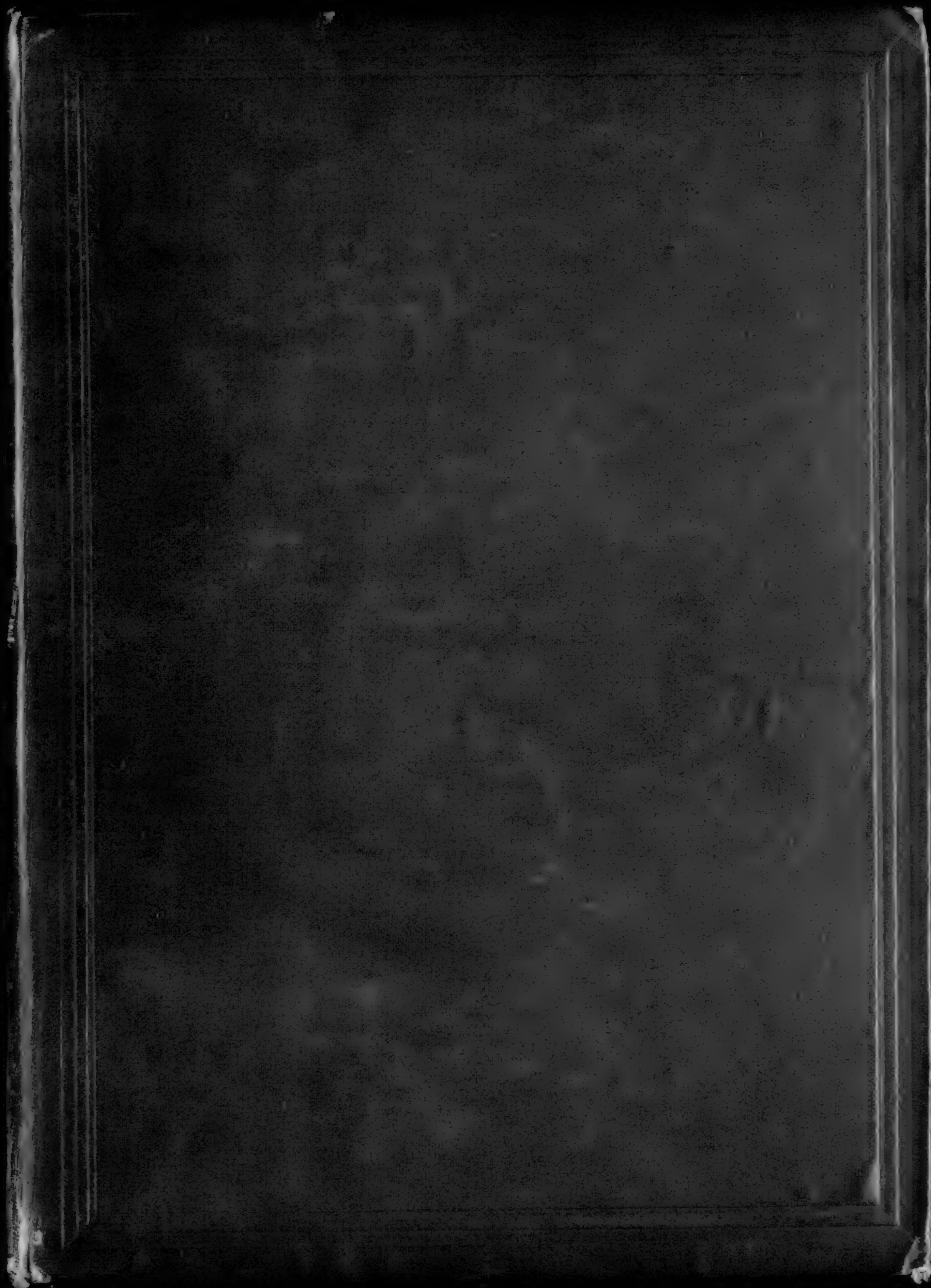
From Rose's knavery,  
From West Indian slavery,  
God save the King.  
From Chatham's silence,  
Westmoreland's nonsense,  
And Lord Eldon's conscience,  
God save the King.

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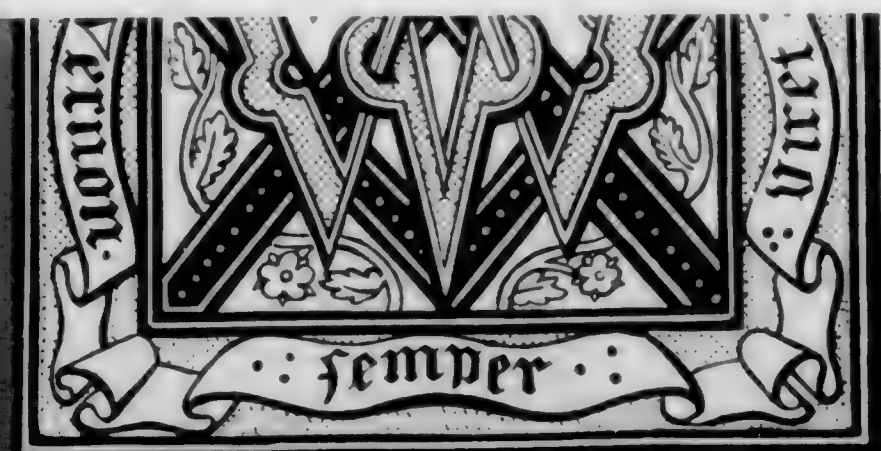


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THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT,

OF STANTON HARCOURT, AND NUNEHAM COURTENAY,  
IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, ESQUIRE.

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CORRIGENDA.

P. 356, l. 1, and elsewhere, *for* "Cruy," *read* "Croy."

411, l. 19, and elsewhere, *for* "Emanuel," *read* "Emmanuel."

ANECDOTES

RELATING TO

THE YEARS 1792—1795.

BY

THE HONOURABLE MRS. HARCOURT.



Anecdotes relating to the Years  
1792—1795.

THE many curious scenes Mrs. Harcourt was witness to in the course of the time she passed upon the Continent, in the years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, and the many interesting circumstances that came to her knowledge, appear to me so well worth attention, that I have resolved to extract them from her letters (where they are intermixed with some family concerns), and to collect them together in such a form as may allow hereafter of their being read by any person who may like to be acquainted with some of the more private transactions of a period that will furnish much matter for the ablest historians.

In the month of August, 1792, General Harcourt, being desirous of seeing the Austrian and Prussian armies, then engaged in war with the French Republicans, went, ac-

accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, to Bruxelles, from whence her first letter is dated.

August 23rd.—We arrived here yesterday, and Mr. Harcourt is already gone. I trust, in the mercy of Heaven, that we shall meet again; you know I exist but for him, and can ill bear any separation, however short. Yet, believe me, I am glad we undertook this journey; he had so long and so strongly wished to come, and, thanks to the King's extreme goodness to him, he visits the armies under such favourable circumstances, that he must find amusement and every satisfaction. Our Minister here, Lord Elgin, has been very kind, and has done all he could to facilitate the plan. A messenger is gone with the General, and he has a passport from the Austrian Minister, who says there is not a doubt of his getting up to the Duke of Brunswick, and being well received. Whether he may be allowed to stay any length of time none here can know.

General Hohenloe's army, which was on the right, is expected to join the Duke about

this time, so the General will have his wish of seeing the Austrian and Prussian troops together. He will probably join them at Metz, whither they are going. To-night he will stop at Namur, where, you know, La Fayette is prisoner on his parole. I am told he protests against what, from his being taken upon neutral ground, he calls an infringement of the right of nations. He forgets how long he has set the example of spurning all rights, and how much he has been the cause of all this confusion and misery. I find he is held in abhorrence here, and little credit is given him for the apparent return of attachment he latterly shewed to the King.

The Emigrants are in sad disrepute with the allied army; their absurdity, and their unreasonable language and expectations, disgust all parties, and the ostentation and numerous attendants of the French Princes, when compared with the simplicity of the King and Prince Royal of Prussia, appear quite ridiculous. I shall stay here at pre-



sent, because I can have the most constant and authentic intelligence from Lord Elgin, who shews me every possible attention.

August 24th.—I wrote yesterday, but as another messenger is going I will send another letter, for writing to you is some relief to my mind, and I am a melancholy being. Bruxelles looks like a desert; so would any place where Mr. Harcourt is not. The town itself is certainly a fine one, and there is much to see in it. We hear to-day that the army has not made the expected movement; probably General Harcourt will come up with it before it reaches Thionville, and before Prince Hohenloe joins the Prussian division. I have great satisfaction in Sir James Murray's being with the General; he always likes his society, and it will be particularly pleasant to him upon the present occasion, they suit each other so well. We hear of nothing but horrors from France; perhaps intelligence reaches England sooner than it does this place, for the communication we have with Paris is a difficult one.

The distress of the poor Arch-Duchess is greater than words can tell: she every day expects to hear that her sister is assassinated; yet, while she dreads it, she says it will be her release from misery.

To leave this sad subject for awhile would be a relief, if I were not going to enter upon another not less dismal, but all our minds are so occupied by it, I mean the minds of the English here, that I must tell it you. A very beautiful young Englishwoman, who had resided nine months in one of the hotels in this place, died three days ago, (leaving behind her a little girl of fourteen or fifteen months old,) whose connections we have no means of tracing. There is reason to believe that the mother died of despair, but she has left no papers that lead to a discovery of her history. Some letters, without dates, Lord Elgin says, seem, by the persons named in them, to have been written from Naples about the year 1786. They speak of sending her money from time to time, and advise the cultivation of her dif-

ferent talents, particularly that of music; they appear to have been addressed to her while she resided in some convent. They express strong attachment, but express it with great delicacy. She went here by the name of Dillon, but drew for the money by the name of Trevor. So careful was she to conceal herself, that she never was more than three times out of her apartments while she lived here. Nothing could be more irreproachable than her conduct; her extreme beauty and uncommon fine figure made many attempt to see and speak to her, but she never would receive any visitors.

Her servants were of this place, and know no more of her than that she hired them here. She has so carefully erased every signature of the letters that have been found, that it is impossible to guess who they were from. They mention the writer's living a great deal in the society of Lord Gower and Lady Sutherland at Naples; express great fondness for painting and sculpture; and mention the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester's

being gone, or going, from Geneva to England. A fragment of a letter, written evidently in another hand, speaks of a treaty of marriage, which seemed to have gone off. She lived with the greatest economy, yet had contracted a debt at the hotel that lay heavy on her mind; and the not having latterly received any money seems to have hastened her death. She was too high-spirited to apply to any one for assistance, and shewed a great instance of honour and integrity in her conduct with respect to her banker, who, having received a hundred pounds from some unknown person, supposed it might be for her, and sent it to her; she returned it, saying she was sure it was a mistake. At that time she was in the extremest distress. It is believed that the people at the hotel treated her latterly very hardly, and were urgent for money.

It is suspected that she took something to hasten her death, for she had repeatedly inquired for Lord Elgin, who was not then arrived; and when they told her he was



come, she said, "It is now too late." She was delirious for the last five or six days; talked much, but always in English, which those about her did not understand; so discovery could not be made from what she said. Lord Elgin is wretched he did not know her situation sooner; he sent for the child, but the wretches at the hotel said they would keep it as a pledge for their bill; however, Lord Elgin has applied to the Minister, who says he will insist upon its being given up.

August 27th, Bruxelles.—General Harcourt got to Namur on Friday, and to Arlon on Saturday; he was then within two leagues of Longwy, where he expected to come up with Clairfait's division, and in the evening he hoped to reach the Duke of Brunswick. They had travelled all night; I was afraid they would, and heat and fatigue are what I dread for him. I understand that the idea of taking Metz is given up, and that Clairfait will go to Mont Medy, and the Duke of Brunswick proceed to take Verdun; but

little is known, and probably they must act as circumstances arise to direct them. I shall stay here, because I can have good intelligence. As to the place, it may be a pleasant one to those whose minds are at ease, and who can see, hear, or enjoy. I can do neither while General Harcourt is absent; but remember that, uncomfortable as I am, I would not have him anywhere else for the world, and I should be easier if I were sure of his being received, and fulfilling the object of his journey. Lord Elgin and Mr. Jenkinson are kind, and call many times every day.

We have no further lights as to the poor child, though Lord Elgin has used every means to obtain some. He has shewn the best heart and the best principles upon this melancholy occasion. He is wretched he was not informed of the mother's situation in time to give her the comfort of knowing that her child should be taken care of. I find the master of the hotel did send for a physician, and that the physician does not think

she had any symptoms of having taken poison; but that grief caused her illness and death, and the deliriums coming on so soon prevented her taking any steps for her daughter's safety. She has left jewels and trinkets enough to discharge all she owed at the hotel and to her servants, but nothing remains for the infant.

Captain Wood, who was once in the General's regiment, has just called upon me; he comes from the siege of Longwy, which only lasted six hours. When summoned to surrender, the garrison answered they would die rather than do so, but upon one old woman being killed they capitulated. The white flag is hoisted, and two Prussian regiments are left in the place. Clairfait was civil to Captain Wood, but would not let him go beyond Longwy. He says he never saw such miserable-looking people as the Emigrés; they appear half-starved. The King of Prussia has ordered them a daily allowance of bread, but, as they cannot get it regularly, they often go without that or any

food the whole day. Captain Wood heard one of them, with a ribbon that had once been red, tell the Comte D'Artois he had been two days without a meal; while, by-the-bye, he and the other French Princes live in the greatest luxury. They have immense suites of waggons, all ticketed; one marked "Toilette de Monsieur," another "Toilette du Comte D'Artois," another "Batterie de Cuisine de Monsieur," another "Vin de Monsieur," &c.

I have just got your letter; your being at Weymouth is a comfort to me, for at the same time that I hear of you and Lord H., I hear of all our beloved Royal Family. Tell me all you do; who bathes; who sails; who drives and rides; do you go to the play; to Delamotte's? All, all is interesting to me. I want to know if Lord Gower has left Paris. All communication from hence is stopped; what we hear comes from the army. The Archduchess is at Mons; she is gone for a day or two to see the Duke of Saxe Teschen.



When here she lives alone, and is very low; her nephew, the Arch-duke Charles, is with the army. Unfortunately she is very unpopular with all ranks of the people, even with those most attached to the Austrian Government; her pride is said to be the reason, which is odd, for it is not the fault of her family. She is sensible she is disliked, and laments it.

There was a Grand Mass yesterday for the King and Royal Family of France; the whole Church was in tears, in which I heartily joined, and stayed the whole time. I thought some of the women would have fainted. I have just heard that the Commandant of Longwy drowned himself the day after the capitulation. The Commandant of La Fayette's advanced guard came into Luxembourg, desiring to be received; they did not know what to do with him, and he met with some insults and much reproach; the consequence was, his fighting a duel with a Prussian officer. The Emigrés are perpetually fighting duels with each

other. Every man has a different plan in his pocket for a new Constitution, and a new form of Government. Each thinks his own the best, and, till they marched, they were frequently challenging each other for something to do. Many of these combats ended fatally. Thus every way these poor devoted French seem to be hastening their own extirpation. Yet they inspire one with more horror than pity; and many a mournful lesson does their past conduct and present situation convey.

It is curious to trace the small causes from whence great events arise. The anecdote I am going to tell you, you may depend upon. In November, 1790, the Bishop D'A — and the Abbé Gregoire went to confer with Necker upon the proposal the clergy were to make of a *Don Gratuite*. The sum they would have raised was to be sufficient to make up the *deficit*, the finances would have been cleared, the Government of course enabled to act with vigour, and there was every probability that the Revolution would

have been at an end. The Minister felt these advantages, and was upon the point of adopting the measure, when his wife, who very unfortunately was present, cried out, "If you consent to this, you establish the Catholic religion in France for ever." Necker instantly broke off the conference; and thus the inconsiderate zeal of an insignificant woman against one mode of worship, has eventually been the means of banishing all religion from one of the largest countries in Europe.

Bruxelles, August 30th.—I have just got a letter dated from Longwy, the 26th, of which I will send you an extract:—

"We arrived here yesterday, and proceeded to the Duke of Brunswick's quarters immediately. He received us with the greatest politeness, but without touching upon the subject of the letter which we had previously sent to him. He was out all this morning with the King of Prussia; we went to the parade, and were presented to His Majesty, with whom we had afterwards the honour of dining, but nothing was said as to whether we might or might not stay with the army. Pro-

bably this will be decided to-morrow. The Duke's quarters are in a gentleman's house at Procourt, about five miles from hence. The King encamps in the centre of the army, upon an adjoining height; Prince Hohenloe about three leagues in front, between Thionville and Metz, with the advanced guard. He reconnoitred yesterday within a small distance of the last-mentioned town. Clairfait is about a league from hence to the westward. Marshal Luckner was encamped at Riche-mont, upon the Orme, but is said to have retired to the other side of the Moselle. We hear that the army of the Princes, which is five or six leagues from hence, is to march to-morrow, and to occupy this place when they reach it. We have been fortunate in getting tolerable quarters, and in having fine weather, but we have found great difficulty about horses; to-day we hope to provide ourselves with some.

"The particulars of the siege of this place must by this time have reached Bruxelles. The Prussians had only one man killed and three wounded; the garrison lost three or four, whom they themselves shot upon the outworks, and two who suffered from the shells. The garrison consisted of 2,400 men, all national troops, except the regiment D'Augoulême. They were dismissed, upon condition of not serving again during the war. Monsieur came here to-day and harangued the



citizens; he was answered with cries of 'Vive le Roi.' The inhabitants of the villages quitted them at first, upon the appearance of the Prussians, but have almost all returned, and seem resigned to their fate. The country bears no marks of desolation."

You see the General has had no distress but from want of horses; how unlucky that he brought none from England, and could get none here. A report that Mons was attacked, or likely to be so, caused a great alarm in this town a few days ago. That place in possession of the French, nothing could impede their coming hither, where they may do much mischief; and it is a wonder they have not attempted it. Had they arrived, we should have fallen back to Antwerp, or proceeded to Spa, but I hope no such measure will be necessary; it is, however, supposed that they will attack some part of the frontier to the westward, to make a diversion in the Duke of Brunswick's army. Ill as I was in crossing the sea, I bless our insulated situation, that enables

us to remain in peace and tranquillity, and with other causes makes us the wonder and envy of the world. I went yesterday to see a beautiful little villa of the Arch-duchess', called Le Lac; it is about three miles from hence, and the situation is very fine; the garden is comfortable, and laid out in the English style. We afterwards went with Lord Elgin to a play that was tolerably performed; by we, I mean Charlotte and myself, for I am not connected with any other woman.

August 30th.—Late in the evening, just as I was going to send this, a messenger came with a letter from the General; he is allowed to stay, some days longer at least, with the army. Nothing but the King's goodness in the letter he kindly gave him, could have obtained this permission. Pray tell his Majesty so, and that he could not have conferred a greater obligation upon him.

Sept. 3rd.—I wait for the next messenger, before I decide whether I will remain here or go for a week to Spa. The seeing

a pretty place that I have heard so much of might amuse me, but probably there I might be alarmed by hearing a thousand false reports from the army. Just now this place is called a desert, as most of the principal people are at their country houses; many indeed are with the army. The Arch-duchess comes here for a day or two at a time, but sees nobody, and is chiefly at Mons with her husband. However, in so large a town there must always be society, and I receive great civility from the family of Stolberg.

The house of the Comtesse d'Abret, who was a Princess of Stolberg, is open every evening, and I go when I please. She is a charming woman; handsome in her person, and elegant in her manners. You know how sensible and agreeable Madame d'Albany, the late Pretender's widow, is; she is with Madame d'Abret, and, though in need of consolation herself, takes great pains to be of use to us. She fled from Paris about ten days ago, after the horrid events of the 10th of August; her escape was effected

with difficulty, and she left all she had to the mercy of the populace. Three of the company who had been at her house the evening before were massacred; and she hears that her houses have been seized, together with everything she had of any value. She looks broken-hearted; so in truth do half the people I see, for most of them are emigrants, and persons once high in rank and fortune.

Great is the impatience to hear that Thionville and Verdun are taken; it is supposed that the news may come to-morrow, but tedious are the operations of war, and difficult the means of transporting subsistence for men and horses. I saw the first messenger that went to General Harcourt, and had great comfort in hearing that his quarters were good, and in a safe situation; I hope he will be as well off at Verdun. When the army marches from thence, I shall be anxious about his return. There are no places of consequence between that place and Paris, Chalons and Rheims being quite



defenceless. At present, the Democratic party have no appearance of making any preparations against them, which is very wonderful; but the French here, who abuse their nation all day long, say they never believe anything they do not like; and that till the army is cannonading the town of Paris, they will give no credit to there being such an idea. I cannot tell you a twentieth part of the stories I hear from them, but they fill me with horror.

I met this evening at the Comtesse d'Abret's, the Duchesse d'Aumberg, and her daughter the Princess Pauline. I am sorry they are only come for a day or two, for they seem charming women. The young one is very pretty, speaks English with ease, and appears to have been well brought up. They gave me a good account of Prince Augustus, who is now at Spa; they say he is delightful, and adored wherever he goes. They saw him often at Mayence, and he was well enough to dance with the Empress one night. The Emperor was an old friend

of his when he was in Tuscany. Lord Elgin has taken the poor little orphan into his own house, and will provide for her; he is an excellent young man. The General has sent for pencils, and tea; and says he wants nothing else. The curiosity he feels is so natural in a military man, that I rejoice it is indulged in, even at the expense of my comfort.

A lady I have just seen told me that the French King, having a button, or buckle, undone at his knee, desired one of the Guards to fasten it; the man knelt down to do so, and was broke for being guilty of such a *bassesse*. They also assure me that the Queen waits upon herself, and has been seen dusting and cleaning her clothes; the Duchesse de —, I forget her name, but she is sister to Madame de Tarente, told me this. I believe that Madame de Tarente is about Madame Royale.

September 7th.—We know that Verdun is taken; they say that Stenay is too, but no courier is arrived; surely one must

come to-day. The accounts from Thionville are less good; it is reported that in storming part of the fortress, the Austrians lost 400 men; probably, however, by this time it must be taken.

The horrid accounts we heard yesterday from France exceed belief, and the despair of the *émigrés* is beyond measure. They say that 600 persons are in the prisons, and 300 monks have been massacred in cold blood; the Princesse de Lamball, and the two Messieurs de Montmorin, are amongst those sacrificed by the fury of the mob. Mesdames de Tarente and de Tourzelles are supposed to be in the Salpetriere; you know that prison used to be devoted only to the most abandoned women. Horrid, horrid country! no age, no climate, ever produced such instances of savage barbarity. It is believed that the King and Queen are still safe, but they save only to torment and insult them.

They went to Madame d'Albany's house to take her up the day after she left Paris; this last news will half kill her. All lay-

men are with the army, but I see many Bishops and Abbés at Madame de Miremont's. They know, or pretend to know, a great deal; and from them I hear, that the dreadful business of the 20th of August was owing to a discovery of the King's intending to escape. The plan was well laid, but treacherously betrayed; La Fayette was privy to it; and Madame de Lamball's being suspected of having conveyed a letter from him to the King, was the reason of her being murdered. They say the King was to have gone to Rouen; and, if he had not gone to the National Assembly, might have escaped. If Bishops might swear, they would swear to the truth of this account.

*À propos* to Churchmen; a person expressed some surprise to the Cardinal de Rohan that he had not taken more pains to clear up the strange business of the diamond necklace that had made so much noise. His answer was: "The truth of that story is, that the Queen and I were



both duped, and the less that is now said about it the better."

Little Louise is settled at Lord Elgin's; she is the most beautiful child you can conceive, with the fairest complexion, and bright blue eyes; but, from having been always secluded from the air, looks delicate. It is impossible to see her, and think of the sad fate of her mother, without being affected. She has a little green silk cradle, and her linen is of the finest kind, with lace edgings. She cannot speak, but seems lively and good-humoured. Luckily the wife of Lord Elgin's servant has been used to children, and makes an excellent nurse. What happiness it will be to him, if, after saving this little creature, he should one day be able to restore her to her father, whoever he may be. I would have contributed toward the maintaining of Louise, but Lord Elgin will take the whole upon himself, and wishes the story not to be talked of, for he thinks there is such an appearance of delicacy in the writer of the letters, that he is

more likely to find him out by private than by public means; Mr. Jenkinson is at work for that purpose in England.

September 9th.—This is the tenth day since the messenger went, and not a line have I had in all that time from General H., nor have we heard anything of the army since the taking of Verdun. Judge, for you can, of the anxious state of my mind. I incessantly watch the road to Namur; Lord Elgin pretends to laugh, but I can see that he is uneasy. The man must travel a long way through an enemy's country, and may be taken. Longwy is on the frontiers; Verdun is fifteen leagues within. Report says that Prince Hohenloe has got on with the advanced corps as far as Chalons, and that the Duke of Brunswick is at Clermont; if so, the distance is still greater. I should have no fears for General Harcourt if I were sure of his being with the army, but I must have many for his journey back; and who can say that his insatiable thirst after military business may not lead him

from army to army, or induce him to go upon reconnoitring parties, forgetting that he was sixteen years younger when he went seventy miles without stopping through an enemy's country, when he took General Lee; and that though they were enemies, they were not savages, barbarians, monsters; in a word, they were not French. In all my letters I have begged him rather to prolong his absence than run any risk in returning.

It is strange the Minister here has so seldom any news from the main army; they think more of what is doing at Mons and Tournay, because those places are near, and many of their connections are there. The Duke Albert, from Mons, took possession of the camp that was evacuated by the French; and at Tournay there have been various little skirmishes, only to keep the troops in motion, for they were deserting, from remaining so long in a state of inaction.

There is to be a grand mass here tomorrow for the souls of Madame de Lam-

ball, and all the poor sufferers in the last massacre. Her head was stuck upon a pole, and carried, streaming, to the King and Queen; and her body was dragged round the temple where they are confined, and exposed to every indecency and indignity. When her head was carried by some place where that wretch the Duc d'Orleans was, he looked at it, and said, "Ah oui c'est elle, je la reconnais à sa belle chevelure." You know his wife was sister to her husband, and that it is supposed he drew him into all the vices that caused his early death, in order to inherit his large fortune. Poor Princesse de Lamball! it is just five years since she was at your house in the country; how little could she then foresee the horrid fate that awaited her! The Assembly have given the honours of the "Séance" to the woman who particularly distinguished herself the day of the massacre.

September 30th.—The messenger is come, and all is well; it seems that the General wrote constantly by the post, but not a



line have I got. He was in good lodgings at Verdun when the man left him, but was going in a day or two to the Prince's army; he wished to take two or three more marches with them, and then to return. I lament the delay occasioned by the siege of Thionville; it gives spirits to the party, and gives them time to prepare. It always seems to me, that great enterprises fail, or are rendered difficult, by delay; the loss of a month has been of great importance, and is a great misfortune. The days shorten, the weather grows bad, and the means the French have of defending themselves increase every hour. I see General Harcourt has conceived a bad opinion of the general disposition of the people of the country to *la bonne cause*; and I fear, from his experience in the American war, that he is but too good a judge. As it must be ten days or a fortnight before he can return, I think I shall begin my journey to Spa this evening, and return here to meet him.

I am most distressed about the Duc and

Duchesse d'Harcourt; they are at Aix-la-Chappelle, and they were so good to me in their prosperity, that I ought not to be within six leagues without visiting them. I shall see what I can do.

On St. Amand being taken, the Arch-duchess came to Bruxelles, and last night walked on the parade to receive compliments upon the occasion, as it was her husband's army from Mons that gained the victory. But, poor soul, she looked far from gay. Strong lines of sorrow and anxiety marked her countenance; she walked very quickly; had only one lady with her; no crowd followed her; little attention was paid her; and, had not I been told that it was the Arch-duchess, I should scarcely have distinguished her from the rest of the company.

I hear much in praise of the King of Prussia and his sons; of their ease of manner, affability, and general attention; never *exigeant*, no difficulties, ever pleased and pleasing, and good-humoured. Many here

knew them at Coblenz and Mayence, and they also speak much of their manner of living with each other. The King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick were the first persons our courier met in the camp; they spoke to him, of which he is not a little proud, bid him come again in the evening, and sent to tell General Harcourt that he was there. The General goes every day to head quarters, and has at last been lucky enough to get some good horses. I dread his hearing of poor Colonel Gardner's death, for it will grieve him to the soul.

Spa, Sept. 15th.—It is said that 200,000 men are gone from Paris to give battle to the allied army on the march. If this be true, I fear General Harcourt will remain with them, from the wish he will feel to witness the event. I have not allowed myself to interfere, except by writing to remind him of his promise, made in Windsor Castle to one to whom he is bound by every tie of duty and affection, to be in England the beginning of October.

The situation of this place is so singular and romantic, and the ease so great, and the variety of company from all nations so curious, that if I were in spirits, and the General here, I should be amused. I ride an excellent little horse, of which there are numbers, called *escalins* (sixpence), because they used to be let for a ride at that price. When I see a pretty view I stop to sketch it. In the evening I usually am of a party at Lady Templedown's, where there is music, and tea from 6 to 8; and then go to the Rooms. At these concerts a French lady plays on the harp, and a Spanish Comtesse and a Polish Count sing. He has taught the celebrated Madame de Ritz to sing with them; I had heard so much of her, that I was anxious to see her. Her daughter, the Comtesse de la Mort, is with her; she is an immense girl of thirteen years old, and acknowledged as his child by the King of Prussia. She is a little like Princess Sophia Matilda; has a clever countenance, and a lively manner. Her



mother has a fine figure, but can never have been very handsome. You know the King of Prussia has always shewn her the greatest regard and attention, however he may have been engaged elsewhere.

This place is full of *émigrés*; some never appear; others come out in the hope of hearing news; such only reaches them as must fill them with horror. The ladies have cut their hair short, and wear a ribbon or a handkerchief tied round their heads. The "Friseur" I sent for to cut my hair, asked me if I would have it cut "en Emigré ou en demi Emigré." I saw a Pole yesterday who escaped most wonderfully from Paris. He was witness to all the horrors of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, and his account of them exceeds all I could have conceived. I have been walking in the convent garden; there a Capuchin Friar told me that there had been a battle, and that Luckner was defeated; but this may not be true. I have heard from the General, he was to leave the army on the 15th, so I shall stay for

him here, and then we shall visit the Duc and Duchesse d'Harcourt at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Sept. 23rd.—I have been too happy to write. The General returned to Spa on Thursday, and I never saw him in better health or spirits. I perceive, however, that he regrets not going on with the army, more than I could wish; but I am not as uncomfortable upon that account as I should be were I the sole cause of his return; for, had he delayed it, he could not have kept his promise to the King of being in England by the beginning of October. He saw the last engagement on the 16th, when the enemy was forced to retire towards Chalons, and were dispossessed of the heights they occupied. This was what he waited for, and nothing can happen for ten days to come but a quiet march to Chalons. Sir James Murray was twice knocked up by the fatigue they went through: the General is not at all the worse for it. They were sometimes without beds, and often without food; eternally wet, and constantly on horse-

back from ten to fifteen hours every day. I find they once went too close to the enemy, and were very near being taken. As he is safe, I am glad he went, but still more so that he is returned.

I write from Aix.—You know it is impossible to get the start of these very good Harcourts in any one instance of civility or friendship. I wrote from Spa to say I meant to visit them for one day, as soon as I heard from the General. I sent this by an Englishman; they got it at eleven at night, and the next day, to my great surprise, they arrived at Spa, a journey of ten hours, through the most abominable roads that make it fatiguing, though it is only thirty-five English miles. This was on Tuesday; on Thursday the General arrived; and on Saturday we all came here; we shall stay two days. I never saw such charming, good, kind-hearted people in my life, and I could shed tears whenever I think of them. The reverse, too, in their situation, and their manner of supporting it, is affecting beyond descrip-

tion. They are unlike the generality of the *émigrés*; they see, alas, the whole business too plainly as it is; the little chance, at their age, that they have of beholding their country restored to tranquillity, and the impossibility of their ever regaining the enjoyments they have lost. Yet their language is mild, humane, and moderate; they lament the general suffering of their fellow-creatures; they call for no vengeance on the heads of those who occasioned it; in short, they inspire the greatest pity and the highest respect.

The poor old Duke seems quite broken-hearted; he has lost his spirits and activity; but is calm, reasonable, and resigned, and does not flatter himself with the hope of better days during his life. He suffers most for the sake of the two next generations of his family, who are the objects of his affection, and are indeed worthy of being so. I never saw three more charming girls than his grand-daughters; they are very pretty and very amiable; the eldest, the Princesse de



Cruy, has two lively little boys; the second, the Princesse de Craon, is with child; Victorine is still unmarried, and likely, in these times, to remain so. Her sisters' husbands, and her father, the Duc de Montmart, are with the army. The Duc d'Harcourt is particularly low, and hurt that he cannot assist the general cause, and in being unemployed when all but priests are serving. But at his age, and with his health, it is impossible; besides, I suspect that in his heart he thinks almost as ill of some of the leaders of his own party as of the others, and would almost as little like to follow them.

We were sorry to find on our arrival that they had had a considerable alarm in this town. It is supposed that some low French who were here had received some Jacobite emissaries from Paris, who, with the valets of some of the *émigrés*, had formed a conspiracy to massacre all the persons of any consequence; in truth, it would have been an attack on bishops, women, and children. The idea raised a great panic; Government

interfered, confined some of the ringleaders, and promised inquiry and protection. I fancy they would have proceeded little farther than words and wishes, and that some of the valets had been holding "des mauvais propos." Certain it is, that every Frenchman who would gain by "égalité" is a complete democrat.

A disagreeable thing happened the night we left Spa, but one is so used to horrors that it seems a trifle. Madame de Ritz, with another lady, a Polish Count, and Lord Templeton, were airing along the "Chaussée," out of the town; a man stopped the carriage, and asked if the Prince of — (they could not distinguish the name) was in it? They said, "No;" and he was so ill-looking they bid the coachman drive on. On their return, when it was near dark, the same man fired a pistol into the coach; it was loaded with ball which passed through the carriage, but luckily missed them. Lord Templeton ran to a place where there were soldiers, got two, pursued, and took the

man. He is a Frenchman, and says he came from Poitiers, but the cutlass he had on was like those taken at Longwy, with the same regimental mark upon it. The Commandant not being in the town, he could not be examined that night; and as we left Spa the next day, we are ignorant of the result. You, who know the place, will easily conceive what a sensation such an event would make there, particularly amongst the *émigrés*. They are not all such heroines as the Duchesse d'Harcourt: I admire her to the greatest degree. Much as she must feel the want of all her former luxuries, she never makes a complaint; all her anxiety is for the Duke's health, though she herself is very lame and infirm, and unfit for the journey she took to see me at Spa. We can only stay two days with them, and I am sorry for it.

We hoped to have been in London by the 3rd of October, but, as you say the Drawing-room will not be till the 21st, I the less regret the delay we have been obliged

to make upon poor Charlotte's account. We stayed one day at Maestricht, and another at Namur, on our way hither from Aix. We preferred that road; first, because the great *depôt* for the army is at Maestricht, where General Baron de Reitheim commands 8,000 troops; and next, because we could see a corps of 4,000 *émigrés*, almost all gentlemen, commanded by the Duke de Bourbon. It was a scene I never can forget.

The banks of the Meuse, near Namur, are finer than those of the Rhone, and more picturesque. You may imagine a valley of thirty miles, with rocks and woods, and then suppose it enlivened by tents, Huzzars, Chasseurs, &c. In some places gentlemen were rubbing down their horses, others were sleeping under sheds, some carrying knapsacks, others eating their dinners under the trees; all were just come in, having been sent from a place about fifty miles off. They are to be cantoned upon the river till their next destination is settled. From Namur we came here yesterday; the distance was



but forty miles, yet Charlotte must rest, or we shall not get her on to Ostend. We left the dear Harcourts with regret; they took our visit kindly. I think of them incessantly. Their conduct, their conversation, is charming; and their situation so affecting, that tears come into my eyes every time I speak of them. They charged us with many assurances of their regard for you and Lord Harcourt, and lament that they cannot take refuge in England with their own family; such they have ever considered it, as we have always experienced.

In a few days after the receipt of this letter, the General and Mrs. Harcourt returned to England; and circumstances soon arose to induce the Duke and Duchesse of Harcourt; their son-in-law, the Duke de Montmart; his daughter, the Princess de Beaveau, and Madame de Montmart, with the husband of the former, to seek the asylum they wished and deserved to find with their English relations. A house was provided for them at Sunning Hill, at the

expense of Lord and General Harcourt, till they purchased another for them at Staines, where they resided, and received an annual income from the two brothers.

After the execution, or rather murder, of the unfortunate Louis XVI., his brother, the Comté de Provence, took the title of Regent of France, and immediately wrote to the Duke of Harcourt to say, that though the position he was in, from not being acknowledged by the Court of England, prevented his giving him regular credentials as Ambassador; yet, as his friend, he hoped he would not refuse to execute the functions of that high office; and begged him to let it be understood that it was through him he wished to transact any business that might arise either with the Government of England, or with any French residing in that country.

Though well aware that the danger and fatigue would be more than equal to the honour of the employment, the Duke of Harcourt could not decline an opportunity of trying to prove his attachment to the

Royal Family of France, and of serving the infant King, who would have been placed by his father under the Duke's immediate care after the death of the first Dauphin, to whom he was governor, if the unfortunate turn of affairs had not prevented it. From this time, though his family still remained at Staines, the Duke lived chiefly in Lord Harcourt's house in town<sup>a</sup>.

Early in the year 1793, England declared war against France, and a body of troops was soon afterwards sent into Flanders, under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of York. General Harcourt's love of glory would not suffer him to remain inactive at such a time, and he earnestly solicited, and at length obtained, orders that his regiment should be sent to the Continent, and that he should serve with it. He embarked in the month of July, leaving Mrs. Harcourt in a state little short of distraction; but with a promise of being allowed to join him in a few weeks. I shall continue the extracts

<sup>a</sup> Harcourt House, in Cavendish Square.

from her letters from this time, as she frequently mentions those she receives from the General, as well as the accounts which, from her living near Windsor, and the kindness of the Royal Family, she had opportunities of hearing.

St. Leonard's, Sunday.—You know the extreme kindness and good nature of the King; my sufferings have awakened it all; and yesterday evening, while I was riding out, he came here himself with some letters for me that had been sent in his packet. At the bottom of the hill he met my coachman, who told him I was out; so he gave them to him, and bade him assure me that he had seen a gentleman who left the General well on Monday. He asked the coachman where he was going.

“To Windsor, Sir.”

“For what?”

“To put my mistress's letters into the Post.”

“Then,” said the King, “I will save you the trouble; give them to me, I will send



them;" he took them, and put them into his pocket.

How few of his subjects would have had so good-natured an idea; how many, if they had, would have been afraid of lessening their imaginary consequence by giving way to it. The letters his Majesty brought only tell me that the two sieges are likely to take up much time. General Harcourt does not seem pleased with the management of things, but that must not be said. Of our young Princes he gives a good account; and, what is best of all, he assures me that he is himself well, though he is seldom less than twelve hours on horseback, and sometimes sixteen and seventeen out of the twenty-four. God grant that so much fatigue may not be more than he can bear.

Wednesday.—I know not how to tell you all that has happened, I am so agitated; but General Harcourt is well. He wrote me a few lines after having been seven hours in action, and nearly thirty-one on horseback. The position they have been in has

long been considered as unsafe, and I found from the King last night that General Sporrhen was sent over to tell him so by General Freytay, who commands the covering army near Bergues. Who placed our troops in such a position I know not, but on the 6th and 7th of September the French attacked them with an immense force. General Harcourt says :—

"They were repulsed on every point of the compass; but at length, borne down by weight of numbers, we were obliged to give way, which made it necessary for us to retire to Hondschonete, in order to concentrate our force. What effect such a movement may have, is but too easy to be guessed; but it was unavoidable. In the scramble of a retreat, made in the darkness of the night, Prince Adolphus and Field Marshal Freytay were both wounded and taken, but both retaken; the Prince was wounded in the shoulder, and had a deep cut with a sabre so near the eye that it is a wonder it escaped."

General Harcourt says it is impossible to do justice to the valour of the troops. I have given you all his letter. I received it as I was going to the Lodge; I was greatly agitated, and found the Royal Family not

less so. When the Queen heard that Prince Adolphus was wounded she was much affected; and the Princesses all cried very much. At the same time that these despatches reached the King, he had a messenger from the Duke of York's army. The garrison of Dunkirk had made a sortie, and a most desperate one, in which our only engineer was killed; he was one of the greatest men in his way that ever lived, and all depended upon him; you must have heard of Colonel Moncrief. There cannot be a heavier loss; and this retreat to Hondschonete will make the situation of the besiegers very critical. The whole prospect is sad, but I bless God that General Harcourt is well and not wounded; and I hope he will not suffer materially from this dreadful fatigue.

The re-taking Freytay and Prince Adolphus, was fortunate; his wounds are not dangerous; he received them from the Hussar who took him. He is now at Furnes, and has written to the King, the Queen, and

Princess Augusta. The surgeon who attends him writes word that he has fever, but that he does not doubt his doing well. Freytay was more wounded; lay long in a ditch; was taken, and carried into a house; which was forced by the party who re-took him. He is old; and, if he recovers, I fear will be of no use this campaign. His loss will be irreparable. These wretches rise up like mushrooms all around, we have not force enough to cope with them. The Dutch are of no use, and the other allies are otherwise employed.

The King was kind to me last night beyond measure; he came into the room where I was, and read me his letters; he felt like a father for his son, and seemed like a father to me. How I do love him! The Duchess of York was there, and as her letters had been sent to Oatlands, she did not get them till after ten o'clock, and finished her game before she read them; she is, you know, the granddaughter of a hero. However, she is a charming woman;



she truly loves her husband, and her conduct is most exemplary.

The King expects further accounts hourly; if any come before he sets out for the levée to-day he promised to let me know; if not, I shall have an express from London the moment a messenger arrives. I am quite alone; it is best, in the worried state of my mind, that I should be so; and I employ myself in preparing to go, if any circumstance should either oblige me to hasten my journey, or make my going easier. When all is ready I shall be more comfortable, and I trust that nothing will detain me beyond the end of this month; but I will see you first. I forgot to tell you that the French who attacked Freytay's army came from Cassel; and, by forcing him to quit his position, have made themselves a clear stage from thence to Dunkirk. If you look at the map you will understand this.

I this moment hear, that on the 8th the French attacked Freytay's army again, and it was forced to retreat to Furnes, and

to send to the Duke of York to assist them; so the siege of Dunkirk is raised, and that army is gone to join the other. No English officer was killed or wounded in this last affair; this is comfort, but I have no letter yet from the General, and cannot doubt that he was as hotly engaged on the 8th as he was on the 6th. It may be weakness that makes me dwell on the dangers he has passed, when I ought, perhaps, only to think of and be grateful for his escape. Our whole force is by this time together at Furnes, and can only act upon the defensive. It seems doubtful whether Freytay will recover. I am sure you will be glad to hear a little truth from me, for *public* accounts are made for the *public*, and, of course, so dressed out as to turn away the attention from the naked truth, which is most certainly as bad as it well can be.

Now that the whole force is got together, it is formidable; and, acting upon the defensive, no danger is to be apprehended unless they overpower us with numbers. What is

to be done next nobody knows ; the raising of the siege and the junction of the armies were the last acts when the accounts dated the 9th came away. The royal *émigrés* behaved extremely well ; many of them are killed.

St. Leonard's, Sept. 12th.—I have a note from the General dated the 9th, assuring me he was well ; till I got it, after the chance intelligence I had received, I was wretched. Thank God all we love most are safe. The British have suffered little ; but sad, sad indeed, has been the slaughter of the Hanoverians, and the loss of all the artillery is dreadful. It seems that the French had collected forces from every point for this grand purpose, and too well have they succeeded. If the Duke of York had not marched instantly to join Freytay's army, all the cavalry would have been lost. How the danger, though passed, makes me tremble. All are just now safe ; all our force is concentrated ; but so we shall not rest.

The regiment from Windsor marched at

six this morning ; more Guards, everything is going ; may Heaven protect us ! I hope the Prince of Coburg will take advantage of the French having marched so far ; they are no longer at home, and will find difficulty in subsisting. If the Prince comes in their rear they may be much harassed ; but will he abandon the Austrian objects of Maubeuge and Le Quesnoy ? It is too true the French never were so powerful as at this moment, nor so able to carry every plan into execution.

I had resolved to meet you in London on the 24th, and sail for Ostend by the first packet-boat ; but in the present sad circumstances of the army, I must wait to know General Harcourt's wishes. I cannot think of self where he is concerned, and will not add another care to his mind, probably too much oppressed already ; still I hope I shall go ; I live upon that idea, and it has long been my consolation and support. The Royal Family will return to Windsor to-day at two, I am going to meet them. I am alone,



and glad to be so; society that I could not enjoy would only be a constraint to me, and I am now ready to go at a moment's warning.

I open my letter again to say, that a messenger from Mr. Dundas has just brought me one from the General. He was well on the 11th; the army was ordered to march to Yprès, to assist the Dutch who were attacked; but most fortunately Beaulieu came up, or all would have been ruined everywhere. The Austrians have driven back the enemy, and we are saved for the present. The General says he is well in health, but sick at heart, and hopes never to serve such another campaign. Prince Adolphus is going on well; he is at Ostend, and Prince Ernest is with him.

Le Quesnoy is taken; this, I hope, will enable the Prince de Coburg to co-operate with the English. Great accounts are expected by the next mail; but all, however good, must be purchased at the expense of much danger and fatigue, therefore I tremble.

The Princesses wrote to you the moment Prince Adolphus arrived; so you know that he is come, and his wounds almost healed. The Queen brought him here yesterday, which was particularly kind, for he came but the day before; he was as glad to see me as if I had been one of his family. You know he always loved you, and he longs to see you; I am sure you will come as soon as you can. You will be delighted with him; he is very handsome, very brave, and as lively, good-humoured, and affectionate, as he was when a boy. I do not suppose he will stay long in England, for he will soon be well, and he is eager to serve again.

His escape was wonderful, and a young Hanoverian officer, who is his great friend, almost sacrificed himself to save him on the horrid night when he was twice wounded, made a prisoner, and re-taken. He told me that poor Marshall, whom you and I knew and liked, was killed that night, and almost all the officers of the Hanoverian Guards. He added, that General Harcourt

was engaged for four hours with only 5,000 men against 28,000, and that if the French had availed themselves of the advantage they had, all would have been lost. Eighty-three Hanoverian officers were killed. The young hero shed tears when he gave me this account.

An officer who attends him told me in the evening at Windsor, that there is a possibility of an attempt upon Lille. They hope all thoughts of Dunkirk will be given up; for though it would be a great object for this country, the undertaking under the present circumstances would be too difficult and hazardous. What do your guests (the Duke and Duchess of Harcourt) say of the conduct of the English at Toulon? I own I have such a horror of the French nation, that I shudder at the thoughts of our ships being in any harbour belonging to it; and fear some treachery may ruin us at last. Have you heard that they murdered all the porters at Paris because they were called *des Suisses*, and all the tradespeople of that

country? Lord Howe's fleet is ordered out with all expedition; half-fitted, and not at all equal to the enemy.

The correspondence was interrupted here, for a short time, by my going to Windsor. About the same day that I returned home Mrs. Harcourt set out for Deal, from whence her next letter was written.

Deal Castle, October.—Here I am, and I hope I shall sail to-morrow. Admiral Macbride will, by my uncle's desire, carry me over himself. I go in a frigate, with a cutter to accompany me. The last is a little armed vessel into which we shall get when we are three leagues from Ostend, and the frigate will watch us till we are in; so you need have no fears. Think how I was elated before I left London by getting a letter from the General, dated the 9th, in which he said I must come directly to Tournay; that his camp was within seven miles of it, that he was likely to stay there till the reduction of Maubeuge, probably to the end of the campaign; and that we should meet



often, very often. This raised me to the highest pinnacle of happiness.

When I went to dine with my uncle, there were Lord Chatham, and the Admirals Gardner and Macbride. All were important and full of mystery, and would only tell me I had better not go, but if I did I must promise to return from Ostend, and not go one step further if General Ainsley bid me not; and that General Harcourt was moved from Cisoing, they did not say where. With an aching heart I returned home, and got no rest; next morning, on my way out of town, I called upon my uncle, and made him tell me all he could. There had been an alarm that a great general attack had been intended by the French on all our posts at once, from Menin to Ostend; and that, at the same time, a descent would be made on Jersey or Guernsey; and, if they could, on England. My uncle says it is impracticable, and is only given out to make us keep our fleet at home, that their great convoy may come in; and this was the reason

of Lord Howe's being ordered out immediately.

In regard to General Harcourt's being moved from Cisoing, I understand that the Prince de Coburg has asked for the British cavalry to join him in his attack on the intrenched camp at Maubeuge; and this is the part most painful to me. As to my personal safety, with proper care and directions, I have not an idea of danger.

Deal Castle, Oct. 15th.—I do not sail till after dinner: Admiral Macbride cannot be ready sooner. It vexes me, for I want to be on the other side; the next mail may probably bring me orders from General Harcourt not to come, and I now know why Lord Chatham wanted me to stay another week; but that very reason makes me more impatient to go. Should anything happen, I should never forgive myself for having delayed so long; and, at any rate, I shall be nearer intelligence. The French are determined to make one great effort; they have sent all their northern army, to the

amount of 200,000 men, against the Prince of Saxe Coburg; and we, in consequence, have sent all ours to his assistance. The Duke of York is gone, and all the army is gone from Cisoing to Ostend, except about 6,000 men.

The attack is to be general on both sides, and will determine the fate of the campaign, I might almost say, of England; for if we are beaten, perhaps the invasion will instantly take place. Their preparations are all ready, from Dunkirk to Dieppe. They have small vessels that will hold 150 men each, who are to throw themselves on shore; and from St. Malo a similar descent is intended on Jersey and Guernsey; therefore all our small craft are stationed all along this coast to receive them. The orders are, not to fire upon them, but to run them down at once, as a touch, they say, will send them to the bottom; they have the same hopes with respect to the floating batteries the French are said to have built, so that though it is right to prepare against

them, they do not seem to fear them. However, the French are desperate, and mean to make a desperate attempt that must be decisive one way or other.

I intend to go straight to Bruxelles, from thence I can go nearer to General Harcourt when he chooses it; and, as the Emperor is to be there on the 17th, I shall be sure of the best intelligence. I suppose I shall find letters at Ostend, but am advised not to stay there, or at Bruges, or Ghent, as those places are full of democrats and French emissaries. A train of powder has been discovered at Ghent passing through three houses to one great magazine of powder; and thirty persons are taken up. The lines of Weissemberg were certainly to be attacked this week; what a critical moment this is!

Ghent, October 18th.—I hoped to have found some news of the General here, but though we have some troops in the place, and General Mansel is with them, they know nothing. I shall get to Bruxelles as



fast as I can, where I am sure of knowing what passes, and hope at least to hear that the camp and town of Maubeuge, now surrounded, will soon fall. Bruxelles cannot be above fifty miles from hence; and the feeling that I every hour draw nearer to General Harcourt gives me a degree of comfort I cannot describe. I met with no difficulties, nor was there a suspicion of danger, although, against General Ainslie's advice, I went by Thourout instead of Bruges. The latter road is ten miles round. I travel with my own horses, and am impatient to finish my journey.

I found the people at Thourout and Coolskamp in safety at present, but alarmed at all the troops being sent to Maubeuge; for, if things should not go on well there, they will be pretty sure of another visit from the French. They have almost unfurnished their houses, and hidden everything that is valuable. Poor souls! for a year past they have lived in perpetual alarms, and been the quarters of almost

every nation; and yet I see no difference in the appearance of the country. No trees are destroyed; the fields are in the highest state of cultivation; and everything looks as neat as the kitchen-garden at Nuneham; and, except that there are fewer crosses and chapels by the roadside, one would not think that any army, friends or enemies, had passed that way.

At this place, Ghent, they say the people are ill-disposed, and would be glad of another visit from the French. Seven persons were taken up yesterday as disaffected, and nine the day before; they are to be tried this morning. It is believed that there are not less than seven thousand ready to rise if they dared; I hope they will never have an opportunity. I shall be at Bruxelles early to-morrow. I have written to Mr. Bruce to procure me lodgings, and hope to find them ready. We go on perfectly well, though not a creature with me speaks a word of French. General Harcourt sent a pair of horses for Sir Gilbert's chaise, and two dra-

goons of his own regiment to be my escort. I brought over my own carriage and horses. You would laugh to see our procession, and to see me drawing for forage at all the military posts, and passing the turnpikes *en militaire*, without paying.

I take more care of Sir Gilbert than he does of me; but it was necessary to General Harcourt's comfort that I should have a man with me. I never feel that I want assistance, excepting when I am with General Harcourt, and then the pleasure of being under his protection makes me fancy I cannot do without it. The two dragoons he has sent were with him in America, and have been twenty years in the regiment. They assured me the General would not send any he could not trust, and seemed not a little proud of the distinction. I wanted them to have beds at the inns, but they would only have straw in the stables, for they said they never laid in a bed in America, and had made a vow they would not during this war till they arrived at Paris. I never

saw anything so charming as their zeal, and I do believe if I had met with ten or a dozen straggling French, (and such pillaging parties were what General Ainslie dreaded,) I should have been perfectly safe with these brave defenders.

Bruxelles, October 21st.—I had only time to write to the Duke of Harcourt yesterday. Alas, what sad news! The poor Queen of France! What a massacre! It makes one's blood run cold with horrors; to force a child to depose against its mother and aunt; a child of seven years old; a King given up to the instruction of common women! "livrez à quatre filles." I think these the worst of all their crimes, or of all the crimes that ever were committed since the martyrdom of the Saints. Wretches! monsters! they cannot prosper long; and even we may live to see their downfall.

I found uncomfortable news here from our side of the seat of war: the siege of Maubeuge is raised, and the Prince de Saxe Cobourg retired after a victory, which,



strange as it may sound, he did not find out to be one. I shall have a constant communication with General Harcourt; for Le Quesnoy, near which place he is, is only fifty miles from hence, and the post goes every day. I cannot describe the joy I feel to be again so near him; anxious I must be, but here I have opportunities of having my anxiety relieved, and I would not take millions to be again in England. I shudder when I look back to the misery I used to feel; listening to every creaking door that opened; expecting letters, and afraid to read them when they came; fancying my own shadow that of some one come to tell me bad news; and, if good arrived, knowing that time enough had elapsed since its date to have it followed by bad. Thank God, I know now he is safe and well.

Since the English army came near the Prince de Cobourg not a soul has stirred; indeed, not since the 15th, when both armies, mutually thinking themselves beaten, retreated. No one knows what is become

of the French army; 80,000 men seem to have disappeared from the face of the earth; and, as it is not likely that it opened to swallow them up, however much they may appear to us to deserve it, it seems strange that in five days they cannot be heard of; yet this is actually the daily account from the army. It is imagined they are gone towards Namur; but this is only guess, and great apprehensions are entertained lest they should re-appear somewhere when and where they are least expected. It is said that the Austrians pay their spies so ill that they never have good ones; the allies are always in the dark, and the French know all that passes in every quarter.

General Beaulieu is in the neighbourhood of Namur, which is the only hope of safety to that part of the country. The French fear him so much that his name is worth 20,000 men. I hope they are not gone towards Ostend, for all is defenceless on that side. What horrors does war occasion! The empty waggons are at this moment re-

turning by my window, loaded with wounded men, from the affair of Maubeuge; sixty came here the day before yesterday; twenty more yesterday; and every hospital in every town between this and the army is full. The crier goes about for old linen, and all that can be collected is given. I am well lodged here; and as for society, there are many Englishmen, no women, and several respectable Frenchmen. Madame de Vaudreuil, and the Princess Joseph de Lorraine, with whom I lived so much last year, are close by me. Poor souls, they are broken-hearted at the death of the Queen; and I well know how that event will grieve the Duc and Duchesse d'Harcourt.

The taking the lines of Wissemburg is a little good news to counterbalance the bad. It is also believed that Landau surrendered on the 16th; that the only bargain the garrison made was to return to France, which was granted them, and that 6,000 men marched out for that purpose. It is said, too, that the Prussian army is within

a league of Strasbourg, and expects it to open its gates, and that the French army is surrounded, and in great distress. It is strange that private letters without end name all this, and yet there is no official account. This is always the case with these patient, slow-moving Germans, who only think of saving messengers because they cost money.

The Arch-duke Charles is here, and very well spoken of; but he has no Court, and nobody sees him; he is kept very like a child, and shut up with his tutors. They say he looks five years younger than he is; but he is clever and very brave, and they could not prevent his constantly exposing his person, which was the reason they sent him away from the army. I heard the Duchesse de Mortemart had escaped to England from Dunkirk. As soon as the Duke of York heard that I was at Bruxelles, he told General Harcourt he should insist upon his making me a visit as soon as he could; this was truly kind. I hope laurels, and everything St. Leonard's could furnish, were



sent to decorate the fête at Frogmore against the Accession-day.

Bruxelles, October 25th.—Landau is not taken; and it is said that the army is marched from Englefontaine and gone again towards Cisoing. Luckily Mr. Bruce went to the army the day before yesterday, and on his return I shall have good information. Another Englishman went yesterday; a very good-natured little man, known in London by the name of little Tommy Tyrwhitt. There I did not know him, but I am glad I met him here, for he is perpetually going to the army; and he very kindly carried a cook I got here for the General, in his own chaise, though he knows no more of the General than he does of me. All the well-disposed here are very sorry for the failure before Maubeuge; if things do not mend, this country will be again overrun. The general tone of the common people here is not good, any more than in the other towns of Brabant and Flanders.

I see such misery here that I can hardly

refrain from tears all day long. Poor Madame de Vaudreuil loved the Queen personally, and is in perfect despair. The treatment the King met with was merciful in comparison to what the Queen experienced. I never read anything so fine as her answer to the National Assembly; nor anything so touching as her asking her Counsel afterwards if she had answered too haughtily, because she had heard a woman in the crowd say, "Qu'elle est fiere." Even in that miserable state she wished to save her life.

A Monsieur Mandrayon came here yesterday, who made his escape the day after the execution; he had been so long concealed that he did not know many details; but he says the Queen was certainly in a most wretched state of health, and the physicians had declared she could not live above a month, and might die in a few days. This made them determine to hasten her execution, and, as they could not keep her any longer as a hostage, they resolved to

make use of the rest of her existence, and its termination, to inspire fear and dismay. It is not confirmed that the little boy did depose against his mother; but they keep him always drunk, and teach him every horror; thus, at the same time, pouring poison into his mind and body.

People are alarmed for the Princesses. One of the Convention was *dénoncé* for being in love with Mad<sup>lle</sup> Elizabeth, as a thing below the dignity of a Republican, and it is feared that they mean to force her and her niece into marriage, or abomination of some kind. Perhaps it is already done. A Mad<sup>me</sup> de Bettiset is here, whom I knew last year; she had then a daughter with her, a very charming girl of sixteen. She went afterwards with her grandmother to Paris, in the hope of saving some of their property; and Madame de B. has just heard that this darling child is married to the son of one of their Generals, Rosignol, and she is in perfect despair.

You cannot have forgotten the famous

story of the Queen of France's diamond necklace; indeed, I believe you have a drawing of it; a person lately said to the Cardinal de Rohan, that, as in the present state of things, there could no longer be any use in concealing it, he wished he would tell him the truth of that story. He answered, that more importance was, from bad motives, given to it than it ever deserved; "the real truth," he said, "is, that both the Queen and I were egregiously duped." As I have begun repeating anecdotes of Queens, I will tell you another, which I should suppose to be the fabrication of the present times, if I had not been assured by respectable persons that they had heard it all their lives, and that mention is made of it in some, I forget which, History of France.

Mary de Medicis, the second wife of Henry IV., was strongly tainted with the superstition of the age she lived in, and was passionately fond of astrology. One day she desired a man, in whom she had great confidence, to shew her in a glass the fate



of her descendants. She saw Louis XIII., the splendour of Louis XIV., and the two kings who succeeded him, with many inferior branches of the House of Bourbon. While she was considering them the whole race at once disappeared, and was succeeded by an innumerable quantity of rats and mice, who ran to and fro, and devoured each other; she saw no more. Strange as this account may seem, it is too well authenticated for me to be ashamed of repeating it.

I dined yesterday with our old friend Monsieur de Mauleverer (now Colbert); he has lately lost a charming wife; his sister-in-law, wife to "le petit Crenolle qui esperait tant que la fantaisie de la marier ne passerait pas par la tête de son pere," is a pleasing woman, and I see them often. Mons. de Colbert is left with four children; what a change in the times! he says he never shall forget you. I meet with great civility from old Marshal Bender, the Commandant of Bruxelles; his wife is a Pro-

testant, and doats upon anybody of her own religion, who is English and married to a military man. Of course I am a favourite. Her husband is eighty years old, but wishes himself with the army, and is outrageous at all these failures, which, I fancy, he thinks he could have prevented. He will be useful in facilitating my communication with the General.

I am very uneasy to-day; the French have taken Furnes, and are attacking Menin and Neinport; and I fear our troops are gone that way. Monsieur de Boisgetin, who married Mdlle. d'Harcourt, the Duke de Beauvion's daughter, is here; he says all is quiet at Amiens, and none of the family arrested. The Emperor is to leave Vienna the 5th of November, and will not be here before the 15th.

Bruxelles, Oct. 28.—All is again quiet, and no further alarms for this country. The poor French *émigrés* a few days ago thought themselves again at Jemmappe, and if the savages had not been stopped, they would

have found this winter like the last. The misfortunes of the campaign have been completed by this last march of our troops towards Maubeuge, where we arrived after the Prince de Saxe Coburg had suffered himself to be attacked, and then so unaccountably retreated, leaving all our posts defenceless. They have been pillaged. Ostend and all our magazines are again in the greatest danger. Nobody can comprehend his conduct, he has 75,000 of the finest troops in the world at Bermarain, waiting for the French to attack him. Nor will they be slow to do this if they can, for they know the advantage it will give them. When they come on with impetuosity they can do great things, but they cannot stand being attacked themselves, and it is feared that they are stronger than was supposed.

We have re-taken our posts, and are nearly in the same position we were in after the siege of Dunkirk, with only the loss of men and baggage, harassed by an unneces-

sary march, and with Generals still more out of humour.

The cry against the Prince de Coburg is great indeed; they say he has done nothing since Colonel Mack left him, and that he is not equal to the command he holds. I had the comfort yesterday of receiving a letter from General Harcourt from Tournay. I hope soon to be allowed to join him there, for our poor little army is so reduced by illness and errors, it can attempt nothing but to guard West Flanders. Unless some unforeseen event happens, all activity on our part is over for this campaign. It is said that our Government has made representations they will withdraw our troops, employ them elsewhere, and leave the Prince de Coburg to guard West Flanders himself. May Heaven defend our friends from going to Pouton, I should be distracted.

Tournay, Oct. 31st.—If so much agitation did not tear my poor mind to pieces, I should almost say it was worth while to



have been wretched to feel the happiness I have this day experienced. The moment I had leave I set out for this place. I arrived at 9. The General did not expect me so early, but at 11 he came from the camp, has dined here, and is this *moment* returned. Not *one* would I lose before I express to you, my beloved friend, the joy my heart has felt this blessed day; after thanking Heaven, for having, in its mercy, once more united me to all my soul holds dear upon earth. I never saw him look better, and he says that what fatigues others does him good.

My coming was sudden, and, to me, unexpected. The late successes on these frontiers, since the return of our troops from Maubeuge, made General Harcourt send an express for me. I am in an excellent house, which was his head-quarters when he was in Tournay, and where his heavy baggage still remains, with some dragoons to guard it, so that I feel quite at home; and to-morrow I am to have the

great delight of passing the day at the camp, or rather at the farm-house near Cisoing, where the General's present head-quarters are. You may find it in the map, about half-way between Lille and Tournay, on the road to the former.

Yesterday completed the *deroute* of the French outpost in this neighbourhood; the English and some Austrian troops attacked them at Marchiennes, about ten miles from here, and drove them completely away. They took nearly 2,000 prisoners, whom they are just bringing into this town, on their way, probably, to Hungary, where, General Styartz told me the other day, there are already 130,000, of whom above 700 are officers. These poor miserable wretches are likely to die of disease, from hard living and want. I am sorry to say, if we may judge from those who have died at Bruxelles, that the last scene of most of their lives must make a thinking being humble. They refuse all spiritual assistance, and, as I am informed, tell their priests they do not want them, for

that there is no God, and they go to eternal sleep.

This country is in a different situation from what it was a week ago; all the Austrian frontier was then attacked, and even at Bruxelles people began to think the horrid time of Jemmappe (never to be forgotten by them) was coming over again. Now, all is much as it was before the business of Maubeuge; and when some of my kind friends at Bruxelles said they were sorry I was going to Tournay, I told them, with truth, that they ought to rejoice at it, as the General sending for me was a proof that the frontier was cleared of the monsters who had infested it. They pillaged fifteen or sixteen villages; almost destroyed Menin; and committed the most horrid cruelties within the last fortnight. This town, Tournay, was saved by about eight hours. The French were within a league and a-half of it when the English army returned on the 25th. These late transactions will have restored some degree of credit to the campaign.

The Prince de Coburg has written to the Duke of York to thank him for having saved West Flanders by his late successes. Alas! the French have still their multiplicity of strong fortified towns, in which they conceal themselves like wild beasts in their dens, till they find a convenient time of sallying forth to do mischief. There can, therefore, as yet be no general winter-quarters, and we are beginning to lose men and horses by lying out in bad weather.

As for myself I shall be well if I can sleep to-night, which I have hardly done since I had leave to quit Bruxelles. I can hardly believe I have really seen the General. I am much agitated; but it is a relief to me to write to you, who are likewise interested in the object that interests me. I bless every step that brought me nearer to Tournay, and yet I have had more happiness than I expected. I did not think he could stay so long with me, or that I should be allowed to go to the camp. My greatest comfort of all is, the assurance he gives me



that there will be very little more done, at least by the cavalry, this year. Not a horse will be left if they do not soon go into cantonments; and then the General will come into this house. Now, was I not wise to come? Even if I hear firing, I am sure I shall not suffer half so much from it as I did from all the horrors my imagination used to picture to me sitting in the Gothic room at St. Leonard's. There I really felt such misery that I shudder to look back upon it. I left Sir Gilbert at Bruxelles, because I could not bear to have any one with me when the General came; and when he was gone I wanted to be alone to think of my happiness, and to write it to you. Alas, my poor Charlotte, she is gone! to whom I used to tell my every pain and every pleasure.

Nov. 1st.—I am just come from passing a happy day with General Harcourt. I went early, and dined with him *en famille*; his quarters are at a farm-house about a mile from the camp, which I passed but could

not stop to see, as it rained incessantly. The farmhouse consists of a room for the General, a kitchen, and one more room, which serves *pour le salon* in the day; and, covered with straw and bearskins, makes a bedchamber at night for Amedée and Captain Beckwith, and the brigade major. With all this I never saw a better dinner, or more comfort; but all is comfort to me here; our friend Lord Herbert looks well, and, by all accounts, is very active and clever in his profession. He lost all his baggage, but he assures me he has now got six or seven shirts, and that as for the rest he finds it more convenient to do without what are commonly called conveniences.

As I was going out of Tournay this morning, a young officer on the Lisle road stopped my chaise and asked me eagerly, by my name, how I did; on my staring at him he said, "Do not you know me?"

"No," said I.

"Not know me," he cried, "when I am so glad to see you?"

"Good Heaven," I exclaimed, "are you my dear Prince Ernest?"

It was indeed he, and I felt delighted to see him, and provoked at my own stupidity in not recollecting him. He knew me by my escort. I fancy he is more altered from what he was when a boy than Prince Adolphus, but he is very handsome.

The Prince and Princess de Cruy have just left me; they are come to pass some days here to see me, and to hear accounts of their relations in England. You see I have society everywhere; here I wish for no more than General Harcourt's visits give me; and, independent of the happiness of being near him, the scene about me is so curious, and suits so much my desire of seeing whatever is new and strange, that I should be very sorry not to have come. What are called difficulties are to me the greatest amusement, and make the whole more interesting. Odd as it may be, I do believe I love a little risk; for I had particular pleasure to-day in going six miles

along the Lisle road, and knowing that I was within three of a French post. The busy scene of this whole country amuses me; the military appearance of everything; the troops of so many nations; in short, I cannot tell you how it all suits me; but perhaps it is the one great cause of happiness that seasons all the rest, for certain it is that I have not for fifteen years found any pleasure independent of him.

In justice to Amedée I ought to say a great deal from him to you. General Harcourt never stirs without him, he says he is the greatest comfort to him; that he has not found an error in him; and that everybody loves him. To say half the kind things the General desired to you and Lord Harcourt is impossible. Madame le Brun, the milliner, is here, much suspected of being a spy; she buys up *assignats* at this place, purchases goods at Lisle with them to carry to England, and has constant communication with persons in the last-mentioned town.

Tournay, Nov. 2nd.—Prince Ernest passed



yesterday with me; he is excessively liked here, but would not do in England; he talks too much, and I am sure he would not bear the life of Windsor three days. He is a true Hussar; but open, lively, and very good-natured. His manner, when he pleases, is good; something between the Prince of Wales's and the Duke of Clarence's. I find, but it is a great secret, that we are very soon to go to Bruges and Ghent for winter quarters. I shall be happy to tell it to the General when he comes to-day, for he has no idea of it, and thinks we are to stay here; but I discovered this, and some other things, in a conversation I had last night with a person in office. You will know whom I mean.

Tournay, Nov. 6th, Wednesday.—I have been here a week; I could not have believed it; time does not creep now with such sad slowness as it did at St. Leonard's. Strange as it must seem, the General's health is even better than in England. The officers and servants are, in general, well; but I fear the poor soldiers and horses must

now begin to suffer cruelly, for the weather is dreadful. It rains incessantly, and the men have now nothing but wet straw to lie upon, while the horses are up to their fetlocks in mud, with the rain pouring in upon them. I believe they would have been cantoned to-day if intelligence had not been received of a large camp being forming at Holleme, near Lisle. The General, with a large detachment, went yesterday to reconnoitre it; and it is thought so considerable, that, instead of venturing to lessen ours at present, it is possible that it may be necessary to send for further reinforcements from the Austrian army. The French are so hardened, no season hurts them; and so numerous, that they do not care how many they sacrifice if they can plague and exhaust us.

The Prince de Coburg does nothing, but I hope England is satisfied with all the successes in this quarter. Prince Ernest never comes to Tournay without calling upon me. We dined together at the General's quarters

yesterday, and had a very merry party; the Prince is beloved, and thought a good officer. I have not seen the Duke of York, but he has sent me word he will call upon me the first time he comes to Tournay. I have many visitors, and it is impossible for anybody to be more in their element than I am. I know, indeed, that there are cannon balls in that odious French camp, but I know, too, when they are *not* firing them, and at St. Leonard's they were ever in my imagination. Sir Gilbert has joined us; I really did not want him on the road; I love travelling, and like to arrange everything in my own way. When I ride, I take an orderly dragoon instead of a servant; and you who know me, will conceive that I enjoy what would be terrible to most women.

Amedée is perfection; not only beloved by the General, but by the aides-de-camp, the seniors, and all those one should expect to be jealous of him. General Harcourt says his military knowledge is extraordinary,

and that he is of real use to him. I feel that he stands between him and danger, for I know he has often checked General Harcourt's going too far unnecessarily. I have just been riding towards the camp, and shall go to the play to-night, though there is not now one woman here of any kind that I know, which I am not sorry for. It is very odd that I am the only *wife* here; there are, I believe, two or three ladies of another description. I dreaded the effects of this rain, and am this moment told that three men and several horses were found dead in the tents this morning. We expect to hear that the Prince de Coburg has attacked the French near Loudrecy; if he is beaten, I am to be sent off to Bruxelles directly. It is said that our army is to be augmented by 30,000 men; how will this go down in England?

Tournay, Nov. 11th.—I have the comfort now of being under the same roof with General Harcourt, which, besides the joy of having so much more of his society, prevents



his being out so late in an evening. I am happy to tell you that the troops are all now cantoned; it would have killed them to have been out longer; and as the French set the example we were not afraid to follow it. They do not, however, yet think of winter-quarters; when they are able to do that, I suppose the destination of the British will be Ghent and Bruges, and these quarters upon the frontiers will be filled with Austrians. The bad weather has obliged them to renounce all thoughts of further enterprise, and I fear it will be the same on the side of Alsace. If Landau had been taken, or if Strasbourg had surrendered, it would have made a great difference; as it is, I fear the abandonment of the lines of Wissembourg will be of little use.

Eight officers dine with us every day; and, as we have a large hotel, all come who choose to do so. Prince Ernest never misses; the King has given him a regiment, but he is sorry to quit that of Light Dragoons, in which he has served five years.

He loves the officers of it like brothers. His own regiment is Heavy Dragoons, which is a service he hates; but it is safer, and probably the King and the Duke of York have made this arrangement to prevent his being killed or taken, as his spirit and courage make him expose himself whenever he can. The Duke of York looks well, and has been very kind to me; some of the things reported in England may be true, but I am persuaded that he is both good-natured and humane, although, by sometimes talking absurdly, he gets a contrary character.

Amedée is miserable about his brother, who is serving, by compulsion, against us. He is known to be at one of the French outposts, near Oretais, which is not far from hence; he is probably wishing to desert; if he attempts it, whether he succeeds or fails, it will ruin his family. This keeps Amedée in agonies, for he adores his mother and sister, and feels inexpressible horror at the idea of meeting his brother opposed to him, or seeing him killed or brought in a prisoner.

The news of that monster the Duc d'Orléans being beheaded has just reached us.

Tournay, Nov. 19th.—All is well, and we are as quiet as if there were no French within two hundred miles of us. General Harcourt is doubtful what to decide upon. Of course, I do not give an opinion, for should I persuade him to leave his present situation, and should he be obliged to go where there would be more danger, or where my means of communicating with him would be more difficult, I should be wretched. We shall, at any rate, return home when the army goes into winter-quarters. Perhaps the General means then to give the thing up, and the pain of resolving to do so may occasion the vexation he seems to feel. He loves his profession to a degree of enthusiasm that makes it necessary that I should never interfere in these matters, and I every day rejoice that I came here. My health and nerves are better for the air and way of life. I ride all the morning. In my last letter I told you how we pass the rest of the

day. I have heard no female voice addressed to me but my own maid's, and you know how seldom she speaks, since I left Bruxelles. This I like.

There are here some pleasant Austrian officers, some French and Hanoverians, besides the British, and my evening parties are large. The Duke of York comes sometimes; Prince Ernest always; so do Lord Harrington, Lord Herbert, and Sir James Murray. I think you will hear of no more fighting on this side at present, but I fear that the next campaign will be a difficult one. The times are wonderful and tremendous, and unforeseen events may happen to frustrate all present plans and instructions.

Since I wrote the above a most interesting circumstance has happened to poor Amedée, and indeed to all of us. His brother Emanuel, who was forced to march with the mass, has deserted, and is got here safe. The boy managed it very cleverly, but the attempt was hazardous. He is very little, but a fine lad, and like Amedée in the face.



Poor soul, he wants much nursing to recover him; for, what with the fatigue of a march of twenty-four miles in the night through a marsh from the French outpost, and his then lying in his wet clothes in a wood till daylight, he was quite ill. So, after having him well washed and provided with new apparel, we sent him to bed. He really had a good deal of fever, but he is better to-day, and will, I dare say, soon be well. Amedée was excessively affected; indeed, quite knocked up, by the event. He had not seen his brother for four years, nor, for a long time, even heard of his family. They are all well, but in a state of arrestation at Amiens, where, however, they are well treated. I said *all*, but his father is not included; he is in prison at Paris, and his old nurse is sent to the Conciergerie, which he is very sorry for. I can only add, that the good faith of the Prussians is strongly suspected; they will shake off our alliance if they can.

Tournay, Sunday, Nov. 24th.—It is settled that, for the present, Emanuel shall

serve as a volunteer in the General's regiment. He and his brother are delighted with this arrangement. Since he deserted, almost all his company have followed him. Fifteen arrived three days ago; they all desire to unite themselves to him, and expect soon to be followed by their Captain. They say that most of the new-raised troops would desert, if they were not checked by the double fear of wanting bread, and injuring the friends they have left in France. I see no certain prospect of returning home. They talk of 20,000 men assembled on the Lys river; and there is a positive order from England for no leave of absence to be granted to any officer at present, which makes the Guards grumble not a little. We were to have gone to Ghent for winter-quarters on Thursday, but it must be deferred. It may seem odd, but I am not sorry; I like this living in a state of uncertainty; enjoying the existing moment, and always ready to move the next, if necessary; in short, I like everything. We may go home in

January, perhaps sooner; perhaps not so soon; whether to return or not I do not ask, and believe none can say. I dare not have an opinion, except that of four evils this is the least; the West Indies, Toulon, La Vendée, would be worse. Do not fancy that all this worries my nerves; my health mends daily, and I am happy here; in Paradise compared with what I suffered in England. I cannot look back on that time without shedding tears.

I should be unkind to Prince Ernest if I did not do justice to his regard for you, and send you all the love he gave me for you. He carried me yesterday to a convent in the country, where he was quartered for a week last summer. I had some difficulty in endeavouring to make him behave well. He would kiss the Abbess, and talk nonsense to all the poor nuns. I know a thousand traits of the goodness of his heart, but I fear he is too wild for England. We see the Duke of York often at my evening parties. He is very civil, and says fine things

of General Harcourt, meaning more by it than mere good breeding. But the General's opinion is formed; as a man, he likes him *better* than he thought he should, as an officer, *less*.

Tournay, Nov. 29th.—Our way of life is now very comfortable; we breakfast *en famille*; after that I leave the General till dinner, that I may not be in his way; in the morning I ride. We have company at dinner, and my being here prevents their sitting long afterwards; for they come up to tea to play at Cassino. I often visit the nuns, and the two Lady Abbesses came to see me the other day; they not only allowed the General to return the visit with me, but to go into the interior of the convent and see all the community. Many of the nuns were young and handsome, and we pitied them much. We are anxious for news from La Vendée; nothing happens here but slight skirmishes on the outposts, that keep up the spirits of the troops.

December 17th.—We are now at Ghent,



and find this once magnificent town, which is usually too thinly inhabited, looking cheerful from being filled with soldiers. The General's own regiment is at Oudenarde, in a fine healthy air. I slept there one night on my way here, and all I met with seemed like a romance.

December 22nd.—We should be comfortable here if we did not wish to be out of the scrape, and to get to England. An idea that originated there prevails here, that the army is to move to prevent the Carmagnols from going towards La Vendée; but they are all now within their strong walls, and a siege cannot be undertaken in these short days. Even to encamp at this season would destroy our troops. The Duke is gone to Mons; Count Morsfelt to Tournay. Great civility is now shewn to the English generals; they are flattered and coaxed, but neither consulted with, nor treated with confidence; and are often ignorant of the plans till the troops are ordered to march. They have state sentries; Hulans, with flags,

attend them; and there is much outward show of respect; but their advice is not asked, and no military councils are held. All is Austrian; and the English and Hanoverian generals are mere cyphers.

Lady Finlater means to pass the winter here with her father, Count Murray. I went with her last night to the Bishop's, where there was an assembly as full as a London one. There are balls, concerts, or assemblies every evening, to which our officers are invited; and there is a play four times every week. The inhabitants are particularly civil to the English. I think the town is larger than any in England, except London; they say it stands upon as much ground as Paris. It contains many fine convents, churches, and hotels; and, though the country about it is flat, the rides are good; the soil is light, and the roads dry. It is intersected with rivers, over which there are bridges; and the chateaux and plantations on the banks enliven the scene.

The divine service as performed in the

army is a striking sight ; in fine weather it is out-of-doors here ; at Tournay it was in a large town-hall, round which, all the infantry at one time, and all the cavalry at another, were assembled. You may judge how immense the space must have been. The officers and the clergyman are placed in the middle. I am usually the only woman, for none of the officers' wives are here ; the greatest regularity is observed, and the whole, taking in the circumstances of our situation, is more awfully solemn than can be conceived by any who have not been present.

Dec. 24th, Ghent.—More and more reports of a general movement ; the project is said to be Lord Loughborough's, or some of the Cabinet Ministers in England who planned the pretty siege of Dunkirk. Why will they not satisfy themselves with forming the general outline of the campaign, and supplying men and money, without attempting to direct particular military operations ; having no knowledge of the art of war, being

ignorant of local circumstances, and at too great a distance to know the important and sometimes very sudden changes that arise. The present scheme is against the opinion of all here, who say the whole army will be sacrificed to no purpose if it be pursued ; but that consideration seems of little weight in England. Lardou is capitulating.

Dec. 29th, Ghent.—You will see us by the birthday ; General Harcourt or Sir William Erskine must go to England upon military business, and as Sir William does not choose to go, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity. The late promotions make great changes here, but none of our officers are impatient to quit Ghent, for they are delighted with the life here. Lady Finlater has seventeen cousins, all pretty young women ; they wear a white uniform with a blue sash, are lively and good-humoured, and dance, so we have balls without end. The English find every house open to them. At the Bishop's, on Christmas-day, there were fifty-seven card-tables.



January 7th.—You will see us now very soon ; I really think no business here is done but by, or through General Harcourt. He goes to England with orders without end ; and army requisitions for the Duke of York. Except for the sake of seeing you, and a very few of my friends, I had rather stay here than return home ; the air, though cold, agrees with me, and braces me. We meet for the evening before you dine in England, and go to bed sooner than you go to assemblies, all but General Harcourt, who is often kept up by business. This morning he sat up writing till four o'clock.

It is very unfortunate that these vile French have beaten us in Alsace. I fear we shall all be undone before we have a chance of peace. The whole campaign on this side is lost ; but the Duke of Brunswick has behaved gloriously, he has at once acted the part of the greatest general, and the bravest common soldier. He risked his life a hundred times, and used every endeavour, every persuasion, but Wormser would not

stay. Allied armies of double number are not equal to half their force of one nation, and under one commander. It was ever thought so in former times, and, in our own, Toulon has proved it. The cold slow Spaniards, and the enervated Neapolitans ruined us there ; all our hope now, I verily think, depends upon La Vendée, and even that is not great.

Soon after the receipt of this letter the General and Mrs. Harcourt returned to England ; they stayed some weeks, and then again joined the army in Flanders.

Extracts from Mrs. Harcourt's letters, continued after her return to the army.

Courtray, March 25th, 1794.—I have been at Menin and Mount Hallouin, which having been taken and re-taken seven times, shew more completely what wretchedness war can occasion than anything I could have conceived. In Menin, which is a large town, there are hardly one hundred of the original inhabitants left ; in Hallouin, none. The Duke of York is much disposed to be civil

and kind; he will do what he can to promote the raising of a regiment of *émigrés* for the Duc d'Harcourt. The plan does not seem to be liked in England, it is a pity, for we could get 500 men towards it directly. The more I see of Prince Ernest the more I like him, in good hands he might be made a charming young man. I never knew a better temper, or a kinder heart. You know how truly amiable Prince Adolphus is. Madame Walmoden is here; she has a daughter with her, very like our Royal Family.

March 30th.—I write from the Hermitage, the Prince de Cruy's, near Condé; a most delightful house, full of comforts we have no idea of in England. The garden is in the old French style, with bosquets that hide fine oaks, and a beautiful wood. It is singular that a relation's house should be given us as a quarter. The Prince and Princess are come to pass a day or two with us. Amedée, Emanuel, and other company visit us daily, and the Princess is

amused with the novelty of the scene. We dined with Prince Ernest, at Tournay, on our way here; and he carried us to the play in the evening. General Clairfait came into the box. He has an expressive countenance, and a wonderfully quick, penetrating eye, with the manners of a man of fashion.

April 1st.—We dined yesterday at the head-quarters, at St. Amand, by the Duke of York's invitation. Prince Ernest, Prince Adolphus, and Prince William of Gloucester, were there; so we had a fine riotous day, but they were so good-humoured it was impossible not to be pleased. We are to dine with the Prince de Saxe Coburg the end of the week, and to-morrow and next day our English princes are to dine with us. The Prince de Saxe Coburg had bespoke a play at Valenciennes for some famous French actresses. With difficulty we excused ourselves, the whole world was going.

The day before yesterday 25,000 French attacked the Austrians, drove in their posts, but were repulsed by about 7,000 collected



in haste. Seven hundred and eighty French were left on the field, besides the wounded; and there were sixty prisoners. The Austrians lost one hundred and fifty men and two officers; this, for the first affair, is thought to have ended well. I write to you, mixing fighting, dinners, dramas, trumpets, and plays altogether, as they are in war so mixed; to give you, though it is almost impossible, some idea of what our life is. It cannot, however, drown the heart-ache I feel from morning to night at the approach of a campaign the result of which is so uncertain.

April 8th, Hermitage, the Prince de Cruy's chateau.—It is odd, as I said before, that we should be quartered at the house of a relation. Since I wrote we have dined at Valenciennes with Marshal Coburg; I like him excessively; he seems the best sort of man that can be; and, though old and pitted with small-pox, is well-looking from the goodness of his countenance; he is very well-bred; I sat by him, and we conversed a great deal;

in the evening he carried us to the play. The heavy rains have made the roads so bad the campaign cannot begin yet.

April 20th, Jallaix.—Nothing can be more interesting than the scene I have just been in. I was pleased to be in the midst of so many distinguished characters, not forgetting dear General Mack; but the fatigue was great. My present very comfortable abode I owe to the kindness of the Prince de Coburg. I thank God I supported the parting with General Harcourt, though I suspected the campaign was to begin the next day. From hence I distinctly heard the cannonade at Laudruy, which continued without intermission from five in the morning till ten at night. I could distinguish the flames of the villages on fire, and imagination cannot picture a scene more awful. In the morning of yesterday twenty-six waggons loaded with wounded passed by this place, it was a sight I never can forget. In the evening a large party of Carmagnol prisoners passed. I felt a little sorry for the common men, but not

for the officers; they were very insolent, and as they went along said to the mob: "Ce n'est rien, cela ira bien pour nous." These broken sentences were often interrupted by a fierce "Tar Tevil" from the Austrian Hussars, that made them hasten their steps. There were about 300 of them; they were well clothed; but, if possible, the officers looked more vulgar than the soldiers.

The moment is come when I trust the cause of virtue will triumph over vice. The Hanoverians killed 300, and took 150 prisoners yesterday, near Menin. At Tournay, General Clairfait and Prince Ernest were on a reconnoitring party, they were about twenty yards in front of a detachment of ninety soldiers, headed by a major; a cannon-ball passed between the General and the Prince, killed the Major, and wounded twenty-four men. Prince William of Gloucester was under General Harcourt's command yesterday; he writes word he has cool collected courage, and is one of the finest young men he ever saw.

April 24th.—An attack on the Austrians was expected yesterday, but did not happen. This pleasant little chateau is but 150 yards from the road by which all our magazines must pass, so I have constant communication with the army. The weather is so fine that even the oaks are out, and the planes beginning to shoot; I think everything a full month more forward than it usually is in England; the thermometer at eight this morning was 80°. Laudruy is expected to be taken in a week or ten days. The second parallel was finished yesterday; other sieges will then take place, and my present situation is a central one, being about ten or twelve miles from Laudruy, Maubeuge, and Bouchain, and not much farther from Cambray.

It is wonderful how use enables me to bear things that at first seemed tremendous; I hear the cannon from morning to night; and yet I feel more tranquil than if I were quietly sitting in England, for here I know exactly how things really are. The exertions



on our side are prodigious, and seem to slacken on theirs, so that we may hope this horrid war cannot last long. In the last three days we have taken thirty-two pieces of cannon, and killed near 6,000, but I fear that the Austrians have lost about 2,000 in killed and wounded.

April 28th.—We are in high spirits on account of our great victories on this side of the country, but we are a little afraid for Ypres and Cambray, as in the pocket of a French General who was taken yesterday, they found a plan against the whole of West Flanders; the attack was to have been made with 50,000 men. Many squadrons are gone to-day to their relief. I grieve for the Hanoverians, who throughout the campaign have had the most dangerous posts, which they have nobly defended; but numbers must overpower them, if the succour does not come in time. My stay here must be uncertain; if we had not beaten the French on the 24th I must have been off, as the attack was to cut off the communication on this

side; the village was alarmed; they had orders to house their cattle; and my horses were harnessed till ten at night. A patrol of the enemy did come within three miles to reconnoitre, but the defeat that day, and the glorious victory of Saturday, secures this place; and, should I want it, I have a retreat at Quiverain ready; it is a village on the road between Mons and Valenciennes.

However, when we get Laudruy I must move, for I understand from some of my Austrian friends, who are more communicative perhaps than they ought to be, that the next siege will be one that will leave this country much exposed. In that case I shall go to Mons. Avesnes is the place they mean to attack next, and then Phillipville; keep this to yourself, for the sake of my informers, who say further, that, these towns in our possession, Maubeuge, which is the great object, and by other means impregnable, will have its resources so cut off that it will fall into our hands.

I am now so used to wounded men that

the shock is over, but the delight of assisting them is great indeed. Only those who can be cured are carried to the distant hospitals, so that I have not the misery of beholding the dying. The waggons pass at the bottom of my garden, and there I have a little depôt of spirits, water, and bread; you cannot think how much they are refreshed by this means, nor how cheerful they are, though some have lost their limbs; they are all Austrians, for the English do not come this way; perhaps I should feel still more for them.

The loss the Austrians have sustained is prodigious; many more such victorious days would completely put an end to the allied army. There has been nearly as much fighting in the last fortnight, as in a whole campaign of the Seven Years' War. The Austrians have lost, since the 16th, 4,000 men; the British loss is small in proportion; the French not less than 10,000, and just 100 pieces of cannon. Poor General Mansel fought nobly, he had three wounds; the first

in his leg, the second in his arm; both times he bid his men advance, saying, "It is nothing, come on my boys, come on;" at last a cannon-ball carried off half his head. Captain Aylett of the 15th Light Dragoons, was run through the liver with a bayonet, and rode three quarters of an hour after it, but they fear he will die. The instances of bravery exceed belief. General Capay owns that the French fear, and that they cannot stand against us. I believe the wretch is an Irishman. The conduct of the Light Dragoons is beyond all praise. Saturday this great effort was made to save Laudruy, but it must be ours. Though their officers are not skilful in action, their plans are well laid, and their hatred to our cause as great as ever. The Stadtholder is arrived, and the Dutch, this time, have fought nobly, and seem resolved to retrieve their character.

The cannonade against Laudruy is stronger than ever to-day; from my window, last night, I saw the town on fire, and the bombs flying in the air. The Duke of York is



well, and grows deservedly more popular every day. Prince Ernest lives much with General Clairfait, who is a charming man, and much attached to him; the Emperor has returned to the army, which puts everybody in spirits. The battle of the 24th was commanded by General Otto. Three squadrons of British were with the Austrians, under his orders; they drove the Carmagnols, 15,000 in number, back to the walls of Cambray, and it was hoped the rest of the siege would be undisturbed; but on the 25th they mustered 2,600 men, came secretly in the night, and very early on the 26th surprised the camp at Cattena; this occasioned the loss we had, and that of General Mansel.

Engle Fontaine, April 30th.—The two next days will be very critical, and probably decide the fate of West Flanders. I fear that charming town, Courtray, has been pillaged; but the noble Clairfait has begun to turn the stream, and has re-taken Moneron and eight pieces of cannon; and the French are so hemmed in near the town that pos-

sibly we may have a complete victory on that side of the country to rejoice in. The place I write from, Engle Fontaine, is three miles from Laudruy. General Harcourt sent to me to meet him and Prince William of Gloucester here; but I have this moment a note to say there has been an alarm, and they cannot come; they have been under arms since three this morning. These alarms are so common here, that I have grown not to mind them, and find that in a campaign nothing surprises or disappoints, habit and necessity reconcile the mind to anything. I am always ready to march in a quarter-of-an-hour, and experience no inconvenience. This moment a man has come in, who says Laudruy capitulates, and, as the firing has ceased, I do not doubt it. I have my horse, and am going to ride to a hill that commands the walls; it is now safe, but would not have been so a few hours ago.

I add a line in the evening to say, that Laudruy capitulated at one o'clock. General Harcourt is dining here. I am to go to see

the trenches in the morning; but, alas, poor West Flanders is undone. General Walmoden's conduct has been glorious; he defended Courtray for some hours with only 250 men, and then went and fought ten hours with Clairfait. I write this in my chaise with my pencil before the gates of Laudruy, from whence the garrison is now marching out. I told you before of poor Mansel's death; he was an amiable man. By some mistake, on a former day, his brigade, consisting of three regiments, did not support the Light Cavalry; the Duke was angry, and talked of an inquiry. On the 26th, Mansel and his men washed away the error with their blood; they rushed on against 26,000 French, and carried such dismay with them, that in three minutes they threw the whole line into confusion. The cavalry backed on to the infantry, the infantry on to the artillery, and from that time the rest of the engagement was a pursuit and cutting down of the French. The General encouraged his men to come on, even after a second wound;

a third stopped the most perfect heroism ever beheld.

May 6th.—I am now at Bruxelles. Never was any crisis of last year equal to the present moment. There have been many actions on the left, and every instant I expect to hear of one on our side. The Prussians do not march. Were they here we should be safe; meantime the Carmagnols make every effort. Pichegru is a second Dumouriez. Our line is obliged to be too extended, and therefore some places must be thin. These are the points which the wretches will penetrate; the sacrifice of the troops left at such points seems cruel, and this it is which the Hanoverians, to whose lot such a position usually falls, complain of.

How nobly one of their regiments behaved the other day. It was shut up in Menin with two regiments of *émigrés*, namely, the British Hulans and the York Rangers; they told them that they would not desert them; that all should perish or be saved together. In the night they made a sortie, forced their



way through the French troops, and carried off twelve pieces of their cannon. It is one of the finest actions ever known, and General Hammerstein, who commanded the Hanoverians, deserves to be immortalized for it.

My life is, and has been, a singular one, and full of more adventures than I can attempt to relate by letter. When I am in any town with the General I must live in public; at Jallaix I was quiet. The day before I came from thence, Fitzroy and Crawford came to ask for refreshment; they were both ill, and not a little pleased when they found who inhabited the chateau. Ill as they were they were obliged to go on, as the army was to reach St. Arnand that night. Scarce were they gone when the British wounded passed by; I gave them all the relief I could, and was happy to see them so well taken care of; so many surgeons, such excellent carriages, every comfort their situation could admit of. The poor Austrians have no comforts; one of

the surgeons told me that they had two officers on one of the waggons who must remain there all night, as the village afforded no lodging. I had them, and a sergeant of the General's own regiment, carried to the chateau. Mrs. Nugent, whose activity and benevolence on such occasions knows no bounds, helped me to nurse them. One of the officers, Mr. Estridge, a boy of seventeen, was so much wounded that the blood streamed from his leg when he was lifted from the cart. We told him and his companion, that if they could get to England it would be their best plan to do so as soon as possible. They said, not for the world; they must be cured in Flanders, and fight again. The same spirit prevails amongst the men; many, who were scarce able to speak, uttered invectives in broken sentences against the French monsters, and attempted to huzza and cry, "God save the King."

May 13th.—Saturday, the 10th, was a glorious day. Rejoice with me, for the credit of it is our dear General's; he had the whole

command, as only the cavalry were employed. The infantry remained in camp with the Duke of York and Sir William Erskine, ready to support if wanted. When the General returned, the Duke made him a very handsome compliment, and I hear that the whole army speaks highly of this affair. There has been a victory near Charleroy, which has calmed the fears of the people here at Bruxelles, for yesterday they thought the French would breakfast with us to-day.

A letter from Mrs. Harcourt to Mrs. Nugent, written from Bruxelles on the 14th of May, a short time after the latter returned to England, contained the following particulars :

I suppose Lady Harcourt will have sent you my letter of the 13th. I am in great anxiety ; a forward move they talk of portends an engagement to the right ; if the Prussians were come all would be well. I am told that Clairfait has done well throughout, but the Austrians hate him ; they only think of their own place in the centre, and com-

plain of their wings, which they leave too much exposed to support the immense army that is opposed to them. Yesterday was the strangest day I ever passed. I sent off my letter to Lady Harcourt in the morning, in which I said that it had been reported that the French were to breakfast here, and that the inhabitants had been calmed by the news of a victory near Charleroy. That victory was not so good as it was at first said to be.

The cannonading began more violently than ever ; they said the French were advancing, and near Nivelles ; every moment baggage came from all quarters ; all the "Chanoines," from the Abbey at Nivelles ; all the valuable effects of everybody at Mons ; the bustle exceeded description. Six expresses arrived at Marshal Bender's in an hour ; and the 8,000 French prisoners we had here were removed instantly towards Maestricht. This was a relief to my mind, for, with the bad disposition of some of the Bruxelles people, I thought we had much



to fear from them. The Metternichs, (you know he is Minister here,) were alarmed; they carried it off as well as they could, but packed up everything they possessed.

Conceive, if you can, the situation of the poor *émigrés* while all this passed. Many were almost deprived of their senses by the horror they felt; they came running to me for information I was unable to give them; they assured me that Clairfait was beaten on the right, that the French could advance in every direction, and that all was over. These unfortunate creatures were without horses, without money, without means of removing; some with sick children, some ill themselves, some with friends lying-in; all without refuge. They told me that in their last flight from Bruxelles they had been obliged to give twenty, thirty, nay, even fifty pounds for carriages to convey them to Mechlin and Antwerp; and now they had no money nor means left. If I were to tell you the names of those who actually came to beg of me you would scarce believe it

possible. With my mind oppressed, as you may easily suppose it to have been, I sat down alone to dinner, and it was hardly over when I heard an extraordinary noise over my room, and glass and all sorts of things falling against my window. I saw the square full of people, all looking up, and screams echoed from every part of the house. I ran to my door, and saw the upper floor over my room all in a blaze; the flames burst out at the windows, and, by forcing the glass, occasioned the noise I had heard. Luckily my room was within ten or twelve steps of the ground; I snatched up my portfolio, bid Sophia take "Tiny," and we were in the square in an instant. There I met the Prince de Chimay, who begged me to come to his house; but he has a large family, and I wished to avoid making new acquaintances. My best plan seemed to be to send my horses, servants, and baggage to Lord Elgin's, if the fire continued, and to follow them myself; for, though he was absent, our intimacy would have authorized this liberty.

The tocsin sounded, as is usual, for the fire; the *émigrés* thought the French were coming, and the confusion increased. However, by great exertions, the flames were extinguished, and only two rooms in this immense hotel were burnt. Luckily it was in the daytime, and did not seize the roof, though it was on the upper floor. How it happened none can say; it was in a poor Frenchwoman's room, who had had no fire all the day; she was out at dinner, and not a soul upstairs. It began in the wainscot and floor opposite the chimney, and had not the flames broken through the windows, and been seen in the street, the house must have been destroyed. I concluded that those it belonged to would take care it did not break out again, and resolved not to move.

The alarm from the fear of the French approaching continued; every horse was bespoken, and I thought it necessary to order my servants to watch my stable night and day. Towards evening another express arrived, with news that the French had retired

towards Philipville. Madame de Metternich went to the play, to give an idea that all was well and safe, and the gates were ordered to be shut, that none might go in or out.

The Prince de Croy had just arrived from Hall, three leagues from hence, where he had left his family; they had fled from Havré, near Mons, and were waiting the event. He came for information, meaning, if necessary, to go and try to save some of his effects from the Hermitage; the precaution may be right, but the danger never appeared so great to me as it did to the people here. Such an army as ours is not easily conquered, and a great part of it is between the French and this place, and would, of course, fall back to protect it. My horses are always ready, but things must be bad indeed to alarm me or make me move; all I care about is the army; the right wing safe, and I am easy. My friends who are living quietly in England will think my situation more distressing than it is. I am used to sudden changes and unexpected



events, and few things now seem tremendous to me.

Here ends the extract from the letter to Mrs. Nugent.

May 16th.—The French are retired from Binche, but have not all re-crossed the Sambre; they seem desirous of intrenching in the woods on this side; and this still alarms people here; but I hope the plan will be prevented. The Austrians are supposed, in the different actions that have happened lately, to have lost nearly 10,000 men. I fancy, upon the whole, near 15,000. The Dutch in the affair of Thuin did wonders; 400 resisted 5,000 for many hours, and repulsed them. Two Dutch officers were brought to this house last night much wounded. General Winckham, an excellent Austrian officer, was killed at Binche; his poor wife followed him two years in the Turkish war, and he is killed almost at home. The fear to-day is that an attempt will be made on Charleroy.

May 20th.—I write; but what can I write while such impending storms threaten us;

such another defeat as that of Sunday the 18th, and the cause is ruined. One victory gained by these wretches is usually followed by another; Pichegru is at least a Dumouriez, and their resources surpass those of all other nations. The present state of the campaign is beyond measure alarming. Heaven, I trust, will have mercy upon us; and I thank God that, as the cavalry could not act, General Harcourt had no concern in the apparent success of Saturday, or the next defeat of Sunday. So much does he think the general cause in danger, that, by his *estafette* of yesterday, he sent me every arrangement for my removal, if the consequences of this affair should require it. If the French come on this side the effect will be dreadful, but it will be worse if they go on our right from West Flanders, as they would destroy our magazines and every support of our army on their route.

For details you must wait; I have, as yet, no particulars; what comfort I can have here I receive from Madame de Walmoden and

Madame de Metternich. They are both charming women. The old Marechalle de Bender, too, is very kind to me; she is cousin to our Queen; their grandmothers were sisters, Princesses of Mecklenburg. The terror here is less than when they thought the French approaching on the side of Mons. It is distressing to me to go into society, as too many unjustly like to throw the blame of this sad business on the English.

May 22nd.—Everything is in a state of suspense and uncertainty; we have as much to fear as to hope. The Duke of York has been in no fault, nor the English; on the contrary, their conduct was perfect. The Austrians alone were to blame; the plan was a glorious one, but the arrangement such that it could not be executed. It was still more marred by the failure of General Kingsky, who never brought the left column, which is called the Arch-duke's, to the support of the Duke of York. The British, therefore, were left open to the whole French force, from Lille on one hand, and

to that from Courtray on the other. The Hanoverians were sacrificed, as usual; for the Austrians gave them the worst place at the beginning of the action. The effect is bad in every way; I fear it will cause ill-blood, and ruin the unanimity of the army. Though the Emperor has taken pains to lay the fault, as it should be, on his own Generals, yet he cannot check the tongues of the foolish *émigrés*, nor of the jealous Austrian officers.

The vile Liegeois desire no better than the arrival of the French, who may any day make an excursion into that country if the Prussians do not come forward. There are alarms and danger everywhere. I have personally nothing to fear; my horses are always ready, and I can retreat to Antwerp. The terror here yesterday was increased by the French re-crossing the Sambre, and General Kaunitz was much abused for permitting it, but they will be forced to retreat tomorrow. The Metternichs send couriers towards the Sambre for intelligence perpetually;



however, many of the inhabitants are gone off. The Prince de Croy stays to take care of his affairs, but he has sent his wife and children to Dusseldorf. General Harcourt is well, but the events of the 17th and 18th have vexed him sadly. I rejoice that the corps he commands was not there; it was left to mask Lille on the side of Orchies from Tournay. Read the enclosed letter from Amedée. Colonel Crawford came here yesterday; he delighted me by telling me how highly General Harcourt is spoken of for his conduct on the 10th; his resolution carried the whole, and it was done with 1,300 men against the whole French army. When the Duke of York thanked him he presented him with his own sword.

## LETTER FROM AMEDÉE.

"Froidment, le 1 Juin, 1794.

"Vous avez bien raison, Madame, la simplicité et la modestie devroient être l'apanage de l'adversité, comme la vertu et la religion de l'infortune, vous êtes revoltée de trouver le contraire; grâces

à vos conseils, à votre exemple, j'ai l'avantage de trouver comme vous moins d'interet dans le luxe et l'elegance qui regne encore à Bruxelles, moins de grâces dans la coqueterie *outrée* de nos belles dames, que dans l'interieur simple et touchant de celle que nous avons vue l'un et l'autre à Gand. Peut-être l'exemple d'un monde nombreux, la nécessité d'y paroître, ont ils malheureusement changé ses manières; mais je compte sur la bonté de son cœur assez pour croire qu'il est encore le même. Si je le croyois moins pur, le charme serait detruit, tout sentiment serait eteint pour elle. Je ne suis pas etonné de vous voir sensible au malheur des autres, vous le seriez d'avantage encore si ceux dont vous me parlez etaient aussi respectables que malheureux, et je sens avec vous que, quelque grande qu'elle soit, la leçon n'a pas suffi pour nous corriger; l'école de l'adversité n'a développé que nos défauts, nos ennemis sauront en profiter, et *l'Histoire future* ajoutera, à la haine de notre patrie, le mepris bien plus mérité dont l'Europe paye déjà notre conduite. Je vous remercie avec mon frère de vos bons conseils, dont j'espere que nous tirerons quelque profit; nous serions plus coupables que d'autres si les exemples de vertu et de bonté dont nous sommes journellement temoins ne faisaient pas quelque impression sur nous. Pourrois je ne pas chercher à imiter ce que je me plais tant à aimer et admirer tous

les jours. Si vous voyez en noir vous pouvez bien croire que je suis loin de voir en blanc, il me paraît plus que jamais difficile de pénétrer en France ; la contre révolution me semble entièrement impossible, parceque tous les partis s'unissent de plus en plus contre l'ennemi commun, qui envahit son territoire. Les alliés sont dégoûtés, tout le monde souhaite la paix ; puisse-t-elle faire le bonheur du genre humain, elle perdra notre cause, ruinera tous mes amis, mais quoique beaucoup, nous sommes une trop petite portion du monde pour que nos intérêts puissent régler en rien ceux des puissances de l'Europe ; ceux qui s'y attendent sont des fous et des malheureux, tous ceux qui nourrissent depuis trois ans une folle espérance, seront doublement frappés d'un coup, que beaucoup n'auront pas la force de supporter. Nous avons vu hier Orchies qui, si nos renforts n'arrivent pas, doit être le premier point où l'ennemi tâchera de pénétrer ; cette ville est assez bien fortifiée, mais sa faible garnison peut difficilement être secourue et si nous perdons ce poste, il faudra nécessairement quitter notre position actuelle pour passer l'escaut ou s'emparer du camp de Maulde. Je ne vous parle pas aujourd'hui du Général, parcequ'il vous parle de lui-même, il est très bien et très occupé, toute sa cavalerie va mieux de jour en jour, et les remontes et recrues que nous attendons bientôt, la remettront sur un pied respectable, (vous savez

qu'outre ce qui manque au compte on doit recevoir deux troupes par Regiment de plus)."

May 23rd.—Count Kilmanseg came here by 8 this morning, after fighting twelve hours yesterday, and travelling all night ; the enemy attacked us near Tournay, on the side where the Hanoverians were. They were 20,000 strong against our few remaining brave Hanoverians, yet they nobly repulsed them ; but these perpetual attacks, and our critical situation everywhere, is very agitating. No Prussians appear ; Beaulieu has made a little diversion by taking Bouillon, but the French are in force on this side of the Sambre, and Kannitz does nothing.

May 24.—You must now be too much used to anxious news to be surprised at my accounts. This has been a curious day. In my last I told you that we had just got intelligence of the attack of the 22nd on our troops near Tournay. I find it was still more serious than we were at first told. In this age, and, I believe in the annals of history,



there never was one so furious, so uninterrupted, or that lasted so long. The French were 80,000 strong. The attack began at half-past six in the morning, and had not ended at half-past seven at night. Six times they were repulsed, and as often returned to the charge, till they were totally defeated by General Fox and his little brigade of British, who came in time to assist the Hanoverians, and performed prodigies of valour. The French were engaged to sup at Tournay, and had been offered the pillage of the town if they succeeded, and threatened with the guillotine if they failed.

People here are still alarmed by what is passing on this side of the Sambre. A French post advanced yesterday within eight leagues. General Kaunitz, in whom none have any confidence, and who commands because he is brother to the minister, was ordered to attack. It was known that the French intended a general attack upon all the posts to our left. Kaunitz sent word his force was not sufficient, desired every

precaution might be taken, and preparations made for the defence of Bruxelles, as he could not answer for the event. Enough of this was reported to cause a general panic; numbers went away in the night; most packed up; the shopkeepers were all in tears, and every soul in the most anxious expectation. I only gave my usual orders for my horses to be ready, and felt that Heaven would not desert us, and that we should again be safe.

Madame de Metternich came to me and insisted that I should give up all idea of going to Antwerp; the town is so ill-disposed. She said that she and the minister should stay till the last *safe* moment, and that if they were obliged to fly, I should go with them to Breda; so you see I am in good hands. However, I proved to be in the right; we had no occasion to move, for in a few hours a courier came galloping through the Grande Place, crying out "Victory, victory." In a minute twenty people came to tell me that Kaunitz had sur-

prised the enemy's camp; completely beaten them; driven them across the Sambre; taken twenty-three pieces of cannon; and that this town was again safe. All the poor *émigrés* came to me to hear what my accounts were, and the scene was changed to comparative comfort. Important as this is, the general safety or ruin of the cause lies on the Tournay side; alas! how many weeks, and how many thousand lives, have been lost by that unfortunate step of leaving the right wing so defenceless. The French, who now know our weak point, and that the country is advantageous to their mode of making war, and to their superior numbers and inferior skill, will remain to plague and harass us as much in that quarter as they can.

Between Lille and Dunkirk there are still 150,000 men; they have orders to conquer, or the guillotine is their portion; this makes them desperate, and worn out as we are with incessant attacks, we have much to fear. Our army lessens daily, while theirs increases; how dearly have we paid for

Laudruy; and, had they resisted for twenty-four hours longer, we should never have had it. The Emperor has made every amends in his power to the Duke of York for the cruel event of the 18th, and has publicly declared that he, and the British troops alone, of the whole army, did their duty; that their existence is almost a miracle, and is solely owing to their wonderful good conduct and bravery. Poor old Kingsley, who commanded the left column, and occasioned our defeat, is ordered to give in his dismissal. The column has been a little reprimanded, and Otto, who commanded on the right, was directed to make an apology. In short, the Emperor has done all he can, but he cannot give us back the 700 men we lost, nor repair the evil done by the encouragement this has given to the Carmagnols.

May 26th.—We find now that the intention of the monsters, on the 22nd, was to pass the Scheldt; and, as they have got this trick of crossing the Sambre, no part of Brabant south of Bruxelles will be secure



till the face of the campaign is changed. For the present, therefore, I shall remain here. I hear every twenty-four hours from the General, and can hear by estafette in twelve, if anything material happens.

June 3rd.—An important attack is probably at this moment being made on the Emperor's side; that expected to-morrow in the same quarter will be still more important, as the resistance will be greater. The escape of Madame de Cluzelles, a young nun, a child of five years old, and an Abbé, is most wonderful. They walked twenty leagues on foot, and arrived here about a fortnight ago. Before they set out they were hid three weeks under a staircase, where they could not stand upright; they were supposed to be gone, which prevented the search after them when they did go; in all that time the child never cried nor complained, being told its mother would be killed if it did. Their adventures on the road are like a romance; disguised as peasants, they were sometimes hid in cottages,

sometimes in woods. The husband, who was at Maestricht, is come; he cries all day for joy, and can scarce believe that they are safe. An order to carry them to Paris had been sent down, and escape was their only chance for life. I hear nothing good from Tournay.

June 10th.—After the end of my last letter, you will not be a little astonished to hear that I am actually at Tournay; I can scarcely conceive it myself. I was going to take a country-house near Bruxelles, and had no hope of seeing General Harcourt these six weeks; when, at ten at night, I received a letter to say his horses should be on the road, and I might come the next day. I found a quarter had been ready for me in Tournay for ten days, and that he had always intended to send for me, though he would not tell me for fear of disappointing me; which, with the uncertainty of war, might have happened. I am only two miles from the camp where his own quarter is, I ride there to dinner every day; and, leav-

ing him there, return in the evening. Many friends call upon me here. Prince Ernest and Prince William of Gloucester never fail, and the Duke of York comes when he can.

I fear Prince Ernest's arm is a bad business; the wind of a ball is often worse than a wound, as it deadens all the flesh; it is much swollen, is in a sling, and he has hardly any feeling in it, or use of it. He has an excellent heart; I wish him to go to England, but not to stay there long. Prince William turns out admirably, everybody likes him, he has good sense and prudence, his conduct is perfect, and he is respected universally. The Duke of York is delighted with him, and shews him the greatest kindness. He has been much with General Harcourt, who says he is as cool and steady as possible, and gives him every praise for his behaviour in the field, and out of it. Prince Adolphus is not here; Ypres is besieged; if it falls, Ostend must follow it in a week, but part of the troops are to move

to-day, and march to its relief to-morrow. I hope they will be able to raise the siege; it is absolutely necessary, and if you hear that they do not succeed you may tremble indeed. I may perhaps return to Bruxelles; I could not bear being always there, but these excursions break the time, and will enable me to support the dreadful five months that are yet to come. May they be better than the month of May, which has so overturned our plans and hopes, and the ideas we had formed of the end of the campaign.

A friend of mine, from the Austrian quarter, who breakfasted with me yesterday, made me very low by the opinion he gave upon the present state of affairs. He is a clever man, a great speculator, and, by different means, has full information of the state of France. He says its power is beyond any idea we can form of what any Government can possess. It is concentrated in a few who are masters of the whole, and arrange it by numerous dependants whose obedience to them is implicit. They direct



every measure everywhere, from the march of their immense armies, to the piece that is to be performed at the Opera House; they have nothing to counteract them, and their will is law.

Other Governments are full of party and opposition, and obliged to bend to one circumstance, to submit to another, and to act so as to please different interests and different alliances. Therefore no measure is vigorous, and the moment is lost that might make it effectual. I grieve to add, that scarce a soul here has any hope left. Heaven only can assist us by means yet unforeseen. Lord Cornwallis may persuade the Prussians to march, and I suppose he will act with them; but they come too late, and perhaps will only be sufficient to replace those already lost. I fear our numbers will not go much beyond those we had at the beginning of the campaign, before fresh reinforcements arrived.

The next three days may decide the success of the campaign in this quarter; the

plan is again an extensive, and combined, and important one. My Austrian friend detailed it all to me; and, strange to say, I knew the whole yesterday, whilst General Harcourt did not know till half-an-hour ago that the army was to move. The cavalry are only to make a little appearance where, by the arrangement, I see, they will have nothing opposed to them, and cannot act. The weight must rest on the infantry, and my next will probably tell you whether we are saved or undone.

P.S. I find General Harcourt, being in the left wing, which only marches to appear to cover Lille, will be absent but a few hours. Prince Ernest will go, lame as he is; think of the danger of riding with one arm in a sling, increased as it is by his not seeing ten yards before him.

June 13th.—Circumstances, too long to detail, arose to prevent the plan I announced in my last from being executed; all is quiet at present, and expected to be so for some days; so I shall not remove. I usually dine

with the General in camp, and return on horseback at night. This evening I rode to see the field of battle of the 22nd, but the stench from the dead bodies was so dreadful I could not bear it. Some bodies were half out of the ground, and others not deep enough; the trees around were all broken with the cannon; such a scene! when will Heaven, in mercy, permit this war to end? Ypres is not yet taken, and there are slight hopes that it may be saved. We know that there has been fighting to-day, but we do not know the event, and the courier is going.

June 17th.—I fear some of my letters failed to reach you, or you would not have been so long without one, for I have seldom missed writing twice in every week since I came to the Continent. Very contrary to our expectation this has been a most quiet week, with no more appearance of war than if the French were fifty miles off; but alas, it is because they have bent their whole force against poor Ypres, which must fall,

and with it ten brave battalions that cannot escape. Amongst them there is one of Hanoverians. Whether the wretches will massacre them according to their savage desire, I know not; certain it is, no victory ever came at so fortunate a moment upon every account as Lord Howe's. It may save many lives, and materially aid the cause. It raises our spirits, and puts England in good humour; in short, What does it not do? I am glad too for the Howe's, and our dear little Lady Mary.

The Duke of York dined with the General and me at his little cottage in the camp, the day before yesterday. He is as kind as possible on every occasion; and, of his own accord, has given Emanuel a Lieutenancy in one of the Hulan regiments. He is very good, too, to Amedée, who is essentially useful to the General, and beloved by everybody. It is impossible to deny that things grow worse; nothing like the loss of Courtray and Ypres happened last year. I fear Ostend, too, must fall; and, in short, that



the defensive part the allies must now act, will with difficulty save the Low Countries : everything looks black and tremendous. I shall be sent back to Bruxelles whenever poor Ypres is taken, as the immense force now occupied in besieging it will then turn its mischief elsewhere. May the Almighty avert their blows, but I cannot help supposing that this country must fall.

I see a great deal of the Austrians ; I think they have less hope than we have, and they seem to have no plan, no management, no money, no troops, to cope with the power against them ; and their army is so dwindled that if the Prussians come they will do little more than replace their losses. In the midst of these misfortunes you would be surprised at the gaiety of the camp ; the mixture of the horrors of war, and the excess of pleasure and amusement, give altogether a strange picture of human nature. I lodge opposite to a church full of the wounded ; I see them mutilated and dying ; I go to the camp, I see houses burnt all

round, the finest fields of corn destroyed ; I hear the music of the bands on one side, and the necessary discipline of flogging some culprit on the other.

In the English camp, every evening, the young officers are to be seen making matches and running horse-races ; in the Hungarian lines little groups of music and dancing are to be seen, different according to the districts they belong to, and curious in the extreme. There are the poor Croats and Servians, brought so many hundred leagues from their own homes, and most comfortable states, where a sheep costs eighteenpence, a calf three shillings, and wine nothing, to be massacred or starved in this country, where all is so dear that their little pay will hardly produce them potatoes and water. These scenes, and the apparent prosperity of the wicked are strange to us who occupy but an atom in infinity of space, and know only what passes in one moment of that time that ever was, and will be to eternity ; but the great Director of all cannot err, and may

graciously intend to bring future good out of present evil.

P.S. News is this instant come that 7,000 are killed or taken on the Sambre, with twenty pieces of cannon and thirty-seven caissons, and Charleroy is delivered; but this is little to the general cause, and will not save Ypres. I was just now regretting the destruction of life my orderly-man had thought necessary in a little encounter, when Emmanuel said, "Madame, votre compassion est si mal placée, de grace gardez la pour les poulets et ne la donnez pas aux Carmagnols." He is a fine-spirited boy; I enclose a letter from his brother; it is of old date, but I send it, as it does his head and heart credit.

#### LETTER FROM AMEDÉE.

"Nous nous portons tous bien, mais le cœur est bien malade; le malheur d'hier, aussi fâcheux qu'innatendu, est un affront dont les suites sont plus à craindre en Angleterre qu'en Flandres, car la défaite ou plutôt la déroute de l'armée, *qui n'a perdu que peu de monde* ne fait que remettre les

choses au point où elles en étaient le 15; avec 20,000 hommes de plus formant le Corps de l'Archiduc, qui s'est réuni avec celui du Duc d'York sous les murs de Tournay.

"Les gardes et la 2<sup>de</sup> Brigade d'Infanterie n'ont pas perdu plus de 200 hommes, plusieurs officiers ont été blessés ou pris mais aucun tué, et les canons sont la seule perte réelle que l'armée ait essuyée, ils sont tous pris, hors 3 ou 4, mais les hommes tous sauvés, et il est bien heureux encore, d'avoir conservé cette classe supérieure dans votre armée.

"Le Général est bien affecté, il en a été malade toute la nuit, croyant le mal plus grand qu'il ne se trouve en effet. Nous avons aujourd'hui moins d'inquiétude et plus d'espoir, et nous nous consolons avec celui d'avoir bientôt une bonne revanche. Le Duc d'York a été lui-même entouré par l'ennemi pendant une heure et demie, et aurait été pris s'il n'avait pas été assez heureux pour passer avec sa *troupe dorée* au travers d'une ligne d'Infanterie. Le 16<sup>ème</sup> est venu à son secours et a perdu beaucoup de monde en le sauvant.

"Lord Frederic Montagu a été touché par trois balles, sans être blessé. C. Murray a perdu son cheval auprès du Duc, mais s'est échappé heureusement, avec une seule contusion à l'épaule.

"Le Général et moi vous demandons, de ne pas vous effrayer de tous les rapports qu'on vous fera,



et de vous croire très en sûreté jusqu'à ce que vous ayez de nos nouvelles ; ordonnez seulement à votre ordonnance de rester dans l'écurie jusqu'à ce que le moment de terreur soit passé, pour veiller sur vos chevaux, que les plus pressés seraient capables de vous enlever. Vous ferez bien aussi de garder Emmanuel, le Général le désire, s'il manque d'argent venillez bien lui donner le montant du memoire de M<sup>de</sup> Lefebvre que j'ai payé —. On rejettera toute la faute sur le Duc d'York, il n'en est pas plus coupable que vous. L'Archiduc Charles, n'ayant pas vu l'avance à temps avec son corps, est cause que la gauche, n'ayant pas eu d'appui, a été attaqué par deux côtés à la fois, entourée, et obligée de faire son chemin au travers de toute l'armée ennemie, qui, par une marche aussi savante que bien exécutée, s'était emparée de *Lan-  
noy*, sans que personne s'en doutât.

"Dans le trouble où on est encore, on ne fait rien, ou on craint beaucoup et on espère peu. N'ayant pas été au milieu de cette action malheureuse j'ai plus de raisons pour bien juger les choses, et je ne doute pas que nous ne réparions bientôt la gloire de l'armée, mais c'est tout ce que j'espère. La France sera republique, tant que les étrangers se liguèrent pour la conquérir, les Français ne seront vaincus que par les Français, et leurs guerres intérieures cederont toujours pour se liguier tous contre les envahisseurs. Voilà mon opinion.

"Adieu, n'ayez pas peur, consolez vous, croyez que le mal ne peut pas aller plus loin, et croyez moi toujours le meilleur et le plus affectionné de vos amis.

"A. H.

"Tournay, le 19, à Midi."

Tournay, June 20th.—I am still here, and very comfortable. I ride with the General every evening round the camp, and sometimes to the outposts, after dining at his cottage. This inaction cannot last, and, indeed, ought not to do so ; for the quiet here loses Ypres, and the cause sinks daily.

Twelve thousand men from this army marched towards that place the day before yesterday, and a reinforcement was to be sent to join them from the Sambre after our victory there. This plan was, however, stopped by the French re-crossing the river, and again attacking Charleroy, for they have orders to take it, or submit to the guillotine. So our troops marched back here yesterday, tired and disheartened. General Harcourt exerts himself more than all the other Generals ;

he is always on horseback; his aides-de-camp say they cannot ride as he does, and that he will kill them both. Six weeks must do much of some sort; I fear, not much good. I am often surprised to find how much time is spent in the occupation of the moment, and enjoyed without reflection. Prince Ernest is gone to England, happy to return for a time to his family, and wishing much to see you and Lord Harcourt. Prince William rises more, and more in esteem.

Bruxelles, June 27th, Friday.—I have been longer than usual silent, but I got here only just before the post went out, and was obliged to write to my uncle. So many events have happened since my last, I know not how to recount them. Too sure, however, it is, that all goes on as ill as possible, and that the cause in this country is undone. This letter must go by Holland, our communication with maritime Flanders is cut off. Bruges is taken; and Neimport and Ostend must fall. The changes I have been witness to are so

extraordinary and so rapid that none who did not see could believe them.

I left poor Tournay, probably for ever, on Sunday. The Austrian army, leaving a small garrison, departed on Saturday. On Tuesday the Duke of York's army moved to a place called Renaix, near Oudenarde, to guard the Escant. There they now are, hoping, in that position, to support Clairfait's remaining army, which is at the gates of Ghent. A sad situation for them, for the town is so ill-disposed that the inhabitants tried to set fire to the magazines, and in part succeeded. The remains of our ammunition is sent to Antwerp, where the people are quite as ill-disposed, and perhaps even worse. Tournay, Ypres, Courtrai, and all the frontier towns that were friendly to us, are, or must be, sacrificed. The good suffer, and the bad triumph.

While I am writing I am told that Charleroy is taken, which will make my retreat from Bruxelles also necessary. I fancy I shall go a stage to-night; be easy, I am



in no danger nor difficulty; I have my own horses and carriage, two dragoons and Emmanuel with me; I have acquaintances everywhere, or make them whenever I see a military coat. I rather think I shall sleep at Lein, near Antwerp; there I shall know how things go on, and can settle whether to go to Antwerp or to Breda. To-day I go to Malines, where, at the Commandiere, I and the Generale de Bellegarde are to be lodged. The Metternichs go off with the Austrian Government towards Maestricht. I cannot go with them, because our army must retreat on Holland, to save that if possible.

I have seen war in its most brilliant state; I now see it in its greatest reverse; none can be greater. Would to God our brave British and their commanders were safe at home again. Prince Lichtenstein, aid-de-camp to the Prince de Coburg, was brought here the day before yesterday, mortally wounded; they think he must die, and he is but nineteen. How much misery and how little good results from war; what hor-

ror I shall feel if I live to hear of another. My journey from Tournay hither, written by Sterne, would have furnished more subjects for a romance than he ever made use of. I came with the heavy baggage and the wounded, through roads where war had not yet been known, nor its effects seen.

I forgot to tell you that a gentleman, who some time since escaped from Paris, has added to the despair of the poor *émigrés* here. He says the number of cannon and firlócks they make, the quantity of powder they possess, their plenty of money, the enthusiasm of all Paris, and, above all, the guillotine, makes all hope, at present, of a counter revolution vain. He says that Paris is made the strongest place in the world; that it is guarded by 2,000 cannon, and has every possible means of defence. He adds, that Robespierre is directed by the Abbés Seyes and Gregoire; that he is incorruptible; that power, not republican principles, is his object; that he is ambitious, but cares not for money; that he has no great

talents, but much arrangement; that the confidence in him is unbounded; and that his orders are implicitly obeyed. He says Paris is flourishing, and that the country appears so too; but the people in the country complain, whereas all at Paris are enthusiasts.

P.S. I have just seen the evacuation of Bruxelles, and it was the most awful sight I ever beheld. Madame de Bellegarde waits to carry me to Malines.

Antwerp, July 6th.—I could not write till I reached this place; here I am nobly lodged in the Bishop's Palace, surrounded by English protectors and friends, but, I believe, in the truest Carmagnol town that ever was known. The inhabitants have made no preparations, because they say the French will do them no harm; and even the priests and convents seem glad that they are expected. Meantime all the hospitals, baggage, and depôts of every kind belonging to the British, or those in British pay, are here. I came from Malines, because, on Lord Elgin's leaving Bruxelles, my communication with the

army was more difficult. St. Leger put me into this palace on my arrival; it is to be the General's quarters. I shall see him soon, for our troops are gently falling back; rather too gently, because it is done to oblige the Austrians, whose conduct to us does not deserve such indulgence. They thought only of themselves; so might we. What is to come of all these strange events? A country abandoned by its possessors, without any apparent reason! It is so strange, so wondrous strange, that none can comprehend it; there must be treachery somewhere, though we know it not.

The plans were concerted before the Emperor's departure; if his Ministers are bribed, it is a pity he did not know the sum France gave, so as to buy them with the double. Great is their jealousy, their spite to England, and to gratify those passions they will ruin themselves. The consequences of such dispositions are often seen in individuals, but seldom in a nation. Yet, undoubtedly, their conversation leads



one to believe the Austrians are so influenced.

They talk of our naval success, of the islands we have taken, of Prussia's being paid by Poland, &c. ; they add, that we have suffered them to exhaust themselves without a possible recompense ; that many of their troops came a four months' journey to guard a country that can never pay them. They say that these Revolutions have more than taken the fruits of twenty years' rest ; that they do not want this country ; that it is their ruin, but that it is our interest they should have it, and therefore we have drawn them into fighting for it.

The Ministers hate Flanders ; they have twice been driven out of it. Metternich alone loves it, and is beloved by the people ; he is sacrificed to a cabal. It is all cabal within cabal ; how are things to end here ? how in Italy ? If the Austrians make a separate peace, who is to protect Piedmont ? What will the Prussians do if the French attack Holland ? Will they not then tremble

for Wesel, and join us with their promised 50,000 ? or will there be a general peace ? But why attempt to conjecture, time alone can shew ; never was there so important a moment as the present. I should be sorry not to be on the Continent, and as near as possible to the centre of intelligence.

The French are at Mons and Tournay ; their fancy now is to suffer no pillage, and four men were put to death for attempting it at Mons. They give out that they neither mean to interfere with the religion, politics, or property of the country. I think some resistance will be made here ; but why should there ? What have we to do beyond Holland ? The danger is from the different parties in this country, and the offers they may make us, by which we may be duped, and tempted to continue a war that surely now has little chance of success, and which, in one week, brings more misery on mankind than can be told or conceived.

I am admirably situated here ; in a fine house, with a delightful garden, and in a

town full of magnificent churches, with the finest pictures in the world. I have many friends among the officers, and I know all that passes. I am sorry to say the British officers, in general, must lose their heavy baggage; it was left at Valenciennes. We lost all our magazines at Tournay, and a great part of those at Ghent. All our 24-pounders were obliged to be left at Oudenard; this, thanks to our allies, was inevitable. The States offer to raise 60,000 men, if England will take them under its protection. I dread these proposals being accepted.

Antwerp, July 10th.—I pity you who are at a distance; one is puzzled enough upon the spot to form any judgment of what is passing. The finest army of British that ever was seen, in number about 22,000, with the small but precious remains of the poor Hanoverians, is now encamped within six miles of this place. The Dutch are coming to protect our flanks to the right and left, but our treacherous allies, the Aus-

trians, have completely left us. The Prince de Coburg had promised to keep a position agreed upon, that was of great consequence, from Louvain to Namur; he has abandoned it, absolutely against all laws of honour. The Duke sent a letter to him yesterday, which, General Harcourt says, was one of the finest he ever read. He declared in it his belief that the common cause was sold and betrayed. I saw the aide-de-camp who carried it, on his return, and he gave me a very extraordinary account of the Austrian army, I ought rather to say he gave it to Lord Cornwallis, who was with me.

The Prince de Coburg, he said, is in a state of depression, and says, "tout est ensorcelle;" the officers are almost ready to mutiny, and the common men in confusion, deserting, or abusing their officers. From the Prince de Coburg he went to dine with the Archduke, who had not had any communication with Coburg till he sent for him to shew him his letter, for the Duke of York wrote to them both. The Archduke openly



talked of treachery; and at dinner he and his gentlemen publicly said they wondered how much the Austrian état-Major received for that day; how much for the preceding one; and so on. The Prince of Waldech, in particular, is suspected, and General Fisher, and my former friend Ferissar, the Adjutant-General; but how it is, or who it is, none can say with certainty. The cause is ruined; I suppose it is the will of Heaven that it should be so, and we must submit. Our position here is very critical. If the French advance, as they threaten, with 200,000 men, we must retreat into Holland; they can come to the Tête de Flandres, on the opposite side of the Escant, and bombard this town and our shipping.

We had eighty transports came yesterday with the garrison of Ostend. That of Nimport, alas! is invested; and though it may hold out three months, it will be difficult for the troops to get off. In it are two Hanoverian regiments, and the veteran company of *émigrés*, all old officers. Croix de St.

Louis, everybody, is anxious for them. Lord Cornwallis is going directly to England; but he goes without a plan, and declares he knows not what can be done. Holland must, if possible, be saved, but the means do not appear. He is miserable, and says the provoking part is that the Austrians have fled from shadows, and that this campaign is absolutely given away—given, not lost. General Harcourt is vexed to the heart, and a little oppressed with the heat after marching two whole nights together. The thermometer with us for this week has been from 80° to 87°. I shall remain here unless the French advance; in that case I shall go to Bergen-op-Zoom, and then to Breda. The well-disposed of this country, who are all attached to their old constitution in preference to the Austrian yoke, want to have the Archduke, who is universally and personally beloved, married to an English Princess, and declared Duke of Brabant.

P.S. They have just begun to inundate the country on the opposite side of the river;

all the fine crops are destroyed; it goes to my heart, but it is necessary; oh war! cruel war!

July 15th, Antwerp.—I have just been dining with the General, and begin to think this retreating a pretty kind of thing, (don't tell); but it is certainly better than the state of suspense we have been in ever since the 22nd of May. Advancing and good success is best of all, but next to that, this "running away," for it gives an idea of personal safety for those who interest one, and a hope of peace, that first of blessings. Even a bad peace is better than war, unless the war be so successful as to secure good terms in a short time. In my daily excursions to and from the camp, I sometimes forget that those monsters may pursue us; they did come to the river, near Malines, and fire upon our posts. They came to the town the day before yesterday, calling out to know how long we meant to stay there, and when we would retire further, as they were impatient to pursue us into Holland. They were, however,

repulsed, as they did not come in force. Once they sat on one side of the river singing the Carmagnol hymn and "ça ira," which our men tried to silence by singing in a still louder key, "God save the King," "Britons strike home," &c. Each party had previously agreed not to fire on the other.

The opposite shore is now completely inundated, which secures this town and the shipping; but think of the despair of the wretched inhabitants at seeing the labour of the past year, the finest crops imaginable, destroyed just as they were preparing to reap them. They shot at the officer who carried the order, and killed two soldiers. Poor peasants! who can wonder at this effect of their despair. This sad barrier, however, secures us but on one side. The Duke went yesterday to Tirlemont to try to stop the flying Austrians, I do not yet know his success; he rises daily in esteem, keeps up no state, has no unnecessary people with him, sometimes hardly a servant, and generally wears a plain coat.



Antwerp, July 21st.—I am happy at present, for a Court of Inquiry has obliged General Harcourt to be here for some days; but we must soon leave this charming place to the mercy of the savages. Such chateaux, such pictures, such statues. The Austrians retreat, and so must we, for we cannot afford to have our left flank turned; but this movement of ours will make the frontier of Holland so strong that nothing can penetrate it; and being there, and acting with our own natural allies, will be better than protecting those who were so ready to desert us.

Though they do not suspect me of being a friend to the French, yet I am told that I am half a democrat, because I wish that this country may in time be free; at least, as far as concerns the navigation of the Scheldt. What right has any nation to take from another such a wonderful natural advantage as this town possesses in that noble river? It cannot be right, though I dare not say so to the London, Rotterdam, or Amsterdam merchants.

The guillotine is hard at work at Ghent, Tournay, and Bruxelles. Poor le Febous, who was making some ormolu for me, is amongst their victims; they spare the industrious mechanic no more than the nobles, and neither age nor sex can give security. They have ordered nothing but assignats to be used, and the inhabitants are obliged to give their specie in exchange for them at the French bureau, so that they will soon have all the specie in their own hands. They compel the people to take arms with them; Ghent was compelled to furnish 10,000 men. Still, I think, in time they will suffer for their conquests in Brabant: how can they, without an immense expense of men and money, maintain a country a hundred miles beyond their garrisons, which render them but state prisons? How much of the present misery originates from the ill-judged policy, or rather parsimony, of the Emperor Joseph in dismantling his frontier towns! We tremble for Neinport, and the 300 *émigrés* in it.

Antwerp, July 22nd.—We have stayed

here till the last safe moment. The French want to turn our left flank and cut us off from Breda, and we are to march as fast as we can to, or near, that town. I am advised by no means to stay here beyond this day; so, I think, in the evening I shall set out and go a league beyond where the army will be likely to halt the next day; three Light Dragoons and Emanuel will be with me. I have an *émigré* boy for my cook, and a little carriage with all my necessities, so I set myself down where I please.

When I have travelled as far as I like, I send Emanuel and a Dragoon forward to the first chateau; they mark it as General Harcourt's quarter for his baggage; and I put myself into a good bed, and my horses into a good stable. How strange it would seem to Lord Harcourt if some foreign troops were thus to take possession of Nuneham. We are all low and angry to-day; the Austrians have marched easily, and we have left those poor *émigrés* to their certain destruction at Neinport. If I wished for

the society of women, I could have that of the Princesses de Vaudemont and Leon. They march with the *émigré* regiments, of which we have numbers, but I am more comfortable by myself.

P.S. I open my letter to tell you that our troops are to march at three in the morning; I must instantly be off for Breda; the treacherous Austrians have left our left flank uncovered, and have gone towards Maestricht.

Rosendaal, July 29th.—I meant to have sent you a long letter to-day, but an unexpected order for the army to march to-morrow, which obliges me to set off this evening, prevents it. I shall go directly to Breda, and to-morrow, I believe, to Bois le Duc, or at least to the neighbourhood of that place. I have been happy here, in a comfortable house, in a comfortable little town, in the same house with the General, close to head-quarters. We have been here five or six days, but the position is bad, and dangerous for the army; and it is necessary



to move; alas! none are safe; we must get beyond Bois le Duc. I fear nothing can be worse than our state altogether, and it is little likely to mend; the Prussians have lately been beaten. The Duke, Prince Adolphus, and Prince William, sat with me while I dined; they were waiting for the Prince of Orange, who was to dine with them. They charged me with their best love to you. I am glad Prince Ernest is liked, he has an affectionate, good heart.

Osterhout, between Breda and Gurtrudenberg, Aug. 8th.—After the first day's march, it was resolved that the army should remain here instead of going to Bois le Duc, for the French have made such a progress towards Sluys, that our advancing would have left Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom in danger. I am settled with the General in a charming house, with a large Dutch garden full of curious shrubs, and herbaceous plants. The Duke's quarters are not above 200 yards from us; he has a still finer garden; Prince William is on the other side; and we all

live together in a very pleasant style; this life suits me; I love travelling and seeing new things, and we are well. Amedée is dearer to us every day.

As to the cause, it is an enigma.

The Austrians continue to make promises, and to run away; but I fancy Lord Spencer is to make them declare their intentions; and we are told that the change of ministry at Vienna is to have a great effect. The Prussians are also to come; we have just sent them £130,000 more; and the plan is, that we are to retake all we have abandoned before Condé and Valenciennes are lost. I shall dread the moment of advancing if ever it happens, but as one cannot foresee events, I never allow myself to form wishes. I fear we shall lose nearly five Hanoverian battalions at Sluys, and the Dutch as many more; alas! our losses are innumerable; that at Neinport was the most cruel; and it was not the Duke's fault that it was not evacuated. Do not be uneasy at my being with the army, I am never in the way; and,

with the uncertain disposition of this country towards the cause, my own security makes it necessary. The Duke's kindness I cannot say enough of, he is a man of the strictest honour and integrity; the very counterpart of his father, only shier! he is as regular as possible in attending divine service. I go, too, when I can, at headquarters. When I was at Breda I went to a French church, and liked their service very well, though I much prefer my own when I can attend it.

We stayed at Breda just five days; except their cleanliness, I do not like the Dutch ways at all; they are rough, dull, and democratic. Our position here is a very strong one; and if the Austrians do stay at Maestricht we may be quiet for some time. Their number trebles ours, yet they run away; why or wherefore, no one can say. The circumstance of feeding and maintaining an army requires a method and arrangement, at which, though I have witnessed it for months, my surprise does not lessen; yet

how small are our numbers compared to our enemies.

The dry season has been unlucky; it has prevented the inundations, and their failure has enabled the French to invest L'Ecluse; there too, we shall lose two more brave Hanoverian battalions; but what do we not lose? At Antwerp I find we were obliged to burn, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, 24,000,000 bundles of hay, valued at £100,000, and we left 70,000 sacks of oats worth a pound a sack. At Condé we have quantities of ammunition; our cannons are everywhere; the standards of the cavalry, and the heavy baggage of half the officers, are at Valenciennes, where also, to our misfortune, are the General's wine and my clothes. But what is all this to the harvest of Flanders? Such a harvest as never was seen, the ground covered with corn enough to feed all France and her armies. Odious Austrians! had they behaved well, this had not happened. It half killed me when I saw our men march out of Breda on the 4th.



Not a regiment but had many women belonging to it; most of them had infants in their arms, and half had no shoes. It rained hard, and they looked so wretched, what heart would not have felt for them!

Aug. 12th, Osterhout.—Our cannon are firing for the Prince of Wales's birthday, I had rather hear them than those of the enemy. Many guns, however, were heard yesterday on the side of Sluys. I fear we cannot save the forts there, which contain five Hanoverian, and many Dutch battalions. We are, I fancy, to stay here some time, and they have begun intrenching the camp, which is in a good position. We have a fine open plain before us, in which the cavalry could act. Some of the inundations have taken place, so if the enemy dared attack us I hope we should punish them.

If the Austrians keep their promise, and their post near Maestricht, the French cannot get on our left, and we are as well here as we should be at Bois-le-Duc; nay better, for we preserve Bergen-op-Zoom; and if we

can prevent any fresh sieges for two months to come, it will be too late for the enemy to begin them. It will not, however, be too late for us to advance, and such is certainly the intention if the Prussians come according to their last promise. We may then still have our winter quarters in Flanders.

Much must be done to bring all this about; and who can conduct such a plan, or guess if it will succeed. Robespierre's death, of which I conclude you are informed, makes this a most critical moment. The account came to us from the Prince de Coburg's army, where a French officer, a deserter, had just arrived with the news; it is confirmed by other deserters who are come here. The account they give us is, that a girl came to Robespierre's house, and said she wanted to see the tyrant who meant to enslave her country and make himself dictator; that, being refused admission, she went to the Convention with the same demand; that this caused a tumult, and that they came to blows; that Robespierre went

out on one side, and called the National Guard, who all joined him; that Barras went out on the other, and called on the citizens of Paris; that his party was victorious, though Robespierre was assisted by all the prisoners of Paris, whom he had liberated; that Robespierre was driven into a house, where, as they were going to seize him, he attempted to kill himself; that Barras then had him guillotined, together with his brother, who had thrown himself out of a window; that Couthon and St. Just were also guillotined with them.

They say 10,000 persons were killed in the fray; but I doubt if any account which can be depended upon is yet known. If the prisoners were on Robespierre's side, and the citizens of Paris on the other, we may possibly be worse off than ever, excepting that the confusion may bring forth unforeseen events. I shall never forget that it was General Mack's positive opinion that Robespierre waited only for a favourable moment to bring about a counter revolution, if he

could do it with security to himself; and that, in destroying the great faction of Danton, &c., he did more towards it than could have been done in any other way, as they were the most determined republicans in the country. Many things have confirmed this, though I must own some have seemed to contradict it. At all events, our preparations must go on.

Eight more regiments are coming to join us, and there never has been an idea of any of the cavalry returning. The French frigates, gone to the north, mean mischief. Some say they are to join the Danes; if so, I hope the Empress of Russia will come forth and punish them all.

I have a good horse, and the rides about the camp are beautiful; yet the country is flat and sandy. It is covered in many places with hillocks of sand; they are so singular that I long for a naturalist to tell me whether they were made by wind or water; the sand is so loose they may have been formed by either. The whole country, except here and



there a lawn, is covered with firs and oaks, that grow spontaneously on, or amongst, these hills. It resembles an English garden; half the firs are broad shrubs, the rest grow to fine trees. The roads are all sand, and are innumerable. From hence to Prince Adolphus' quarters is really one of the prettiest rides I ever saw.

Osterhout, August 16th.—I am busy to-day preparing a great dinner, which the Generals are to give to the Duke on his birthday. It will be a beautiful fête. It is to be held in the avenue that reaches from our house to his; one hundred and thirty people are to be at it; the guns are to be fired as often as he is years old; sentries are to be placed between the trees, and bands of music at proper distances. If the French do not come and eat up the dinner, it will be charming. A patrol of ours a few days ago did find a foraging party of theirs at dinner in a churchyard about twenty miles off. They took thirty horses and twenty-seven prisoners; but we shall not be so surprised,

for we have reason to believe that the French have retired, and are gone off towards the side of Sluys, and that they are not in force in our front. However, we know but little.

The Antwerp papers, published by their permission, have reached us, and mention the death of Robespierre, and the suppression of the Jacobin Club; but what has passed since at Paris we know not. We hear that the French fear that our retreat is a feint, and that we want to draw them on into Holland, or, at least, towards that country, and then to get the Austrians and Prussians to cut them off.

P.S. I have just heard that the Princess of Orange is come to Breda. The Duke of York is gone to her; and there is a report that the Austrians are advanced five leagues before Maestricht; if so, we shall probably advance also again towards Antwerp soon. The French have raised nearly four millions sterling in Flanders; they have put every third sack of corn, every fourth beast, in re-

quisition; and seized all the blue and red cloth, and every other article that would be of use to their army; nothing but assignats are allowed to circulate, and they have guillotined numbers of the bourgeoisie at Tournay and Bruxelles.

August 22nd.—I am living comfortably at Osterhout, and three days ago I thought we might have remained here a month longer; I now fear we must move soon, for yesterday our spies and some deserters brought us an account that the French were going to change their position near Antwerp. Some supposed Breda, others Bois-le-Duc, to be their object; if the latter, our army must try to be beforehand with them; if the former, we shall wait for them. The heavy baggage must cross the Meuse; perhaps I shall go with it. I still hope the alarm may be a false one, as our intelligence is miserably bad, whilst that of the French is altogether as good; for we are hated, and they are courted, in the country we pass through. It is strange the people should not yet have their eyes opened.

The French may find some little movement necessary to keep their army from the discontent idleness creates, and which is more likely to arise from what has happened at Paris. By the *Moniteurs* we have seen down to the 9th, it appears that the state of things was little changed; the general power of the Convention is perhaps strengthened by the death of Robespierre. It was a lucky event for Mr. Pitt's credit, as it proves the truth of his assertion, that it was impossible to attempt treating with the French when the faction that governed one day might be destroyed the next. Barras seems our greatest enemy; I wish him gone, though I fear there are many to take his situation. If the report of the enemy's advancing proves false, I shall not be sorry it reached us. Something to make them a little alert is good for our officers and men, and prevents the army from sinking into a camp of amusement, which often ends in licentiousness.

The fête given by the officers to the Duke went off admirably, and the day was fine.



The whole was well managed, and the scene was very pretty. My garden opens to the avenue, and my room made the drawing-room, where I had tea in the evening for all who could come. The company amounted to one hundred and fifty, as many Hanoverians as English. I received them before dinner, but dined by myself. The whole expense will be paid by ten General officers, and will amount to about £40 each. Prince Adolphus dined with me yesterday, and the Prince de Schwartzberg; he is about twenty-three years old, and very amiable: I wish he were rich enough to obtain one of our Princesses.

A man was shot by sentence of a Court Martial the other day, for drawing his sword upon an officer; it was made a most solemn scene; the whole army turned out, and remained under arms. The soldier was marched along the lines with the ceremony used for deserters; the drums were muffled, and solemn music played; he was blindfolded, and knelt down, and the shot was so

well aimed that he died at once without moving a limb. I saw the previous preparations; and though the example was a proper one to give, and he deserved his fate, for he had committed many other crimes, yet it is not to be told how affecting such a death is.

At Rosendaal I saw an event that was new to me, the arrival of an officer with a trumpeter from the enemy; they were brought blindfolded from the outpost to head-quarters, which were opposite to my window. I went out and spoke to the officer; his manner was gentle and pleasing, and unlike a Carmagnol. I called him *Monsieur*, and, in his answers, he called me *Madame*, but stammered as if he had not pronounced that word for a long time. He brought an impertinent letter to the Duke; when he was told it was so he was much concerned, said he did not know it, and that he was sorry to have been employed on such an occasion. We found out that he is well born, and serves to save the lives of his

family; he looked, as far as I could judge, melancholy, but he had a white handkerchief tied over his eyes; he seemed not more than twenty. Having never seen a flag arrive before, I thought the scene curious, and was glad to be present.

Osterhout, August 27th.—The changes here are great, but not good; the French seem disposed to amuse their army by attacking us; perhaps they find it dangerous to give them nothing to do at a moment when there is so much apparent disturbance at Paris. I fear we have stayed here too long, for they appear in force half round us. We have been detained by the Dutch, who employed their best negotiator, the Princess of Orange; she and all the Stadtholder's family have been at Breda near a week. The Duke has frequently had councils with them; he desired me on Sunday to receive them at his quarters, where they were to dine with him. I was glad to have so good an opportunity of seeing them. We are to have another party to-day; to-morrow they

will return to the Hague, and then, I suppose, this army will move.

Its retreat will not be so easy as it would have been a few days ago; the French, who know everything, have probably found out that the Austrians will soon be reinforced, and that then there will be a forward move. *Their* business is to attack us separately, and beat our division first, if they can; *our* business being to avoid that, we ought to have gone off sooner to a position where it would have been more difficult to attack us. The garrisons of Bergen-op-Zoom, Williamstadt, and Breda, however, were not prepared to defend themselves, and the Dutch wished us to stay here on that account.

This wonderfully clever woman, for her like I never saw, made her son's illness a pretence for coming to Breda, and prevailed upon the Duke to remain here. All our outposts were attacked yesterday, and two Dutch ones driven in; but it was rather a reconnaissance than a real attack, and they retired; but so well did they know our



position that they did not miss one post. Our spies tell us that Pichegru is at Louvain, ready to advance and direct all movements, equally against us, and against the Austrians at or near Maestricht. Many thought they would have come on to-day in greater force, but some of our outposts are ten miles off, and they must carry them all before they can attack the main army. Beckwith owed his not being taken yesterday to the swiftness of his horse.

The last three weeks have been so quiet I could almost forget the anxious moments war occasions, which, however, strange as it may seem to you, are less dreadful on the spot than at a distance. None can conceive this who have not experienced it. Our dinner on Sunday was very magnificent; an immense tent was pitched in the Duke's garden, and there was music in every part of it. The Princess of Orange fully answered my expectations; she is like Lady Pembroke, but darker, with the finest eyes I ever saw; her countenance and her manner would convince

one how sensible she is without hearing her speak; and Lord St. Helen's tells me she is superior to any man or woman he ever conversed with. The hereditary Princess is pretty; her face a mixture of the Duchess of Dorset's and the Princess de Laon's; her figure like Mrs. Anderson's; she is fair, has pretty blue eyes, and her deportment is graceful. Three ladies attended them. The Stadtholder and his sons are perfect Dutchmen. There was a council after dinner, which made them too late to see the camp. This, and the invitation to eat turtle and venison from Oatlands<sup>b</sup>, is an excuse for returning here to-day.

Our dinner is over; it was a pleasant one; and as there were no women but the Princesses and myself they became quite easy; they have pressed me so much to come to the Hague, that, if any circumstance should make such a measure advisable, my knowing them here will have been fortunate. Upon seeing the young Prince again I have

<sup>b</sup> The Duke of York's country-house.

grown to like him; he is very fond of the Princess, and they seem comfortable. They all return to the Hague to-day. Breda is not thought a safe residence for them; and their being in that place might have made the monsters attempt something.

I am going to Henseden, to be ready to cross the Meuse, or join the army, as events shall decide; there is a little fear that the French have corrupted the Danes. If they attack the King's possessions through Holstein, the Hanoverians must return to defend them. How these wretches are at work everywhere. In America a Convention of 800 is sitting, with the French Minister at their head; they treat the Congress with contempt, and demand a Republic, one and indivisible.

Aug. 28th.—The garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé have made incursions as far as Orchies and Tournay, and carried off all the cattle and forage. Sluys is not yet taken; an assault has been attempted, and 1,500 French were killed.

Bois-le-Duc, Sept. 2nd.—I hope you got my last, but when I am not with the army I cannot write regularly. Our march was very very sudden. I set out for Gurtrudenberg at seven in the evening, and the camp marched off its ground at one in the morning. The army was not harassed in its retreat, which I was particularly glad of, as General Harcourt commanded the cavalry, which composed the rear guard, and covered the main body. I wish we had moved sooner; such retreats made suddenly on the appearance of an enemy give courage to their men, and dishearten ours; but it was owing to the Dutch. I went from Gurtrudenberg to Gorsum, where I crossed the Meuse, which at that place is a mile and a-half broad. The Prince de Coburg is *congédié*. Clairfait commands for the present. Beaulieu is Quarter-Master-General.

There was a conference here yesterday of the three powers; the Duke of York for the English, the Prince of Orange for the Dutch, and Beaulieu for the Austrians.



England, through Lord Spencer, has insisted on the Austrians acting offensively again; and I suppose we shall soon move forward. I tremble at the idea.

A trumpeter came to Breda the other day with two French officers, to summon it to surrender; they talked in the style of true bombast, for which their nation was always famous. They said that now Robespierre was dead, they should give laws to the universe by their justice and clemency, as well as by their arms. That they should be universal conquerors, but that cruelties would be heard of no more. That they should be merciful, and that even *émigrés* need not fear them. The falsehood of these assertions, however, was proved a day or two afterwards; for a young man of the Prince de Salm's regiment was taken on a patrol, and, declaring himself to be an *émigré*, was shot the same evening at headquarters.

If the Duke d' Harcourt is with you, tell him that as I was travelling along the dis-

mal marshes between Gurtrudenberg and Gorsum, I saw a chateau rising amongst fir-trees, in the midst of the marsh; and asking at an ale-house, where I stopped to refresh my horses, to whom it belonged, and if anybody there could speak French, a good-looking man came forward, who had the air of an old courtier, and offered me his assistance. I was surprised to find such a person in such a place; but found on talking to him that he was the master of the solitary ruined castle; his name was de Croix. This is the last remains of his once great possessions; if driven hence, he will have nothing left, and he has no comfort but in the daily walk he takes to this ale-house, where he hopes occasionally to meet with some one who can give him a little intelligence of what is going on. He was formerly a friend of the Duke's. It would fill volumes were I to tell you all the strange scenes I see, and all the extraordinary things I hear.

September 8th, Camp of Berlicom, near Bois-le-Duc.—The date of my letters will

be old now before they reach you ; the distance is increased, and the passage uncertain. The sands are heavy, and great detours must be made to avoid inundations ; but we are in a safe situation, I hope an unassailable one ; but the offensive operations of the French will probably be directed elsewhere, and that may compel us to change our position.

The consternation here at the loss of Valenciennes and Condé, is extreme ; they ought to have held out against a blockade of the whole winter, all the operations and plans of the campaign of the different powers were formed upon the expectation that they would do so. Now we have no further business in Flanders ; our army, without strong places to hold to, would be driven backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock. New arrangements must be made, but what can do us good, or even save us, none can say. Think of the lives lost in the last campaign to take Valenciennes, &c., and all to no purpose. The poor Croys are now no better off than

the other *émigrés* ; they kept hope longer, but the sweet place I was at at the beginning of the summer is now gone. The baggage and ammunition lost in those towns is immense. The colours of the General's regiment were there *en dépôt*, and we feared they were taken, but the soldiers of the Austrian regiment de la Tour very handsomely brought them off by wrapping them round their waists. The loss of these places is the severest blow the cause has had. Our prospect is not a pleasant one.

Winter-quarters on the frontiers of Holland would ruin our army. The effect would be like the West Indies, and disease would destroy those the sword has spared. In autumn the country is not unhealthy, because the inundations are fresh ; but the end of winter and spring is cruelly destructive. Perhaps a frontier will be formed, making Antwerp one flank and Maestricht the other ; it might have been Antwerp and Namur, but that is gone. We expect Breda to be attacked ; if it is we must go and fight them.



Sluys being gone, sets that besieging army at liberty. In all our distresses we have the comfort of seeing our troops in health and spirits, and ready to undertake any service. Had not Valenciennes and Condé been taken we should, in concert with the Austrians, have advanced in a day or two possibly, and been in South Flanders in less than a month.

Our present quarter is quite in the country, and very comfortable, with good rides about us, though it is too flat to be pretty. The weather is like what we have in England at this season, windy and rainy. The Comte d'Artois is coming; I'm sorry for it. The General was afraid he should lose Amedée, but he very sensibly came to him and said that if he acted in two situations, he should feel like a spy on each. That he would go with the other French to pay his respects to the Count as soon as he arrived; and then say he was so occupied by the General, who he desired to support him in this, that he had no time for any other person or purpose.

The Duke of York does not like the Comte d'Artois' coming. It was settled in England; perhaps our Government did not know how to dispose otherwise of him.

Sept. 14th, near Bois-le-Duc.—I rather expect to march to-day, for there is a little alarm, though it may come to nothing. I am secure of an excellent retreat here, for I am but fifteen miles from Grave, where I can cross the Meuse, and then eighteen more miles will carry me to Madame de Walmoden, at Cleves, where I have for some time wanted to go; and I may as well take this opportunity of doing so. However, the French may again retire, and in that case I shall not move. Their wish is to drive us across the Meuse, by which they would get rid of us, and would have nothing to prevent the blockades and sieges by which they hope to get possession of this frontier. They expect to frighten us by appearing in force in our front, as they did at Osterhout. There we had no retreat in case of a defeat, but here we are sure of a good one,

and therefore can stand a battle. I think we should beat them finely; but, from what I hear, I do not believe they will attack us, and I daresay we shall not attack them. A few skirmishes on the outposts is all that is likely to happen, if they could beat us they would immediately attack Breda; perhaps the force they have shewn is only to place an army of observation before they begin the investment of the place. Their posts are in front of Tilbourg and Osterwich, and we think they will make the latter their head-quarters. We suppose them to be about 55,000 strong.

The Comte d'Artois is expected to-morrow, he is to be quartered within a league of head-quarters, and serve as a volunteer. His son will be with him. The Duke of York dreads their arrival. The Duke de Mortemart is at Dusseldorf, trying in vain for recruits, none are to be had in the neighbourhood. Had he obtained his regiment while we were at Tournay or Ghent, we could have got any number for him. I have

now been ten days in this comfortable habitation, but I am so used to change, and to go off at a moment's warning, that I expect to find it difficult to settle again, if ever the time comes when it may be in my power. I wish it was come, for then war would be over, and its horrors none can conceive who have not seen them. I feel even for the sufferings which the Dutch endure, though they are an odious people, and half of them Carmagnols.

The Austrians near Maestricht have been reinforced. They seem to be growing more moderate in France. The Duke has just shewn me a letter General Hammerstein has received from Pichegru about some prisoners. It began "Monsieur le General," and was directed in the same manner. The discipline in their army is a lesson for all others. Clairfait assured the Duke's aide-de-camp the other day that he knew it to be so. Part of the Austrian army is near Liege, on one side of the river; the French are on the other. The greatest quiet and order



seem to be observed amongst the French, and the slightest misdemeanour is instantly punished with death. The Austrians are in an uncomfortable state; the Walloon regiments are reproaching the Germans for being their ruin. All their property is gone. Clair-fait tried to send orders to Valenciennes and Condé, but they could not be got in, and the commanders of the two places came out with the Prince de Coburg's orders to evacuate in their pockets.

Eleven at night.—All was supposed to be over to-day, and I was told I might stay, but the General is just gone out upon a fresh alarm, and my horses are harnessed, and my things in the chaise. Still he may return in an hour or two, and I may stay to-night; at all events I will go to-morrow. Two poor soldiers are just come in, driven over the inundations, it is a miracle that they were not drowned. The French have taken one of our outposts to-night, at Bostel. The Duke and every soul is now out, but if the enemy comes on to-morrow, they will be beaten.

October 2nd.—Near three weeks have passed since I wrote to you. I have been ill, very ill, in consequence of my own imprudence; I had for some time been in such high health I thought nothing could hurt me, and I risked too much. I am now recovering fast, and in a comfortable situation at Nimeguen. The town stands on a gravelly hill, above the river; the country is dry and hilly, and even romantic on the side of Cleves, very unlike the rest of Holland. A branch of the Rhine runs close to the town, over which, at a place where it is 350 yards broad, our troops in twenty-eight hours have made a bridge, not of boats, but of ships, to facilitate a retreat. The position of the army is alarming; the French are in immense force on the other side of the Meuse. The river is narrow in that part, so that in four hours the enemy can, if they choose, throw pontoon bridges over it in several parts at once, and attack us where they think it most advantageous. The line we have to guard between Gorran and Vento is so long that

our army is drawn out to a thread, and I can see that every one is full of apprehensions. The French certainly are ill-provided with tents, and many other things; but they are monsters, not men, and mind neither weather nor fatigue. They often talk across the river with our men, and express regard for the English, but abhorrence for the Hanoverians, and indeed for all the Germans.

The Duke has pleased us much by his kindness to our two French cousins, Amedée and Emmanuel. You may remember that, attributing the glory of the 10th of May to General Harcourt, he presented him with his own sword on the field of battle; in that action the two young Harcourts also distinguished themselves. They, at the head of five dragoons took a howitzer from fifteen French, killed some, and made others prisoners. The Duke has had a sword made for each of them, the handle of which is a howitzer, ready to fire; and upon it is engraven the 10th of May, the Duke's name, and the young men's. Eighty pounds, the sum Gov-

ernment pays for an howitzer, was also ordered to be given to them, but this they declined taking, and begged it might be divided amongst the five dragoons who assisted. Poor as they now are, this act of generosity has done them great credit.

Arnheim, October the 9th.—I have but a moment to tell you that I am well, and happy in the thoughts of joining the General between Emerich and Wesel. The Duke has just appointed him to command a large body of cavalry that is to form an army of observation along the banks of the Rhine. He is happy with it, and we shall be in a healthy country; but you will hear less regularly, as our distance from head-quarters will be great. Things grow daily more critical and alarming. The fear spreads in Holland, and they say has even reached the Hague. Yesterday 800 French crossed the Meuse near Maes-de-Bommel; to-day we are to try to dislodge them, but their position is strong. You will probably know the event by the courier who carries this. The Comte



d'Artois is much liked; he has sent me many messages; I was too ill to see him, and now my removal will prevent our meeting at present.

Oct. 12th, Arnheim.—The General, with his army of cavalry, halted here last night; to-morrow I follow him to Emerich. We shall be in a good country, from whence I think we cannot be driven. The General has now a regular establishment, and Dr. Shapter is at the head of his hospital. The Duke gave him this command in the handsomest way imaginable; but he is always kind, and I love him, and am sorry this separation will make us see him less. Alas! Bois-le-Duc is taken; it will give the wretches shelter, who, without it, would have been half-drowned.

Oct. 18th, Emerich.—We are comfortably settled in a good house, in a fine dry country, on the banks of the Rhine; and I wish our eternal pursuers may let us stay in quiet, at least a few weeks; but they are taking Vento, which, as usual, the Dutch have left

half-garrisoned, and will give up in about eight days. Probably then we must decamp. The siege of Bois-le-Duc was child's play; they took it with two pieces of cannon, and only two or three of the garrison were killed. It was a sad business, and the Governor, the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt, deserves to be disgraced for ever. The possessing this place gives the French shelter on that part of the frontier of Holland where they could not have stayed without it, for the inundations would soon have obliged them to seek winter quarters near Antwerp. They are going to besiege Grave; if they take that and Vento, they will be masters of great part of the Meuse; and, should they get Maestricht, will have the key of Holland.

The fate of the *emigré* regiment of Beon, at Bois-le-Duc, was horrid. On its shameful capitulation the garrison was allowed the honours of war, and liberty to return to Holland, except the *emigrés*, who the French insisted should be given up to them. The

Dutch did indeed disguise as many as they could; some as servants, some as soldiers. Unluckily, one being taken they made him to save his life discover the rest, and as they were marching out they massacred them. Pichegru called his men to order, and did all he could to check their fury; they say he even sent to the poor *émigrés* to beg them to disguise themselves. Those who were found in the town were carried into the market-place and butchered with bayonets, excepting a few who were sent to Paris. Not more than eighty in all escaped. Your acquaintance Monsieur de Colbert, with Monsieur de Crenolle and his wife, are here, refugees from Cleves. If Monsieur de Colbert had not some time ago been severely wounded, he too would have been at Bois-le-Duc; so a great misfortune prevented a still greater; but he is heart-broken at the destruction of his regiment. His wife had lain in but eight days when she was brought here.

General Harcourt finds Monsieur de Stein

a sensible, well-informed man, which is lucky, as they will have much business together. You know we are now in Westphalia, within the Duchy of Cleves, and Monsieur de Stein is Regent of the part of this country that belongs to Prussia. The beautiful city of Cleves is but two leagues off, but I dare not go thither. The assistance we were to have had here from the Prussians will come to nothing. Clairfait is sending us an Austrian Major-General with a detachment. General Harcourt's command here is very flattering, and we have many pleasant people with us, but we regret being absent from the Duke. The swords he gave Amedée and Emmanuel for taking the howitzer, the 10th of May, are most beautiful and magnificent. You know the King sent General Hammerstein a sword for the noble act he did in saving the garrison and *émigrés* at Menin; the only swords besides this that have been given we have the credit of having in the Harcourt family—the General's, Amedée's, and Emmanuel's. Here, in Westphalia, the other



day, seven of the French and English of the family dined by chance together; we agreed how oddly, in these strange times, people are parted and re-united.

The Duke de Mortemart was one in the flight from Dusseldorf, which was the most sudden of any, excepting that from the Pays de Liege. He was obliged to move the depôt of his regiment; and the road, being almost impassable, the horses failed, and the waggon, with all their effects, stuck fast. They had nothing for it but drawing it themselves, and the Duke, at the head of forty men, with ropes, did draw it for many miles. What changes happen in this world. A very few years ago, to the highest birth and rank he joined the largest fortune in France, for he was the Duke of Bedford of that country. What a lesson for pride and ambition; not that he had either, for a better or less presuming man never existed.

We have here the company of veterans of La Chartres regiment. It is truly affecting to see and hear them. They are grate-

ful to Britain in the extreme. But for our country they must have starved, and it is a noble charity; yet they are *only* soldiers, and not having billets from the magistrates above other soldiers, many sleep upon straw. Many of them are seventy, some more than eighty; almost all have the Croix de St. Louis. I never feel that I can return their salute with a bow low enough. General Harcourt employs them upon little light guards, and tries to soften their situation as much as possible. They have a shilling a-day; and this country being cheap, they could live very well if they had tolerable quarters.

Our weather is good, so is my health; the busy scene around me I like, and shall be satisfied if we are not driven from hence. A deserter alarmed me the other day by saying the Convention had ordered their armies not to pass the Rhine this winter. There was so much cleverness in his manner that we were doubtful whether he was not rather a spy than a deserter, so the

General sent him to the Duke of York. We have now a daily *ordonnance* that goes from the General to the Duke, so we know all that passes.

Emerich, October 27th.—We are well, and feel tolerably safe, for we have now two regiments of infantry close to us, and all the ports and islands of the river properly occupied. When first we came all was open; and had the French known it was a General's quarter they could have carried us all off with twenty men; but General Harcourt, by his extreme diligence and good arrangement, has put the thirty miles of coast he had to guard in such a state of defence as to make it secure against everything. When the 20,000 Austrians we daily expect to come to our left arrive, they will find all prepared, and have nothing to do but to place their posts accordingly. I never before saw General Harcourt in a situation so great and responsible, and I can truly say he shines in it, and is beloved, admired, and respected by all the nations he is concerned

with. All who can, endeavour to get under his command. Probably we shall soon move a little to the right, as the Austrians cannot get their men under cover without this town.

It is said that the Duke of Brunswick is coming to take the general command, but whether with others, or to replace them, I know not. We are well, and the General is occupied day and night. He seldom rides less than thirty or forty miles in a day; he has letters to receive and answer every hour, and seldom passes a night without being called up. Could you have thought him strong enough to bear all this? We are uneasy about General Walmoden; he has the care of Nimeguen, which is daily expected to be attacked, and cannot be maintained. His wife was with me the other day; she is seven months gone with child, and knows not where to lie in. We hear of insurrections in France, and hope them true. You cannot think how entertaining the spy business is, and how wonderfully we get intel-



ligence; better, I must say, than was got before. Our quartier-general is pleasant. The General has neither time to speak to me, nor hear me; but I am happy, for I can see and hear him. The French can see us, and we them, but the river is a fine breadth between us.

Chateau de St. Hirlingberg, Nov. 2nd.—I wish Lord Harcourt could see this castle. I fancy myself all day at Otranto or Udolpho. We moved here on the arrival of 25,000 Austrians, a seasonable reinforcement to assist us in defending the Rhine, and to relieve the harassed garrison of Nimeguen. They have been long expected, and I hope are not come too late. Had they been a month sooner the French must have wintered at Antwerp; even one fortnight sooner would have prevented their establishing themselves north of the Meuse.

But to return to our castle, where fortunately we were obliged to come, to leave the town of Emerich for the Austrians. It stands at the foot of a high range of hills,

mostly covered with wood, that run at right-angles to the Rhine. It is immensely large; much of it is not habitable, but part very comfortable. The hall of entrance is above eighty feet long, full of stags' horns and old armour. A large staircase at one end is taken off by iron gates. There is a saloon of sixty feet, with smaller square rooms on each side. The doors are of brown walnut; the hangings of old tapestry. There are large windows in the angles, looking two ways, with broad low seats. The chimneys are high, and the closets innumerable; and there are many comforts not to be found in a modern house. The part of the castle we inhabit is lofty; a small river fills a moat above fifty yards broad, and to get at us two long drawbridges must be passed.

My apartment, though only up one pair of stairs, seems so high that it is tremendous to look down from the window to the bridges, and to the water that washes the walls of the castle on three sides. On the fourth side there is a large area, and the entrance is

through this area, up a very large double flight of steps, with lions and giants to support them. Some part of the building, which is very irregular, is modern, but the greater part very old, and not habitable, except the chapel. Though I have explored much, I have not yet seen all; there are numberless square and round towers, and it will take many days to explore the whole. The gardens, when in repair, must have been magnificent. They are of great extent, as well as the woods, where there is a *chasse* of every kind of game, from a hare or a rabbit to a wolf or wild boar.

If we had been sure of staying here, and the weather had been fine, I should have enjoyed the rides and drives; but I fear in a few days we shall move again, for I conclude this crisis must make a change for good or for bad; God grant the former; meanwhile I rejoice to have witnessed this extraordinary scene, amongst many others. What adds to the romantic effect of it is, that this being General Harcourt's head-quarters, the

whole has a military appearance. The guards without; the sentry in the hall; the ordonnances that wait in the saloon; the perpetual rattling of the hussars, with their little Hungarian horses, over the drawbridges; the artillery under the immense high trees, just on the outside of the gate; nay, the deep-toned clock, and the bugle-horn that echoes through the wood. Altogether it equals anything that Mrs. Radcliffe describes in her charming, terrifying book.

In the adjacent village, close behind the castle, is quartered the General's own regiment, and Chrisenel's hussars. I always admired the latter as a fine corps, but they seem to suit this place particularly. Their uniform is almost a black green, with gold, and they have large nodding black plumes in their caps, like old knights in black armour. I actually started at an orderly-man as I passed him in the saloon last night, with no light but a small wax taper that I carried in my hand.

This morning my attention is engaged by



a noise well suited to the situation I am in; incessant firing; I hear it both from Nimeguen and within four miles on the other side; for we are constantly employed in preventing the French from establishing posts on the other side of the river. When at Emerich we used to expect to be saluted with a cannonade ourselves, as that town is upon the river; but here we are out of their reach. The cavalry cannot be employed, so General Harcourt cannot be in danger, though he may be useful; perhaps the next ten days may decide our fate. What an awful crisis!

I just broke off my letter because I heard the bugle-horn, and went to my window to see the dear 16th regiment pass the bridge. At the same instant, this being Sunday, the finest church-bell tolled that I ever heard. Does not all this account remind you of old times, which, if they were not better, were at least very different to those we live in. This castle belongs to a Prince with a hard name I cannot write, but I will learn how

he spells it. He resides in a distant part of Germany, and seldom comes here. It is only inhabited by a concière and his wife, who supply us with excellent forage for our horses, and good milk and butter for ourselves. It is the best quarter we have ever had, for it accommodates General Harcourt and his staff officers, and altogether they have nearly a hundred horses.

November 7th, Castle of St. Hirlingberg.—The events of yesterday were so singular, that I shall not be able in my description to do justice to them. We were at breakfast, listening, as usual, to the distant cannonade at Nimeguen, and trying to guess, from its being more or less frequent or violent, what events were passing there. All of a sudden we heard a shot that seemed much nearer to us; it was repeated, so General Harcourt immediately ordered his horse, and I my chaise to carry me to a convent at the point of the hill above the river. I heard a heavy cannonade all the way I went, but it was ceasing when I arrived. The French had

just effected their purpose of destroying two ferry-boats that we had moored on the shore, and were carrying off their cannon.

Meeting General Harcourt, he told me he was going to the ferry, and that I might go with him. When we arrived we found the poor people belonging to it in great consternation; but though many shells had fallen within a few yards of the house, it remained untouched. The picquet, too, of Choiseul's regiment, and one of Austrian infantry, at that post, were unhurt; the ground was strewn with cannon-balls and shells, several of which had not burst. The destroying the boats was the only mischief done. We mounted the bank of the river, and saw four French hussars and four infantry come from a house, where they had a post, opposite the ferry. At first they only seemed to be observing our group, which was pretty considerable, as the General's aides-de-camp were with him. Presently, however, one of the soldiers went down to the edge of the river, and putting his foot into it to get nearer to us, he fired

directly at us; but the river was broad, so the shot fell short. Seeing this, we remained, while he amused himself with firing two more unavailing shots. The hussars then drew their swords, brandished them, and called to us, in a loud and insolent tone, "Avancez, avancez, esclaves," and various other words we could not distinguish.

Just as this passed we heard firing beginning higher up the river, and imagining it was at Emerich, we went there directly. On entering the town we were told that the French had just sent a flag of truce by an officer, with a trumpeter, to demand the surrender of the town, and that the boats, of which the harbour was full, should be sent to them; that if they were refused the cannonade would begin again, and they would reduce the place to ashes. They had a strong battery of guns placed on the opposite side of the river, which the Austrians, with their Generals, then in Emerich, had taken no precautions to prevent. General Harcourt went to the Quai, and I drove to



Monsieur de Colbert's, and made his sister, Madame de Crenolle, who had just lain in, get into my chaise, with her little children, and a few clothes got together in haste, and carried them off.

The shells were now beginning to fall in the town, and Captain Hawker told me since that one fell just where my chaise had stood a very few minutes before. Already the inhabitants were beginning to fly, and the screams of the women were dreadful. However, we got safe off, leaving Monsieur de Colbert, the nurses, and two infants to follow in his coach, for which we promised to send horses, and a waggon to convey their effects. General Harcourt I left, most unwillingly, in the town. He stayed till several houses were on fire, and went upon the tower of the church, which is ever one of the most dangerous places, as it is generally the mark they aim at. Seeing that this was the case, and that a shell had fallen on each side, he came down. The Austrians had just drawn their troops out of the town;

they would have been right had they left a sufficient number to extinguish the fire, but none of them gave any assistance.

As soon as I got to the castle I arranged everything as well as I could for the reception of the numerous guests who, I knew, would be glad to seek refuge even under its unfurnished roof. Chairs, tables, and such things as we could spare, we put into an apartment for Monsieur de Colbert and his family, and sent Emmanuel and Captain Cumberland upon the road to Emerich, to offer as an asylum for the night the walls of the castle and some straw, to all distressed families they met who had not any acquaintance within reach. All the rooms that were habitable I had laid with straw in such quantities as to serve for seats as well as beds. I ordered fires wherever there were chimneys, and candles in every room, for it was now dark. Fear had given wings to the poor fugitives, for they soon arrived, French, Brabanions, Liegois, almost every *émigré* that had remained at Emerce. To

one of the magistrates, who had shewn General Harcourt much attention, we gave an apartment; many ladies and children of his family were with him; they brought some mattresses and coverlids with them, so they were tolerably comfortable.

We heard the cannonading continue with great violence; the town was seen from the windows of the castle to be on fire in different places. General Harcourt and his aides-de-camp were not returned; and even the scene I was engaged in could not occupy my mind enough to prevent my feeling completely wretched, till I heard the trampling of horses on the bridge, and could distinguish his voice. He brought an extraordinary piece of news; that the next morning, at seven, every Austrian was to march, and that we were to be left at this moment, when we most wanted their assistance, in the state we were before they came; with this difference, that then the enemy had hardly begun to approach our coast, and that now they had lined the whole river with troops and

batteries. It was settled that I should be ready to move, and then stay as long as I could. In the midst, then, of all our confusion, and while we were trying to protect others, we were obliged to pack up many things and prepare, not knowing how soon we also might be fugitives ourselves.

As it struck the General that the ill-disposed at Emerich might wish to deliver the boats to the enemy, and that the terrified inhabitants might consent to save their town, whilst we had no English troops to prevent them; he resolved to put it out of their power to do the French this service, by having them all sunk immediately, which was accordingly done. Meantime the firing relaxed and soon ceased, after having destroyed some houses, and all our magazines. Amongst the houses that were destroyed was that of Monsieur Bach, whose family was with us. He had remained in the town, and the agony his wife felt on his account made her insensible to the loss of their property. Judge of the joy when an account



came, after the firing had ceased, that he was safe. Madame de Crenolle, too, was relieved by the arrival of Monsieur de Colbert, and the children. Their hunger reminded us that it was time to think of dinner; we had ordered meat to be boiled, baked, and roasted as fast as possible. We divided our own dinner with our guests, sending what we could spare into the large room, where fifty of the fugitives were collected; but I saw Amedée and Emmanuel stealing all the good things they could get to carry into their own bedchamber.

On enquiry we found that they had got there two old gentlemen and four young ladies, whom they had met on the road, and to whom they had given their beds and apartment. The girls were pretty, the daughters of a Monsieur de Grand; and the men with them were their uncle, and father-in-law, the Count de Ryland. Their mother had gone to Arnheim the day before, on business; and they had suffered great distress at Emerich. We had heard of it be-

fore, and this had interested our young men strongly for them. I was glad to see their anxiety to assist them, for it is dreadful how much the constantly witnessing these horrid scenes hardens many hearts that are naturally good and feeling.

In the midst of all this distress, some, especially amongst the servants, seemed to think more of the trouble the bustle the house was in would give them, than of endeavouring to assist the sufferers. Even amongst the fugitives themselves, some shewed so much selfishness, that they looked with the greatest ill-will on all who were added to their number. Many, when once placed under shelter themselves, were desirous of keeping out the others. Amongst them was Sir J. Irwin's widow, with two French ladies who lived with her; she, as an Englishwoman, (you remember who and what she was,) seemed to think she had a right to more attention than the rest. I was not inclined to give it, because I thought she wanted it less; but she got the better of us

all, and made us give up our own eating-room to accommodate her and her party separately. The General recollects her as Mrs. Kew, a famous courtesan, who after ruining Sir John, made him in his old age marry her. As she could not be received in England, she has lived abroad; and had been driven by the French from place to place, till she got to Emerich, where she stayed for want of money to proceed further.

The next morning, 7th of November, we provided breakfast for our different guests, amounting to 200 persons; and I went into the different rooms to visit them. The old and reasonable I found melancholy, regretting the sad events that caused their misery; but many of the young ones seem enchanted, and to enjoy the novelty and singularity of their adventures, without reflecting upon the cause or consequences. The castle and gardens delighted them; some of them were beautiful young women, who found admirers enough amongst our officers. The prettiest

of these girls had narrowly escaped being killed by a shell that glanced by her head, and just bruised her cheek. Many of our fugitives were inured to alarms and misfortunes. Some had before fled from Dusseldorf when it was bombarded; and from the badness of the weather and the country, had experienced greater difficulties.

The old uncle of Amedée's friends told me that he had fled with the Mareschal de Broglie's family, and that in the most rainy and tempestuous night imaginable the ladies had been obliged to walk two leagues up to the ankles in mud; that the terror had been such that many families were separated in the flight; that many had lost their children and friends, and had never heard of them since.

You know the palace was destroyed, but luckily the fine collection of pictures was moved out of the town the day before. Numberless persons lost their property, but less by fire than by pillage, for the Palatine troops behaved most shockingly, many ran



away, and those who did not, only stayed to plunder the town.

Nov. 9th.—All continuing quiet at Emmerich, those who did not leave the castle yesterday are gone this morning, except Monsieur de Colbert and his family, who will set off to-morrow for a distant part of Germany. General Harcourt has an account that the Austrians are at last going to cross the Rhine at Wesel, where the bridge is near finished; and he has orders, on General Verneck's demand, to send what British troops are required. Under the present circumstances he cannot send all, so he has kept one regiment of cavalry, the Irish Carabineers, which happened to be the worst, and least fit for service, and the 19th regiment of infantry. He has sent all the rest of the British cavalry, with the Hessians, under General Dundas, to join General Verneck at Wesel. The Hanoverians he kept back till he had a further account from the opposite side, and till he heard again from head-quarters; ordering them,

however, to be ready to go at a moment's warning.

We had heard no firing from Nimeguen for many hours, and were beginning to be very anxious to know the event, when the sad account reached us that the French batteries, having succeeded in firing upon the bridge, had damaged it so much that the place was judged no longer tenable; and that the British had evacuated it in the night without any loss. Three hundred Dutch who were on the flying bridge, were, by the cord being cut, carried down the river; I have not heard if any of them escaped. This account made us miserable to the greatest degree; Nimeguen gone, the Waal is no longer a defence; and the proposed expedition is of no use, which was intended to save the town, and after destroying their magazines, to drive the French over the Meuse; whereby the Dutch frontier and Grave might have been saved, and good quarters secured to our army.

Now, Heaven knows what is to happen

next; the consternation is extreme, and well it may, for this is out of all calculation, and the French are now so situated, and so intoxicated with victory, that they may attempt anything, and succeed in anything. They set no value on the lives of their soldiers, and a winter campaign is to them of little consequence, therefore they may continue to harass us till January at least. That General Walmoden and our troops have done all that could be done at Nimeguen, I have no doubt; but the position was not strong, and when once the enemy had so placed themselves that their batteries could attack our boat-bridge, they were masters of the field.

All continues quiet at Emerich, but the people say that the French are erecting a new battery opposite the town. General Harcourt went this morning to see what damage was done. In poor Bach's house, in the very room where he himself had been on the point of sitting down to write to the Duke of York if some one had not called him away, he saw five balls. Bach had made

fine surveys of all the country, and many very good drawings; and all his plates are shattered to pieces, which seems to grieve him more than the loss of his house. I wrote part of this long account on the 7th, and part on the 8th, and am not sure whether I marked where the one ended and the other began, but I hope you will understand it.

Nov. the 9th.—A little after four this morning an express arrived from the Duke of York, to say that General Harcourt might keep the Hanoverians for the defence of this coast. A few minutes afterwards a letter arrived from General Verneck to say that, in consequence of what had happened, (the evacuation of Nimeguen,) he was returning with all his troops to this country; that he should want all the cantonments from Wesel to Arnheim, and that he desired General Harcourt immediately to give up the whole of them. Thus we are ever treated by the Austrians. I am persuaded they never meant to cross the Rhine, and at last only appeared



to consent, intending to delay and defer it till it became impossible. Had they crossed a fortnight, ten days, nay, even a week ago, all would have been saved.

Just at the instant General Verneck's courier arrived, a messenger came in great haste from Lobeth, one of our posts below Elton, saying that the French were appearing in great force on the opposite side of the river. The General directly ordered all to be packed up, and is now gone with his aides-de-camp to reconnoitre; while I am preparing to leave the castle, at all events to-morrow, perhaps sooner. They tell me now that the batteries are again seen from Emerich, and the alarm having been general in the night, numbers of the poor ladies are returning here; some are already come. Since four this morning the rattle on the bridges has been incessant, for orderly-men have been every instant arriving for Captain Beckwith, besides those he has sent off to General Harcourt. Each brought accounts that the French were appearing in great force

on the opposite side. The ordonnance who brought the Duke's letter said he had heard musket-shots, and from the castle walls we could plainly hear the cannon louder than usual.

The evening of the 9th November.—The French, after firing three shots at Emerich, began jumping and dancing, and then with the speaking-trumpet called across the river :—

“ Nimegue est pris  
Dansons la Carmagnol  
Nimegue est pris  
Ceux qui veulent danser  
Venez ici.”

They then fired a *feu-de-joie* all along the coast. The firing at Lobeth was of a different nature; it was against some battery we had been making, and a dyke we had been repairing. General Harcourt went to the spot, they fired at him, but it was too far for musketry to reach. Two of our cannons were fired at them, and sent them off. The Austrians are all returned. General

Harcourt has sent word he cannot quit *his* quarters without an order from his Commander-in-chief; all the English squadrons that went with the Austrians are returned to *theirs*. We wait to know our destination; I suppose it will be to move, but to what place we cannot guess. Everybody seems to think the loss of Nimeguen a decisive event, and that it is impossible the war on the Continent can go on, we shall only lose more and more.

The Germanic body, except Hanover, have all voted for peace. The brother of the Elector of Mayence is going to Paris to sue for mercy. Heavens! what a shameful humiliation! probably the peace may be general, but I really believe if England is not included we shall make a better figure by ourselves, and fighting on our own element, than embarrassed with all our ill-disposed allies upon the Continent. I this minute hear that the French have been firing near Wesel, and are preparing to bombard it; having driven the Austrians, who were in

garrison at Buric across the river. They cannot take the town, but I lament the alarm they will occasion to Madame de Walmoden, and Madame de Stein, who is every moment expected to lie in.

Just before Madame de Crenolle left us, her little daughter, who she had put out to nurse, was brought to her by the woman's husband. It is but five weeks' old, and not yet weaned, and the cruel wretches would not keep it because, they said, as it belonged to an *émigré*, it might be left upon their hands to maintain. No security any of us could give, nor even that offered by the people of the castle, nor the money Madame de Colbert tendered them, could prevail; and she was obliged to carry the infant with her, after we had provided the best means we could to enable her to supply the place of a wet nurse.

The weather is now good, and my health better, which enables me to examine more particularly this ancient castle. The north tower, which appears to be the oldest part



of it, is one of the most curious buildings I ever saw, it is a square of an immense size. In a large lobby upon the first floor, near my own apartment, I saw two doors thirty feet from each other; the one went down a small staircase into the large room I mentioned when first I came here; the other, up a little winding stair till it came to a narrow dark passage, on each side of which were doors barred, and so rusty I could not force them open. Another winding staircase conducted me to many more doors, one of which was nailed up; but through the cracks I could just distinguish a space that had been a room; but they said it must not be opened. I could not help imagining that I saw something moving in it, for the crack at times was darkened as if some one passed between it and the light. Up higher was another room with iron grates; and, at the top of all, four round turrets, upon the corners of the roof, that had the appearance of separate cells, or prisons, with a window to each. On the

outside I can see various small windows; many grated, some only with broken casements; but I cannot contrive to explore all this tower within. There is over the gateway another large round tower, which, if we stay here to-morrow, I shall visit. At the entrance hangs a gun ten feet long, fit only for a giant.

What a long letter this is; but it contains the full history of four extraordinary days; such, to me at least, the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of November, 1794, will ever appear. News is just come that Maestricht has surrendered; if it be so, it is the completion of our misfortunes, and I fear it, because I know they had not half powder enough to sustain a siege. The Austrians say there was only sufficient powder for seventeen days, and that the Dutch had been so supine it was with difficulty even so much had been got into the town; the rest arrived too late, and had to be taken back again. This has caused much anxiety for the place, yet surely it cannot be gone; so many misfortunes can-

not fall upon us altogether. Once more, adieu for the present.

Nov. 12th.—We are still at St. Hirlingberg, but cannot stay more than a day or two longer; everything grows worse and worse since the loss of Nimeguen, and our troops can have no rest though harassed to death. Heaven's will be done! I hope England is not dispirited, though she has occasioned this mischief by forcing the allies to make this fatal campaign. Surely no nation in the annals of history ever stood so high as France does at this moment. Think of the brother and heir of the first Elector going in person to sue for peace for the Germanic body, Hanover alone excepted. Now, in future ages, when the crimes are forgotten, the glory will be admired; this is truth, though we may not like to own it. Peace there must be with all but England, and my only hope is, that having nothing more to fear for Holland, or to do with the Continent, and free from our puzzle-headed, or treacherous allies, we may shew the world

that Great Britain alone can resist the formidable power of France. Let us man every vessel; send troops enough to guard the West Indies; and, if they invade us, rise in a mass, and drive them into the ocean.

Nov. 24th, Arnheim.—Winter quarters, or at least that sort of rest after the campaign that this present cantonment occasions, makes so many idle persons that this house is like a coffee-house from breakfast till bedtime. I scarcely have a moment to myself, so you must not expect a long letter; indeed, I have little to tell you but that the French are quiet at present. Whether they mean any further progress we shall know when the surrender of Grave, which is daily expected, opens to them the navigation of the Meuse. It is to be hoped that they will give their troops and ours a winter's rest; but victory does not fatigue like defeat. Though we are but nine miles from the French, I think Madame de Walmoden will lie in here. The princes are well, and send their love to you; they are to dine with us to-day.



Nov. 27th.—The cavalry is not going home; what could occasion the report? Pray try to learn whether the Duke of Brunswick is coming here. The French continue quiet, but certainly have some project in view, for they are making millions of boats and rafts.

Dec. 4th.—I am sure you will be as much surprised as we were at the Duke's sudden journey; he got his orders suddenly and unexpectedly. Most unluckily, Sir William Erskine being gone to England, the command of all the British devolves upon General Harcourt, an honour by no means to be wished for in these times when responsibility is become so tremendous from the critical situation of affairs. He therefore most anxiously wishes the Duke's speedy return; and I am sure I do, for the weight the General will have upon his mind may hurt his health; business never hurts him; vexation always does. If anything happens it must be bad; no good event can come at present; nor can any credit be gained in this vile country. If it is to be defended against the common

enemy, or the bad disposition of its inhabitants, it must be by greater numbers than our army can boast.

Dec. 6th.—All here are puzzled and uneasy at the Duke's being sent for to England. I hope he will not be ill-used there, for he does not deserve to be so. God grant that he may soon return. Affairs are in a tremendous state; and the responsible situation General Harcourt is in makes me wretched.

Dec. 8th.—I am in rather better spirits; since the British have been entirely under General Harcourt's command, I think he has been of great use to them in some respects, and he will be of more. Craig is gone, and all goes on well with his deputy, Colonel Don. I hope no frost will come to make a bridge for the French over the Waal, and things may mend. Tremble for us if it freezes. If the Duke should not return, I suppose the Duke of Brunswick or Lord Cornwallis will come to take the command here. Write all you hear. I hope the

dear Duke will not be ill-used ; he has often been so.

Dec. 11th.—Grave cannot hold out many days longer, and then the French will attempt something against us. General Harcourt and General Walmoden are great friends ; they act in concert, and will do all the good that can be done. We are still very anxious about the Duke's return, and the treatment he may have in England. It will be cruel, indeed, if they use him ill, for he does not deserve it of them, for his strict obedience of Cabinet orders has often hurt himself and the cause. I am sure he will return if the Duke of Brunswick should be persuaded to take the command, for I know he wishes to serve with him. If General Harcourt's health does not suffer I shall be glad that Sir William Erskine was gone before the Duke went, as it has given him an opportunity of shewing himself to the army. I dread some attack from the French, which our weakened and, I grieve to add, very unhealthy army, ill-supported by such allies,

cannot resist. Remember not to repeat a thing I say, lest it should be quoted as General Harcourt's opinion.

Yesterday we had the principal Dutch families to dinner, and two ladies, which was an event, as almost all of them have left the frontier. We keep the best table in the army on the Continent, and it is a constant one. The staff and many officers dine with us ; but our *grandeur* will ruin us, for our housekeeping expenses are near £50 a-week. Before I return home, if ever that happens, I must pass a week at the Hague. I cannot avoid it, but I shall hate the bustle and expense, for I agree with you, that, after thirty, fêtes are tiresome things, and they must appear doubly so to a person who has been engaged in such scenes as I have.

The country about this place is beautiful ; the banks of the river on our side are high and hilly ; beyond are pretty little valleys, and many chateaux. The Dutch seem to like the country, by the expense they are at to ornament it ; and they are great planters.



The weather is very fine, clear, and constant sunshine. The thermometer is two or three degrees above freezing-point, and in the day it is quite warm; the soil is sandy, therefore dry; but alas! our troops are in a different situation, which is the cause of the sickness amongst them. All the country between the Lok, or Rhine, and the Waal, is like the province of Holland, flat, and full of dykes, ditches, and inundations. Many of our poor men are still hutted, to guard the banks of the Waal all night, which is the cause of the illness amongst them. I fear we have between 6,000 and 7,000 sick, but this must not be known.

Dec. 12th.—You will hear a thousand stories how ill the Dutch and we agree. Many of them are false; they cannot bear the inconveniences of war, and are not used to it as the Flemish are. I fear our infantry do pillage a little, and are not so regular as they should be, owing to their having been recruited at so many strange places, and it being necessary to get men at any rate; the

very dregs of London were taken, but none of them have behaved so ill as the Dutch. Four of their men met an officer quietly returning home about ten o'clock, and, without the slightest provocation, almost cut him to pieces with their swords; he had not even time to draw his. General Harcourt has made the strictest enquiries; some soldiers are taken up on suspicion, but nothing as yet is discovered. By additional guards and precautions I hope such atrocities will be prevented in future.

As to the English cavalry, they are so beloved, that the people are as glad to have them as they are desirous of being rid of other troops. It is with difficulty they will accept their money, and they say they gain too much by them. When we were in Westphalia the authorities thanked General Harcourt for the discipline he had kept up, and were miserable when he left them. The Comte d'Artois is often with us, and a charming man he is.

Late at night.—I open my letter again to

say that there has been a general attack upon all the numerous posts on the river. The enemy, for the present, is repulsed. The Dutch also have been attacked at Bommel, which is forty miles from hence; the account is not yet come of the event. This is a torment that will never end. A winter campaign is always a sad thing; we must be for ever on the watch; and our poor sick men, how will they bear the fatigue? General Buche is killed; poor old man; a cannon-ball took off his arm and part of his side, and he never spoke afterwards; a Hanoverian major, and about thirty men, are also killed.

Dec. 15th.—All has been quiet since the last attempt four days ago; but we know that immense preparations are making, and we expect, the first foggy night, to hear that they are making an effort upon every weak point. Weak and sick as our army is, I hope we shall be able to resist them, and that every attempt will be repulsed with equal success, till we tire them out. They

do not mind sacrificing lives, and are ready to risk everything else. I am glad I am here; it is a relief to the General's mind to have one he can safely speak to. I can write his private letters, and take some of the idlers off his hands, who like to lounge in the house of the Commander-in-chief.

We like Prince Frederick of Orange very much. I wish he could marry one of our Princesses; his father is rich, and if this business ends well he could establish them comfortably. The Hereditary Princess is so good-natured, that she would not let her superior situation be felt by the younger brother's wife, who, after all, would be most to be envied, for Prince Frederick is charming, and beloved by everybody. As a military character he is expected to make a great figure. Prince Frederick of Hesse, to whom Princess Amelia left her fortune, has lately passed a day with us; he talked of his nephew's hope of a future alliance with England.



Dec. 18th.—I have had an agreeable day; Prince Frederick of Orange has been with us; he is the only man worthy of our Princesses; he even deserves Princess Augusta, all angel as she is. We had also the poor Comte d'Artois, who I am always glad to see, for he is very interesting and very pleasant. He lives very retired, and the society in this house is his only resource; it certainly is a good one, and we have no reason to complain of our situation; but we long to get home, for no good can be done, and much evil may happen.

The French have not renewed their attack, but we know their intentions, and expect them every day. Monsieur d'Arçon, a famous engineer from Paris, is come to construct something to assist them in passing over the Waal. In short, we may resist, but it must be at a great risk, because the line of defence is so long, and guarded by so many different nations, and under so many different people's care. Wherever the passage is forced the ruin

will be equal to all, but the discredit will fall upon us.

Arnheim, Dec. 22nd.—Three mails are due; not one line from England this age, and it is of such importance to General Harcourt to get his letters. No one can wish to be in the responsible situation he is now in, under the attendant circumstances. No one was ever in a more critical position; dependent upon so many events, not only for security, but for absolute existence. You would tremble if you knew half, and probably, bad as it appears to me, even I do not know the whole. The frost is now very severe; all the small rivers and still waters are frozen; and as the French had there all the boats and rafts for passing the Waal, they cannot now move them, nor effect their projected attack, which was to have taken place about four days hence. In that one respect the frost has been in our favour, but, if it continues a little longer, it will be against us in a much greater degree; for if the larger rivers freeze we shall have the French upon

us, in the most easy manner for themselves, and the most formidable one for us. The Waal very seldom freezes; it has not been frozen since the winter the King was ill, 1785, and not for many years before, therefore we had little reason to expect it. But alas! there is now every appearance that it will happen; the ice is beginning to come down from Germany in large islands, and as soon as that attaches itself to any part of the banks, or fixes in any bend of the river, it soon will accumulate, unite, and form a bridge for our enemies. Meantime these flakes, as they are called, have another dreadful effect; they prevent the passage of our magazines, and the army is nearly without provisions, for all navigation on the river is stopped. Add to this, that we had built bridges of boats, and were, with the greatest eagerness, preparing to build more, to facilitate the passage of troops to assist in case of an attack, and to secure a retreat in case of defeat.

The coming down of these islands of ice broke one of these bridges all to pieces, and

obliged us to take up the rest; thus we are without communication with the troops below, and they almost without the means of subsisting, and dying every day of the fatigue and cold they endure by watching the enemy on the banks of the Waal. I really feel ashamed of having a good fire, and a good bed to lie on.

We hear strange reports of negotiations with the French, and all sorts of unaccountable things. If these negotiations are not against us we may be saved that way; if they fail, they will only occasion an immediate and more vigorous attack. In short, without news from England, without a possibility of guessing what will happen here, our fate seems to depend upon so many and such uncertain circumstances, that to think of it is distracting. The weather even may decide it, and we incessantly watch the thermometer. You must not repeat a word, for the tenth part of our difficulties, and of which all I say can hardly give you an idea, ought not to be known, it would only de-



press and discourage. Pray for us; our help cannot come from man; and when things seem at the worst, and are most critical, an unexpected change sometimes happens. God grant that this may be our case.

I often hold this language to General Harcourt, who seems to me to have more ideas occur to assist the situation, in every way, than I could suppose any man capable of forming. Unluckily, many are, and must be, counteracted, because the Dutch are difficult either to lead or drive. I always except one, Prince Frederick, for the more I see of him the more I like him; I think him something like what Lord Carlisle was at his age, only he is fairer and has more sweetness in his countenance; everybody loves and respects him. Adieu. The frost increases; the thermometer from 26° to 30°, though seldom so high but at mid-day.

Dec. 23rd.—Two mails are come; every one flocks here for intelligence. Prince William is ordered to return, and is in ecstasies. Do not be uneasy about my health. I might

not stand another campaign, but I shall be able to go through the remainder of this, and I trust that General Harcourt will not serve another. If it pleases God to give us success now, and that he is safe, I shall be thankful, and rejoice that he has had an opportunity of fulfilling the duties of the profession to which he was bred, in every different rank, and, I may almost say, on every possible occasion. I shall rejoice, too, that I have not impeded him, and that I came here, and have been a witness to scenes the remembrance of which will ever be interesting to me, and enable me to talk over things with the General that he will like to recollect, and that I could not have comprehended if I had not seen them.

As to our return, the General thought it handsomer to the Duke and to the Ministry to say that he meant to resign when an arrangement to replace him could be made, than to stay till near the opening of another campaign, and then declare it. If nothing disastrous happens, I shall be glad we stay

just now, because we guess, by the accounts this last mail has brought, that there may be an end this winter, and the General will find more pleasure in seeing the work completed than in leaving it undone. I give you my thoughts as they occur, but I believe they sometimes change with the thermometer. If a thaw saves us they will remain such as I have just expressed; if the rivers freeze, I shall not be so stout, but shall regret the having stayed here so long. I am glad the Duke of York speaks of us with regard; he has himself been cruelly dealt with; he had every impediment to success when here, and ill-usage from home and at home to encounter. As for General Harcourt, I do believe he stands very high in the opinion of all here, and, I hope, everywhere. General Walmoden and he arrange their joint command in the most satisfactory manner, and have but one interest, both seeking to promote the general good.

Dec. 24th.—A conversation I have just had with the General has sunk my spirits.

Our situation is even worse than I conceived; any and every calamity may be expected. How will Ministers answer for their conduct; they are distracted, absolutely distracted; they reason on false principles, and against probability. In a week the Waal will be sufficiently frozen to bear man and beast; and so uncertain are these streams, that the farther river may freeze first before this, which is called the Lok, or Rhine. All this depends on the winds, and other accidental circumstances. Adieu, pray for us; it freezes harder than ever.

Christmas-day.—A merry one I fear it cannot be to many of the inhabitants of Europe; may the New Year bring with it, if not happiness, at least a suspension of misery, and, above all, peace; and may we deserve the blessing. We are much in the same state as when I wrote last, except that it has frozen harder. The thermometer in my window stood at 8° when put out, and at 13° in the inside of my room, though I have a constant fire. This river, however,



still *moves* though covered with ice. To-day we have had snow, and, too probably, the interstices being filled up by it, the ice will fix to-morrow, and then it will be passable immediately. We hear that the other river is fixed in some places, therefore we are impatient for this to do so likewise, as the army is between the two, and to-day almost all communication with them has been cut off, for the river now is neither ice nor water. We hear the French have ordered many thousand pairs of cramps to be made for their shoes, to enable them to pass the inundation upon the ice, and we must expect their visit if the rivers harden; but it may still thaw, and in Heaven's mercy we must trust.

The cold has been such that, close to the fire, my ink has frozen, so that it was necessary every minute to melt it, and to hold the pen to the fire; the water upon my table, which stands almost in the fire, freezes; and a little that was spilt fastened my handkerchief so that I removed it with difficulty.

My breath freezes on the sheets at night; judge then what the poor soldiers must suffer on the banks of the Waal watching night and day, almost without clothes, in their wretched huts; and the sick in the barns that are our only hospitals. General Harcourt has worked hard to procure them some comforts, and has taken upon himself to order blankets for the sick, and for those in huts; and to provide half-a-pound of meat a-day for every man on duty. These and other liberties which he has taken, were right and necessary, and had the Duke been here he would have done the same. If you see him, tell him how ardently we wish for his return. I hear that the Princess of Wales will be at Utrecht next week, on her way to the Texel, and that the Duchess of Brunswick will go on to the Hague.

December 29th.—We are in a state of great anxiety, and packed up to remove if things turn out ill, the frost having enabled the French to cross; but Heaven may in mercy spare us. It thaws a little, and has

not frozen much these twenty-four hours, therefore all may be well; but we are in a dreadful situation. The necessity of removing the sick, with the snow now falling upon them, and the many woes I see, would make your heart ache; but you would be pleased to see the pains the General takes to procure them all the comfort he can. Think what he has at stake, himself, our existence, the cause, his credit, everything!

Jan 1st.—I hope this year will be a happier one than that which ended yesterday; may it bring the blessing of peace; and, if that first of blessings is restored to us, may we deserve it. This day does not begin propitiously, for it freezes unusually hard, and it is one of those miserable cold days that make it difficult to write; and, though my hands are wrapt up in fur, it gives such pain to my fingers I can hardly bear it. Think of the sufferings of those who watch all night on the banks of the Waal, and of the sick who must be moved in open wag-gons, or left to the mercy of the enemy; the

soldiers who are in huts made of earth, without fires, little straw, and few blankets, with clothing worn out, and many of them without shoes and stockings! Think, in the hospitals, of a man in an ague creeping into the bed of a man with a high fever, to warm him; think but of a hundredth part of the miseries attendant upon a winter campaign, and you will, as I do, wish the whole Cabinet quartered in huts upon the banks of the Waal, witnessing the scenes around, and sharing a little of the distress they have brought upon so large a portion of mankind! Distress which they seem more inclined to prolong than the French; and which, if not speedily ended, will finish the existence of numbers, without a battle.

I enclose a bit of a letter I wrote for the last post, I did not send it for fear of alarming you; the event turned out prosperously. The French were attacked at the moment intended, and beaten back over the ice, leaving their cannon. We had six men killed, and Major Murray, a very good officer.



The consequences of this affair would have been great if a thaw had followed; as it is, it has renewed the spirit of the British, so little used of late to see the French fly before them; and it has made the French know that we shall not always leave the field undisputed. Had the thaw come we should have gained quiet winter quarters for the future; but a still harder frost has succeeded, and, by freezing the river lower down, has opened other passages for the enemy, so that they may penetrate in many points perfectly impracticable in common years.

The situation of Holland is now most critical, and the position of our little sick army not less so. We have no defence from the river, and an enterprising enemy several times our number before us, who may turn our right or left, and drive us into the sea. Behind us are false friends ready to rise in our rear if the enemy advances. We have no magazines, and so many distresses that cannot be described, that you

would wonder how so much evil could befall human creatures. Not the least of our miseries is, that we have no communication with England; four mails are due to us, and three from hence are frozen up in the harbour of Helvoetsluys. All these horrors would end with the frost. If a thaw comes in three days, or even in a week, we may be saved, but what prospect is there of it when the thermometer is at  $18^{\circ}$ , and the moon nine days old!

I cannot tell you how strongly it strikes me that we must have been wrong; that we had no right to interfere with the internal arrangements of other countries; nor to spread the calamity of war upon the Continent. All these extraordinary events happen, not by chance, but by the will of Heaven. That they may produce future and extensive good I doubt not, though we wretched individuals suffer now. Let us hope that the end of our punishment is near, and that Providence may interfere in our favour, for all the art of man is powerless to

save Holland if the frost lasts. My health is better than I could expect, but I am anxious. I see the General grow thin and look nervous! he has seldom a night undisturbed by expresses, and is often called up in two hours after he gets to bed. His situation is honourable, but never, never more, may such honours fall upon him!

Amedée is to set out to-morrow for Bentham, to meet Lord Malmesbury, in consequence of a request from Lord St. Helen's that some person of trust might be sent to give him an account of the state of things here, and inform him, from the General, whether the Princess may safely come by Utrecht. We think she may, and suppose she will pass in a day or two. To tell you the truth, I wish to avoid the bustle this will occasion, and dread falling in her way, for I have not spirits just now for things that seem of so different a kind, and of so little consequence, compared with saving our poor sick soldiers, or placing them in comfort. It seems more congruous just at pre-

sent to send an escort for them, rather than for a Princess about to be married. Prince Ernest is moved from hence with a brigade. To-morrow we are to move more to the right and nearer to Utrecht, to be more in the centre of our position. I shall not be with the General, but I shall keep near the army for safety.

Copy of the letter alluded to in letter dated January 1st.—I cannot help writing at this moment, perhaps one of the most anxious of my life, not for the personal safety of General Harcourt, but for his future comfort, and the salvation of the army, and this country. In the front, far beyond our posts, or the part the Dutch guarded, the river is become passable, and the French have crossed in force; they have turned our right flank, and mean to enter the province of Holland. They must be driven back, and therefore an engagement at break of day to-morrow is resolved upon. I fear our force is very inferior in numbers, but time does not admit of concentration, for our reserves are two



days' march from hence, and are drawn out in a line of fifty miles long, so it is not easy to bring numbers to one point; and as the strength of the enemy would increase in proportion to the delay, an immediate attack is determined upon. All is in agitation; our situation becomes worse, and though this engagement may affect our present salvation, it will be of little strategical use, for the same thing, if the frost continues, may happen again and again, and finally Holland must be lost.

Amerongen, Jan. 4th.—Three mails are come, and we have had the blessing of hearing from England. Everything here wears the appearance of a campaign, only with frost and snow, instead of sun and summer. Judge of the difference that makes in all respects. General Harcourt moved to this village the day before yesterday, he is in a miserable house, and his servants are obliged to sit up in the kitchen; but these are trifles scarce worth naming. The great misfortune is that the sick are obliged to be moved,

with the thermometer at 8° and 12°. Above 2,000 must be sent nearly sixty miles, and doubtless many will die on the way. As I came here to-day I met some of them on the road. Poor souls, they could not arrive at their destination for the night till long after dark, and then, while unloading, have to lie a great while in uncovered waggons. I will not, cannot tell you half the miseries. For many days I have witnessed such scenes; for their first stop is at Arnheim, and the number carried through each day is about 250. Unluckily my servant in coming here was run over by a little chaise, and is a good deal hurt; he is the chief person I have to depend upon. Prince Ernest hearing of my distress, has offered me one of his, which I shall accept, for I only stay here to-night on my way to Utrecht, as there is not room for me at this place. I think General Harcourt will have to move frequently now, so I shall stay at Utrecht, which is about five leagues off, till things are more settled.

It freezes harder than ever; everything,

everywhere, is all ice and snow. The Dutch are negotiating, but that does not stop the French; nor will they stop when all before them is a plain. A week must bring all to a crisis; all will end by a thaw, or by negotiation, or we shall be driven out of Holland; never was there a more anxious moment than the present.

The General is sadly off for want of more people. Major Beckwith was obliged to be left at Arnheim on account of a bad fall from his horse, and Amedée is gone to Osnaburgh to attend the Princess. It really was a compliment to send him with the information Lord Malmesbury wanted; but being his own relation, and his aide-de-camp, he thought him the most proper person he could employ, and that it would be a mark of respect to the Prince of Wales. I shall be wretched if anything serious happens while he is gone, for I always feel that he is so attached to the General that in action he would risk his own life to save him; he has a new aide-de-camp to-day,

Captain Hawkesworth, but he and Captain Taylor, the Duke's secretary, are all he has with him, and he ought to have four or five. His situation is truly awkward, for he is left with the appliances of a Lieutenant-General, and the wants of a Commander-in-Chief.

I suppose I shall see the Princess if she comes to Utrecht; she was to stay at Osnaburgh till Amedée arrived, but would probably leave it to-day, and be at Utrecht on Tuesday or Wednesday. The Duchess of Brunswick is to accompany her, and to return as soon as she has delivered her up to the ladies. I do not hear that the ships are yet come, I fancy General Harcourt will send Captain Stopford with the Princess from Utrecht to the Texel, that he may have Amedée again. The frost is as violent as ever; while it lasts the prospects of the French are too good for them to grant peace, or even a truce, to the Dutch.

January 6th.—I was prevented from going to Utrecht yesterday. To-day General Har-



court will move to another village. The French have passed the Waal again; they came on with such fury yesterday they forced one of our posts, but were repulsed; they are now in force upon our right, and nothing but a thaw can save us. Sir Robert Laurie is slightly wounded in the face with a sabre. Twenty French hussars penetrated through all the ranks to get at the Generals. They were all killed, but their bravery was prodigious. General Harcourt is well, but sadly harassed. If he has one quality above the rest, it is quickness of decision; General Walmoden is the reverse, he is undecided and slow; but he is a very clever man, and good and amiable.

January 9th.—I have but a moment to tell you that General Harcourt is well, though he was all yesterday morning in action, after passing two nights without rest in conferences, &c. This campaign is indeed severe; much more so than any we have had. I write from Utrecht; we had some hope of a thaw, but it freezes harder than ever.

Three times yesterday the French returned with fresh troops; we had none to relieve ours, yet we beat them. Colonel Buller was killed, Colonel Hope dangerously wounded, and three other officers. I do not know where we shall go; all depends upon Heaven's will and the weather. Most probably we shall go off towards Germany, and you may hear of us wintering at Osnaburgh. I know not how I shall ever get home by long sea; people tease me now to go off by Helvoet, but that I will not do. Things may mend; but if a thaw does not come you will see all the Orange family *émigrés* in England. Lord St. Helen's has sent to stop the Princess at Osnaburgh, or at Bentheim. I hope my next letter will be more comfortable. Remember, you must never quote me.

Deventer, Overysel, Jan. 14th.—Such a campaign was never known; such hard service of body and mind. I came off to this place in a hurry, had a sad journey, and am very anxious, knowing nothing of the General.

Jan. 16th.—Mr. Paget will give you an account of our horrid situation; of such distresses as no army ever suffered; and of every misfortune weather can occasion to human creatures; and I pray God that he may be able to tell you that he has stood the horrors of the three last days; I have not heard of him.

Deventer, Jan. 22nd.—I thank God that I am here; I should have died of suspense in England. The mail went yesterday with despatches; a duplicate of them goes to-day by a different means. I have only time to send a few lines to all those I love, to beg of you to make your minds easy as to our personal safety; we are here, on the banks of the frozen Yssel. The French are at Arnheim and its environs, in great force; their chief army is marched into the province of Holland which we were obliged to leave, or our troops would have been sacrificed, and you would have heard of us as prisoners on the road to Paris.

The march of our army, over the most

horrid dreary wastes you ever saw, was shocking beyond conception. No tree, no house was there to shelter our troops, nothing but wild heaths, covered with snow, and the severest frost that ever was known.

I need not tell you that many are lost, by being out on such nights, and of those that are come in, numbers have lost their limbs and features by their being frozen. General Harcourt gave his own chaise to bring off two women who had just been brought to bed. He was near losing his fingers, but they are recovered. He is not ill, but he has a bad cough, looks thin, and cannot sleep from anxiety; but he is satisfied that, under the existing circumstances, no human power could have done more. The fall of Holland is the will of Heaven, and to that we must submit. We shall stay here as long as the French will let us. Our outposts between this place and Arnheim were attacked yesterday. It was a Hanoverian post; they drove the French back, and killed nearly a hundred. Since I wrote last, Major Beckwith



has been with a flag and trumpet about money for our prisoners; he dined with General Vaudame, and it was a curious day.

Deventer, Jan. 28th.—I feel for the anxiety I am sure you suffer; but we are still safe, and Heaven supports General Harcourt through difficulties hard to bear. His coolness and serenity never forsake him, and conscious rectitude consoles him; his mind seems to rise with adversity. He has no assistance, but thinks of everything, and his exertions have saved the army; for thus far it is saved, except the part of it that cold and hardships have destroyed, and that, alas! is not inconsiderable.

I could not tell you all I have seen; a heart of stone would be moved; children frozen on their mothers' breasts; women lying-in in baggage-waggons, frozen while they were in labour; others carrying their new-born infants till they dropped; no possible shelter for miles. No, you cannot conceive such horrors; surely they will have an end; at least, I trust that we shall have

a little rest here before we again encounter fresh dangers and fresh fatigues. Such, however, we must expect to find in the whole province of Over-Yssel, and in that part of Westphalia to which we may be driven.

The thermometer to-night is at 11°, and it is a month since the rivers began to freeze. General Harcourt prophesied the frost would last six weeks, and, long since, would, if he might, have acted accordingly. However, much has been saved by his having this opinion, though twice, upon the appearance of a thaw for a few hours, he was persuaded to stay. Perhaps it is as well that he did so, for it proved incontestably the necessity of a retreat. Even the Dutch scarce wished us to remain any longer; they knew our little army could not save them, and they thought that as they must fall, they might perhaps be able to make better terms without us. Our staying has been the means of expediting many stores and sick that must have been left if we had gone sooner; but this has been done by incredible exertions,

and in spite of every difficulty the ungrateful Dutch could throw in our way.

Ill-nature, malice, and envy cannot attempt to throw any blame on General Harcourt for these calamities. All who know things as they are, must be, and are, convinced that, under the existing circumstances, no human power could have saved Holland. The country has no defence but its waters; and a superior enemy, in such a season as this, will always be irresistible. Had we remained, or tried to go off another way, the army must have laid down their arms, or have been put to the sword. What remains of it after this long campaign, and all the fatigues and hardships they have undergone, will now, I hope, soon be in a place of safety.

Surely the French, having Holland for their object, will not pursue us much further. Here we are by no means out of their reach; and, if the Austrians are not steady on our flank, we shall be in a bad situation. We must, at any rate, maintain our ground

till our sick and stores are moved, and magazines are made elsewhere.

January 29th.—To-day the thermometer is at 9°, and our sick are being moved. We have 1,600 sick in this town, and cannot get sufficient waggons for them, so poor is this country. I never knew what cold was before; and the people here seem to make no provision against it. Their houses are ill-built, few rooms have chimneys, and none have any stoves, as in Germany. The inhabitants make use of a few embers in *chauffepieds*; they say they never knew such a winter as this, and that it is wonderful to have so long a frost. Is it not wonderful that, with my indifferent constitution, I should have been able to go through so much, and never to have been prevented moving when it was necessary? Though my rest is often broken, I can sleep again; this is not the General's case; he has too much to think of, and you must expect to see us ten years older.

I fear England will suffer by the loss of



Holland, from the French getting all the shipping, stores, and sailors belonging to the Dutch. The power of French requisitioning will bring all into use against us, and fifty sail of the line may easily be fitted out. All Europe may be influenced by this event, and no one can say what will be the situation of any kingdom twelve months hence. Sanguine persons say it will unite all the powers more strongly, and make them exert themselves still more. Here is a climax; all have been united; all have exerted themselves against the French, and what has it availed? It has proved that no combination of armies from different countries can make head against the forces of one great nation which is in earnest and acts with spirit.

Voltaire says this ever was, and ever will be so; the Crusades proved it; we proved it in the last war, when so many Powers united against us; and the French prove it now. I shall like to know what is said in England; but you will hear less than others; first, because you live so much at Court;

and next, because General Harcourt has been so much concerned in these late transactions. Remember, that though, from the proportion the British bear to the Hanoverians, and from other circumstances, General Harcourt's share in all that is done is great; an equal degree of responsibility, perhaps apparently more, falls upon General Walmoden.

I think now we shall go to Osnaburgh. The fate of the Orange family cuts me to the heart; you will hear of them before I shall. The Stadtholder and the two Princes nobly determined to stay to the last. A person present told me, that when it was proposed to him to go off, he said, "No, I and my sons are at the head of the country, and if it falls we will fall with it; my wife, my daughter-in-law, and the poor Infanta, shall embark this night in a fishing-boat. I fear the inclement weather for his tender age, but Heaven will preserve his innocence."

The person answered, "Sir, remember

what a pledge you would be in the hands of the French ; remember the guillotine."

"I see it," replied the Stadtholder, "before me, and the fate of the King of France ; and I pray God that, in courage and fortitude, I may follow his example if the same lot awaits me."

That angel, Prince Frederick, in all this trial, has proved as great and good as he was expected to be. General Harcourt says he is a bright jewel, and probably one day will make a great figure in Europe. We have heard from Lord Malmesbury that he is carrying the Princess back to Hanover. I am anxious about Lord St. Helen's ; the flight of the *émigrés* from Holland has been more dreadful than any I have witnessed before. The poor Comte d'Artois is gone to Osnaburgh.

Rhine, Feb. 2nd.—I write, but I know not when you may get my letter. I hear that no water is to be seen from any of the German ports ; and the despatches of General Harcourt, sent ten days ago, with their du-

plicates, are still upon the Continent. Our sufferings since my last letter have been great, perhaps even greater upon this march than on the former one ; much too great for you to conceive, and I see no end of them. The weather is dreadfully severe ; and poor and barren as was the country we have left, we find this still worse ; it is still more devoid of comforts ; there are less means of covering and feeding our poor little army ; and we have the double regret of feeling, that, while we are starving ourselves, we shall make a famine in the wretched places we pass through.

We stayed to the last moment we could keep the Yssel ; we knew we had an army of altogether near 150,000 men against us, and that 60,000, who were in the immediate line opposed to us, were supposed to be preparing to pursue us. General Harcourt did not himself think the danger so very pressing, and it was to him a great object to get off, from the town of the Yssel, all our sick and all our ammunition. This



General Walmoden could not feel so anxious about; his troops, being fewer, were already gone. From the difficulty of procuring wag-gons, a small part of ours only could be moved each day; much therefore did General Harcourt wish to stay a little longer, but he could not overcome General Walmoden's apprehensions. The Austrians, too, were desirous of falling back, and a new line of defence was determined upon. The batteries and forage were all removed, and the two first days' march were taken, when a message arrived from General Walmoden to beg us to return, which was then impossible.

The means were all gone; besides which our poor fatigued soldiers were harassed to death, and we had no means of subsisting them had we gone back. This unsteadiness makes Walmoden, though one of the cleverest men of the world, totally unfit for war. Perhaps more harm may be done by changing a plan every other day than by adhering to a bad one, so much confusion

must be occasioned in an army by every new system.

Like all the Generals of the present time, Walmoden is more of a politician than a soldier. Letters from Vienna, from Berlin, from Brunswick, shake his resolutions; he is always negotiating, and cannot attend to the immediate necessities of the army. Then, of course, he is partial to his own troops, and gives ours the worst country to canton in and to march through. General Harcourt's firm, decided character suits better with military operations. When we marched from Deventer he would not let me go by myself, for we had heard so much, and knew so much, of the ill-disposition of the province of Over-Yssel, that he thought it necessary to keep me with the army. You may imagine that I made no objection; it was pleasanter, as well as safer, than being sent alone to Osnaburgh, which I could not have reached under four days. I therefore made the same marches and halts as our column, and stayed at head-quarters, but such head-

quarters! The poorest villages you ever saw; the worst ale-houses were our habitations. The dirt of them cannot be described; but we had food and shelter, which last was not the case with our poor soldiers. Their wretched wives, who were obliged to walk, and to walk in such weather! Oh! you cannot conceive the scene it was.

Unluckily, the morning we set out it thawed; it had rained all night, which had melted much of the snow, and this made the roads intolerable through which these poor creatures were to wade. Any one might have traced our route on the first day's march by dead horses, broken waggons, and struggling convalescents, who were too weak to keep up with the baggage or their regiments. I took up one man half dead under a hedge; I came up with a woman leading a young man, who could hardly crawl, wrapped up in a blanket, a little child followed her, and she had another in her arms. I asked who she was leading? "It is my son," she said, "he has the fever; my hus-

band is dead of it; he and my son were fellow-soldiers; these others are my children." Another soldier and his wife have died of fever in twenty-eight hours; they have left a little girl of six years old. In the wretched ale-house where we slept the bed was wet from the snow that had penetrated to it.

The next day was worse; it rained all the morning; all our poor people walked till they were soaked with the wet; towards night it began to freeze again, and their clothes were already frozen upon their backs. The officers, when they came in, had long icicles all over them; their hair all stiffened. We had that day a better quarter; General Harcourt did not come in till very late. I fear little now for any officer; the misery of the poor soldiers occupies all my thoughts. Sick waggons overturned, pressed drivers running away with their horses, and leaving the waggons on the road,—these are the horrors which surround us, and which I rejoice you cannot know. It snowed all night, but the



next day we halted, so the road got a little tracked.

On the 30th we marched again, and this was the worst of all; it had frozen very hard, but not sufficiently to enable the inundations caused by the thaw to bear the weight of the carriages. There was still a thick bed of old ice beneath, and I cannot describe the difficulties this produced. General Harcourt, for the first time, went with me himself, and I knew his kind reason was the danger of the roads. We found great impediments from two rivers that had overflowed, and we were nine hours going six leagues. I was obliged to walk half-a-mile over an inundation, with the ice cracking so much all round that we expected it to break in at every moment, as, indeed, it did in many places. One poor woman and child slipped in up to her shoulders just before me; however, it was kept as thin of passengers as possible till I got over. The crowding together, of course, increased the danger.

At last, by the help of three convalescent

grenadiers, we arrived safe at a house; but such a house! and yet they called it a farmhouse; the cattle and people, who hardly seemed in a state of civilization, were all huddled together. I could only compare the appearance to my idea of a wigwam. They had a turf fire in the middle of the floor, and a hole in the roof served instead of a chimney to let the smoke out. Round this fire they sat warming their feet and hands, and eating black stuff they called bread, with now and then a bit of raw bacon or raw sausage to flavour it. Truly glad was I to join the party round this fire, having for my companions two poor Scotchwomen, with their infants, a sick man, a driver, and the inhabitants.

Dirt and cleanliness are now become so nearly the same to me that I really do not mind things that would have made me sick in England; nor have I a fear left, so much will habit reconcile one to everything. The General was then gone to the passage to help to bring on the chaise and baggage.

There the scene was still more dreadful: a channel was cut for a road, but the water was so full of broken ice that nothing could get through but my four strong Flemish mares. One baggage-cart was an hour in the water; many were overturned, and several horses drowned. When we could proceed I took leave of my Scotch-women, after having, with great difficulty, persuaded them that they might yet live to see their own country again. They informed me that the house we had met in was one of the most considerable farms in those parts, and that none were cleaner. What can be expected where the soil is too bad to encourage cultivation, and where there is no commerce. This is, I believe, the case in a great part of Germany.

We were now entering the King's province of Bentheim. The town of that name is as miserable a place as ever you saw; the castle, an old building, and not large, is singularly situated, as it stands on a rock in the midst of sandy heaths. We only

stopped there to refresh our horses. I wished to go into the castle, but would not venture as there was a hospital in it for 800 Hanoverians, some of whom had a very bad fever. The next nine miles were terrible; the river Veight was overflowed, and there was a stream that could not be passed on foot, so, after waiting two hours, I got through in my chaise, almost frozen. Our baggage, and that of many others, was obliged to be left on the other side; and, alas, the waggons of sick and wounded without end. They could have had no chance of passing that night, but, by great exertions, General Harcourt got 100 peasants and as many soldiers to let off the water, sufficiently to make the road passable. The moon helped us, and we arrived here safely three days ago. Probably we shall stay here a week or ten days.

We are at the post-house, it is the best in the village; and, except dirt, we are tolerably comfortable. The turf fires are one cause of the extreme filth, and all head-



quarters must be dirty from the number of persons constantly coming in covered with mud and snow, which there are no housemaids to take away. In my own room, however, I have a stove, which is such a delight I shall be sorry to go from hence. There are no women here, which is also a comfort, for my health and spirits are not equal to any form or constraint.

General Harcourt is sadly vexed at occurrences which he cannot help, and that all his endeavours cannot prevent pillage. So long has the discipline of the army been relaxed, and so difficult do the times make it to restore it. The miseries, too, that the soldiers suffer make them more inclined to seize any relief, and indeed they almost render them desperate. Our great plagues are the *émigré* corps; they are insufferable, and ruin our credit wherever we go. The General is determined to make the most severe examples of those who pillage themselves, or do not prevent others from doing it, whether they be British or foreign, whether officers,

soldiers, or servants; and I hope, at last, he will get the better of this cruel and disgraceful practice.

I will continue to write from time to time, though Heaven knows when my letters will reach you, or when I shall hear from you. Adieu! the snow is very deep, and the frost very hard. The King of Prussia has been trying to prevent our getting food or forage from his country; this is too bad! In general we passed quietly through the Dutch province of Over-Yssel; we saw many groups of armed peasants, but they did not molest us. We shall stay here till the ammunition and sick have all got into their stations, which must detain us a week at least.

Rhine, Feb. 11th.—The thaw, which began the day before yesterday with incessant rain, gives us hopes of once more having the means of communication with dear England, from which of late we have felt completely cut off. A messenger is going, and I write, though I believe some of my letters to you are still lying at Embden. We are

still at this dirtiest of all dirty places, and still very, very anxious about our troops, who are worn-out with fatigue and want of rest, and are still at outposts with an enemy coming on in force after them. How will this end, and when !

General Harcourt wished to have stayed longer on the Yssel, and then to have marched away from all Dutch territories at once ; but General Walmoden controls him in all the most essential points, and being a politician by nature and habit, and connected by negotiation with all the German powers, he cares comparatively but little about the British interests. In himself he is good and amiable ; we like him, and are well with him ; but he is a politician, not a warrior ; a German, not a Briton ; and this we feel to the cost of our poor suffering army. We fear he is mistaken in the means he takes to procure the end he desires ; for, by not departing from the Dutch provinces immediately on leaving the Yssel, we have drawn the French after us, who are pledged to those provinces,

which are ripe for revolution, and which have invited the invaders. Had we left them, a few French commissioners would have done what will now be effected by an armed force ; and, instead of keeping the seat of war from Germany, we have drawn it nearer to it. Perhaps General Walmoden may make a merit of it with the King and the Duke of York, that instead of letting our troops go into another country for rest, he has kept them to guard Hanover and Osnaburgh. This is very possible, but would be very unfair.

The French are a wonderful people ; not all this frost, nor snow, nor barren heaths, can deter them from following us ; and, unless the King of Prussia will send at last 20,000 men, they will soon have all this country. The King is the more likely to do so, because he has just failed in a negotiation which he has for some time been carrying on with the French, and is at this moment outrageous against them, and *promises* great things. To shew you, however,



how little he was to be depended upon whilst he had any hopes that his treaty might succeed, he positively forbade our coming, even the sick, into East Friesland, or that any magazines should be erected, or any forage be drawn from thence; and this prohibition is but just taken off. How strange is our situation; we have heard nothing from England since the 10th of January. The frost has now lasted ten weeks, and it will still be many days before any port will be open for vessels. We know not where the Orange family are, but hope in England; they got off from Scheveling.

Osnaburgh, Feb. 23rd.—At last we have had the consolation of hearing of you and of all our beloved friends in England. You can have no idea of the ecstasy the arrival of the courier caused us all, and what a sensation it made. Fortunately, I have not met with one person who has not had good news of their families, and I know of only one who has lost a friend. All our society have excellent accounts from those they care

about; but we think the excessive misery this army has gone through has not been felt enough in England; and in our sufferings we had some consolation in the idea that you all pitied, and grieved for us; and in some sort, shared our woes, and were not dancing and singing while we were sorrowing. In general I fear we have been little thought of; however, I plainly see that has not been the case at Harcourt House, for I am afraid you and Lord Harcourt have been in the other extreme.

Our personal situation is now perfection; from the dirty village of Rheine we arrived the second day at Osnaburgh, where we are lodged "chez le Grand Prevot" in a very magnificent hotel, beautifully furnished; and our host is the most civil man I ever knew. Of course, there is no woman here, as he is the head of the Church. He is greatly attached to, and has the highest opinion of our King; he says he is his hero for virtue and goodness, and that he values these qualities more and more, as the appreciating

them, alone can restore peace and comfort to Europe.

We had a better march than usual to this place, but since I came I have not been well. I brought on a bad headache by indulging too much in the pleasure which the warmth of this house gave me; it may be heated to any degree by the delightful stoves they have here; so that though the thermometer yesterday was at  $23^{\circ}$  out of the window, I, upon a sofa at the farthest end from the stove of a very large room, with great folding doors opening into a suite of rooms, found that the thermometer near me was at  $60^{\circ}$ . The having no appearance of fire, in a cheerful apartment upstairs, where I do not see the snow, makes me forget that it is winter; and the lounging from room to room, with tables and parties in every corner, is such a luxury, and such a change from the situation I have long been in, that it is difficult to remember that I am relaxing myself to death. From this I have already suffered, for the moment I breathed the out-

ward air I felt the effect of it, and must be more careful; and, delightful as these stoves are, perhaps it is necessary to have been always used to them not to suffer from them. The cleanliness here is another joy, and if I had health and spirits equal to living in society, I should be very comfortable; but both are sadly broken, and the exertion of the two first days was too much for me.

General Harcourt is well; but has so much business to settle, and so much writing, that he cannot go out enough; and, in truth, the temptation to do so is not strong, for the ground is again covered with snow, and the frost is wonderfully hard. Amedée is no longer in our family, he is in the Adjutant-General's office, which is a creditable thing for him, though not more profitable; it will make him work very hard, and his talents will become known, which must be an advantage to him. Major Beckwith, and the Captains Stuart, Hawkesworth, and Taylor, and some others of the staff, are now always with us; besides which, it is neces-



sary to ask so many of the other officers, that we are never less than from fifteen to twenty at table. No wines but Port and Madeira are drunk, but they are six and seven shillings a-bottle; and our house-keeping costs us from £80 to £90 a-week, so that in every way we shall be ruined if we stay much longer here. I do not mean that we need continue to have *constantly* so large a table as we have had.

Upon the march, and in the horrors of the last two months, it was necessary to feed all the department belonging to head-quarters, as we had better means of being provided than others, and it was impossible not to wish to assist all. Now that we are settled, I hope many may be otherwise taken care of. We have been obliged to maintain nearly as large a number, except servants, as the Duke did; and so must every Commander-in-Chief, whether he is in permanent or temporary command, makes no difference. The Duke's pay was £10 a-day, and £12,000 a-year for his table besides. I hope General

Harcourt, for the time he has had the command, will be allowed the £10 a-day, as is usually the case; if this is done he will be satisfied, for it will nearly pay the extra expenses, and we shall not lose much. He does not mean to serve another campaign here, though he would not desert the cause in the great moment of difficulty. We now hope he may obtain leave to return home without any possible blame or objection. He told the Duke his wishes and intentions before he went, and has repeated them since.

It is necessary for the general good that a person should be appointed so high in military rank as to be entitled to take the whole command. Two separate commands, or English commanded by foreigners, can never do well in the end, unless the commander were some great sovereign who put himself at the head of the whole army.

From what I have said, you will see that it is probable we shall return in April or May; and it will be well for you to prepare

the world for our coming. If Heaven had allowed success, such precaution would not be necessary, but as Holland is lost, though nobody was in fault, it is proper to have it understood that it is not from being dismissed or recalled that General Harcourt leaves Germany, but in consequence of a request long since made, and which even yet is not granted. I have the happiness of seeing him liked and loved by the army, and am sure he will be regretted; but we can live but once, and ten years are passed in the last two, so much older are we both in looks, health, and spirits.

Lord Cathcart has acquitted himself particularly well in a very difficult command, that of the right column of our army. It was to pass through the province of Groningen, which we knew to be remarkably hostile; and, being cut off from the rest of our troops by immense morasses, we were under great apprehensions for him and his corps. He managed, however, so well, as to get safely to this post; partly by treating the

people civilly, and partly by making them afraid of him. The Province and the town of Groningen had declared for the French, and mounted the white cockade, before the column passed. All Lord Cathcart's reports are clear and exact, and the General thinks highly of him.

We have been sadly vexed at the negligence of Hunter, the messenger, by going in a chaise when he ought to have rode; stopping to go to bed, he loitered so long upon the road that when he got to the seashore the ships were sailed. This really may be of serious consequence to General Harcourt, for the letters of officers and others will arrive in England, whilst no despatches or army-bag of later date than January will be forthcoming. There was no other messenger to send; this man had come from Embden but the week before, and must have been drunk or mad to act as he has done. How can they employ such people in Government places of such importance; it will be a shame if he is not broken im-



mediately. For the General's sake make Hunter's conduct known. The Elbe is frozen again, but a channel is cut, and vessels may get in. Tell the Duke of York how everybody likes Osnaburgh, and how good the inhabitants are to the troops; we all wish he was here. I long to know how you like the poor Orange family. Prince Ernest and Prince Adolphus are to come here to a ball to-morrow night.

Osnaburgh, March 1st.—I have no good news to tell you; as far as we can judge, the French have no intention of letting our poor troops enjoy the rest they hoped to find here. They attacked our outpost the day before yesterday, on three different points, and though we are still in possession of them, it is at the expense of 100 men killed and wounded. The regiment of La Chartre behaved most nobly, they maintained the post eight hours till they had no communication left, two of their men were killed and fifty wounded. This was an essay the French chose to make. We knew that

they were coming on in greater force the next day, and we must have abandoned all our posts or have been annihilated; but what was very extraordinary, on the march they received an *estafette*, and turned about, and for the present have quitted the posts they had opposite to us. Whether they mean to collect, and attack us more to the right, we cannot tell.

General Harcourt's great anxiety has been for Lord Cathcart, whose situation has been most dangerous, the water having carried away his bridge of communication; and we have been in constant dread of hearing that his little corps was attacked. He is all spirit, and, though in by far the most disagreeable position of any person in the whole allied army, has never grumbled, but done his duty like a soldier, while others complain if they have any exertion to make. I hope the bridge will be rebuilt in a few days, and then, in case of an attack, he will be able to get off.

I cannot think the chance of our staying

here is great; if the French advance, our little army must retire, though not without making an effort first. We have a large body of Prussians coming in our rear, who *pretend* to us that they mean to assist us to keep our post; but we know that the truth is that they are upon the march backwards, in consequence of an arrangement with the French. In short, we know such horrors, and the situation of everything is so truly desperate, that it would take volumes to explain it; and the General foresees such misery, and is so truly wretched, he would give half he is worth in the world to get home, at any rate.

The difficulties increase; God grant him strength of body and of mind to struggle with them; but he is sometimes so distressed that I can hardly stand it; luckily he has perpetual business, he says himself it is of use to him as it takes him from reflection. I am at times so low, and such a wretch, you would hardly know me, but always glad to be here; suspense would

have killed me in England, and it is of use to the General to have a friend he can open his heart to without reserve. This retreat of the French, however, may be a respite; the complete thaw we now have, which has just broken up the rivers, may have made them determine, or they may be ordered, to repose for the present. We must hope the best, and wait as patiently as we can for letters from England; the last were dated the 27th of January.

The delay of that abominable messenger was most unlucky, and may have hurt General Harcourt's interest more than anything else could have done. He missed the vessels by drinking and idling upon the road; and God knows whether he or his letters will ever get home. Do not fail to make his conduct known. His father is an old messenger, a favourite with the Prince of Wales. He was found in bed at eight in the morning, whereas he should have set out in the night. He was told that the General would be displeased, to which he answered



that "he might be displeased if he chose, for he had a good friend at Carlton House who would bring him off." What impertinence.

And now, though with a heavy heart, I will write upon a pleasanter subject, and tell you that two days ago I had a visit from the Duke of Oldenburg. He came in the morning about some business relative to his Duchy; and, as he was to go away the next day, I sent instantly to Madame de Walmoden, who is a great friend of his, to beg that she would contrive that I might see him. He came after dinner, and spent the evening with me; unfortunately, I had a great deal of other company, and whenever I had got into a comfortable conversation some one interrupted it; but I think I said enough to make him understand, with what Madame de Walmoden said to his Grand Maréchal, that he is much considered and esteemed by our Royal Family. He is, indeed, a delightful man; I never heard such general praise of any one; his manner is sensible, open, and charming, and one

may see that he is good-natured; he is tall and upright; his face is long, and has strong lines, and he looks older than he really is, for you would suppose him to be forty-five, and he is only thirty-nine years old.

He talked with extreme affection of his children, and said he felt the danger his country was in, for their sakes, not his own. He praised England; said he was once there; and what he particularly admired was the domestic happiness he observed there; and spoke of his having once enjoyed it himself. I was going to seize this opportunity of leading his thoughts towards what we wish, when four ladies came to be introduced to me. I could have seen them beaten, with pleasure, but I did say a good deal, and seemed so well informed about him that he was surprised, and asked how I came to know so many particulars. I answered, that I had the honour of living a great deal with our Royal Family, and that virtues like his must naturally be the object of their attention, but I was sure they would

be glad to see him, and that I wished he would visit them when there was a peace.

He said he was afraid his friends in England had forgotten him. I replied, I did not want him to see any friends but the Royal Family.

Surely this, with what Madame de Walmoden said to the Grand Maréchal, must suggest to him the idea that an alliance might take place. Perhaps he may return here; if he does he shall dine with us, and then I may be able to sound him farther. He had just said he meant to take his children to England; and, I think, was going to add, to be educated there, when another interruption stopped him. I never had so many people come to be presented to me as that night, which was very tormenting.

I suppose I need not tell you that the Duke of Oldenburg is the identical Prince of Holstein, Bishop of Lubeck, we have so often talked of, and my meeting him and becoming acquainted with him seems like a dream; but who can say, in these strange times, what

will or will not happen. Eagerly as I long to return to England, I dread the voyage for my health, and a little from the possibility of being taken by the French. They may perhaps prevent our attempting to go, for as their object is to cut off our communication with the sea, they may probably soon have Embden. We know they point all their force northwards, and that they are assembling at Groningen. The General is going upon a reconnoitring party to see Lord Cathcart, and visit all our posts; it is right he should go, but he will be absent four or five days.

We have had a complete thaw, and though the ground is again covered with snow, and it freezes, no frost at this advanced season can injure us. In the house the stoves keep us so warm that we are often obliged to have a window open. We have constant intelligence from Lord Malmesbury, and hear that the Princess of Wales has a very brilliant Court at Hanover. General Harcourt means to put public thanks in the orders to-day to



the corps of Royal *émigrés*; they behaved excellently well in the late affair, as is usual with them all. Colonel Monsieur de Chartres was not with them; none of these Colonels ever are with their men when they are upon duty, but upon some pretence at the dépôt, or in the rear. This regiment always conducts itself so admirably, that General Harcourt means to recommend it in England to particular attention.

We sent Johnston, Lady Cecilia's son, with a flag the other day to the French army; he stayed with it two days, and the account he brought back was a very extraordinary one. They owned that nothing but the frost could have given them Holland, and talked much of making a descent upon England. Johnston executed his commission very well.

Osnaburg, March 10th.—The letter I have just received from you, and those that accompanied it, gave me less surprise than concern. From little things I had heard I thought this event not unlikely, if General

Harcourt obtained the leave to return he had so long solicited. If his leave had not been granted, you could have answered for me, that nothing would induce me to quit the Continent. The difficulty attending any lady's coming over at this time to fetch the Princess made me think it not improbable that I, being upon the spot, might be applied to. As to rank, military employments give it in Germany, and the women share it with the men; therefore, as General Harcourt's is of the highest kind, I cannot be looked upon as an improper person, and had I health and spirits I would not call this nomination a misfortune. I should then only feel the flattering distinction, and the pleasure of being, once in my life, able to be of some use to those I truly love and honour; but I really now am unfit for anything, and want myself all the attention I should be expected to pay to another.

I am always wretchedly ill at sea, and how I am to stand such a voyage, at such a season, I know not. In a frigate to ourselves,

which we might easily have had, I could have had every accommodation, and even have waited for wind and weather; however, the die is cast, and I will do my utmost to fulfil the duty that is imposed upon me as I ought, or, at least, as well as I am able; and I pray God to grant me strength to go through it. As to my conduct towards the Princess, my line is very straight and easy; I would not accept of the first situation with the first Empress in the world in the state of health I am in, and am likely to be in. I have no family; no near relations; I therefore can have no speculations, nor views upon this earth, but to live a little longer quietly upon it, if it pleases God that I should do so, in peace and tranquillity, with General Harcourt; and for his sake as well as my own, to keep clear of all *tracasseries* whatever. Therefore, above all things, I should wish to avoid prejudicing the Princess for or against anybody. At her age, her likings and her dislikes will probably be determined by the circumstances of the moment; and

I ardently and earnestly wish, for her own sake, and for the sake of the King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and our sweet angelic Princesses, that her first and great partiality and friendships may be in her own respectable family, for nothing do I know like them in any country.

I hear that the Princess is so amiable and good-tempered that I cannot doubt her pleasing them, and truly do I hope she will make the Prince happy, who, I agree with you, deserves to be so. I believe his heart is naturally good, and his turn so domestic and affectionate, that if he is loved, as I think the Princess must love him, he will make the best husband in the world.

There never was anything so unlucky as General Harcourt's being absent at the moment of my receiving the letters from Lord Malmesbury. I got them two days ago (the 8th). The general was not returned from his excursion to our outposts, and was too far off for me to be able to communicate with him. I was therefore unavoidably obliged



to detain the messenger; for I could take no step without him, nor can I set off before the 12th, nor hope to reach Hanover in less than four or five days. By all accounts the roads are intolerably bad, and above the axle-tree every step; a deep snow fell last night, which is melting to-day, and, of course, must make them worse. To add to all, I have an inflammation in my eyes and face that kept me in bed all day yesterday. I am better this morning, and, as I will make no unnecessary delays, I know I shall be in time; for the mouths of the rivers are still too much frozen for any vessel to come in; and the Ems, six leagues from Embden, is still passable for horses to go upon the ice; probably the Elbe is so too. I know not what I shall do for clothes upon this occasion, I have none with me, and as to money, we are really ruined; the miseries we see make us think it wicked to spend upon ourselves more than mere necessities require, and I have absolutely nothing to wear. I must make some purchases at Hanover

for the voyage; I shall, I have little doubt, be in bed all the time.

Osnaburgh, March 11th.—I sent you a letter yesterday, and since that I have received one that frightens me to death. I hope and believe the King knew nothing of it; if he did, I should be barbarously and cruelly taken in; and, unless I am satisfied, I cannot go, for my health is not in a state to bear further anxiety, or a long separation from the General. Believe me, you would scarce know me. I am weak, debilitated, and emaciated beyond description. I will, at all events, go to Hanover, and at all events go on with them to Stadt, and then embark, or not, as I am able. I certainly will, if I can, for it would grieve me not to pay this mark of duty to those I love and honour; but I feel a coward now; the idea of parting with General Harcourt tomorrow kills me; he is better than before he went his tour; eternal writing had hurt him; riding 200 miles has done him good. I hope that, at any rate, even if the troops stay, he

will be allowed to give up his command ; but the delay would be great, and I may be many weeks in England, if I go, without him ; this I could not bear ; in short, my mind is sadly agitated.

Osnaburgh, March 12th.—One line only, for I am just setting out for Hanover, and my mind is relieved ; a letter of the 3rd had alarmed me, but most fortunately this morning a naval officer is arrived with full powers to settle the whole embarkation with General Harcourt. Had I gone in the state of uncertainty I was in yesterday, I could not have lived. I hear Commodore Payne is off the Elbe ; in it he cannot be, on account of the ice ; it snows, and I am going through the vilest roads imaginable, and must be at least four days going post 120 English miles. I think it just possible they may not have waited for me, and that I shall find them set out, as I know they are very impatient ; but I could not set out sooner. Pray say to the Prince, from me, that I shall do my best to discharge my duty to the Princess.

The arrival of the naval officer has relieved me, so I hope to get through it. I feel better than I have done this age ; the General came with such a joyful face into my room to announce the good news, that it revived me ; how fortunate that it arrived before I was gone. Besides parting with the General, I feel a little low at leaving head-quarters ; we have lived like one family, all harmony ; and the attention shewn to me has been such, that I must ever look upon each individual as a near friend. They all love the General as he deserves to be loved, and that adds to my regard for them. This journey will complete our ruin. You will wonder when I tell you that we shall be thirteen people, and that I am to have fifteen horses with me ; but this is not for state, or parade, but from necessity in these times and these roads.

Hanover, March 17th.—I have an opportunity of sending a letter, and will not lose it, though I have but a moment, and, with these good Princesses, have no chance of



having any time to myself. I arrived here better than I was when I set out, and though it snowed all the way, and was a hard frost, the air and exercise did me good. I am nervous to-day, for playing at cassino in a hot room for three hours, and then supping at the Grand Couvert, with above one hundred persons standing over us, after my journey, and not getting to bed till after twelve, was too much for me, and I could not sleep. I must ask to be excused supping to-night. I have been six hours with the Duchess of Brunswick and the Princess this morning, and am delighted with them. The good and affectionate heart of the Duchess, and her strong likeness to the King, makes me feel partial to her; and the Princess is so very good-natured, and has so great a desire to please, that it is impossible she should not succeed.

I fancy we shall go from hence to Stadt on Tuesday, the 24th, and wait there. The Duke of Brunswick is to meet us at the first post, to take leave of his daughter, and carry

back the Duchess, who is unable to go further, being quite worn out with agitation and anxiety.

We must contrive not to arrive in England in Passion Week, as a public marriage could not at that time take place. The Princess appears to have good health, and her complexion is beautiful; her great desire is to be well with the Royal Family, and particularly to be directed by the Queen in everything, and this the Duchess seems to inculcate, and to depend upon Her Majesty's goodness to form her by precept and example.

I am lodged in the Palace, in Prince Adolphus' apartment; everything here is very magnificent, and kept up with as much state as if Hanover was the actual residence of the Elector, and has quite the air of a Court. The horses and equipages belonging to the King are uncommonly fine; the town is neat and handsome, and the approach to it very striking. I am pleased with Lord Malmesbury; he seems to do his duty like an honest

man, who has the happiness of the Royal Family at heart.

Hanover, March 6th.—To tell you that I have no time to write is tiresome, but it is true. Before I have breakfasted the dear good Duchess comes into my room to talk over those she adores in England, and to cry over the sad idea, but yet pleasing cause, of her separation from her beloved daughter. She has quite captivated me by her affectionate, tender heart, and her excellent principles, and her desire, her anxious desire, that the Princess should be directed only by the King and Queen, and that she should entirely put herself into Her Majesty's hands. Never did I see anybody wish anything so strongly; and, I must say, it seems as strongly the Princess's intention. I am sure the Prince will love her, she is so affectionate, and he is so good-natured, and her desire to please is very engaging. In looks I think her most like a daughter of the Duke of St. Alban's, perhaps a little like Lady Elizabeth Lambert, only fatter, and there

is some resemblance, in miniature, to what Mrs. Fitzherbert was when young. She is all openness of heart, and has not a shadow of pride.

Our day keeps fixed for the 24th, and we shall be four days going to Stadt; the weather has been dreadful, and the ships are driven out to sea, so it was lucky we were not in them. I grieve to say that the Duchess is not well enough to undertake the journey; she cannot even venture to go to the first night's stage, as she intended; her nerves are torn to pieces with the excess of her feelings and affection. I quite delight in her, but, nervous as we are, we are bad companions for each other; she will move gently towards home the day we set out, and she says the seeing the Duke again will support her. He is to meet us that night, and join the Duchess the next day; I dread all the parting scenes, to witness them will half kill me.

As for impressions and *tracasseries*, I am sorry to say that somebody has been wicked



enough to write foolish anonymous letters not only to the Duchess and Princess, but even to the Duke. When they spoke to me upon the subject I could only say, and it was the exact truth, that, having been so long out of England, I knew less of what was passing there than anybody. I said that I knew that, in the forming of all new Courts and establishments, there were so many competitors, that a thousand jealousies must naturally arise; that I supposed those who could not get the good things were angry with those who did; but that I did not understand the stories, and concluded that they were above half, or perhaps entirely, lies. However, these letters are unlucky; they came long ago; they have had none lately.

The Princess seems of a cheerful temper, perfectly void of art or design. I cannot praise Lord Malmesbury's conduct too much; it is excellent, and he is greatly respected here; he has been really to the cause, as well as to the Royal Family, of essential use.

He does his duty by the Princess like an honest man, and I am sure will be the most useful man at Carlton House, if he is admitted there. My prejudices formerly were not in his favour, so that I speak very impartially. I thank God I have a good account of General Harcourt, and I hope his return will be facilitated and advanced by some late movements in the allied army. I think Hanover a delightful place; London and Paris excepted, I have seen none so elegant; the Court is magnificent, and the way of life comfortable. I am sure the Prince will adore his wife, and she is prepared and disposed to adore him, and to do her duty by him. Assure those I love and honour that I will do mine by her.

Stadt, March 27th. — We arrived here perfectly well; the Princess's reception was delightful; indeed, every village we passed through did its utmost to shew its loyalty; I think the more you see of the Princess the more you will like her, as I do. I see our English captains are enchanted with

her; they all came here to pay their respects. We shall go on board the cutter that is to carry us to the ships to-morrow morning; the Princess is now in good spirits again, but we had two painful separations, from the Duchess, at Hanover, and from the Duke, upon the road. My own spirits are much improved by knowing that the General is advancing fast towards the coast, and hoping that he may embark in ten days. Oh what joy to think that we are all upon the point of being re-united!

April the 3rd, 11 o'clock in the forenoon, abreast of Aldborough, about four miles from the dear English shore, on board the "Jupiter."—There never was so fine a passage made, everything has been favourable and propitious, and we are in health and safety within sight of our blessed coast. The weather began to be fine the day we left Hanover; the wind was fair, and though, by being so gentle, it prolonged our voyage, it gave us a sea smooth as glass, so that we have not felt the motion of the ship.

Our accommodations were good, our society agreeable, and the whole has been like a party of pleasure.

The Princess's sweet temper and affability of manners has charmed and delighted every one; and all the officers of the ship declare they should have had more trouble with any London lady than Her Royal Highness has given. She is always contented, and always in good humour; and shews such pleasant, unaffected joy at the idea of her prospect in life, that it does one's heart good to see anybody so happy. I do not yet know where we are to land, and it may be Monday or Tuesday before we get to London. The courier who carries this will bring back our orders. As for myself, the voyage has certainly done me good, for the ship was so steady that I was as well as if I had been on shore, and am now better than I have been this age.

I should be quite content if I could be sure that General Harcourt and our dear army will have such a voyage. I fancy they



will embark on Monday. We came up yesterday with a convoy of our poor sick and wounded. They sailed from Embden four days before us, and their smooth passage has been fortunate for them, I did not think the sea would be in such a state so far from shore.

Good Friday, April 3rd, 12 o'clock.—I open my letter again to say that it now seems determined that we shall without loss of time proceed to the Nore, as the wind is fairer for that place than for Harwich. The Princess is so well here, and so well accommodated that it is certainly wisest to let her remain on board till further orders from His Majesty arrive, and the doing so will save her much inconvenience and trouble. If the wind should increase when we anchor, it will be easy to change the plan. We should have been close to the shore on Wednesday, but so thick a fog arose that we were obliged to anchor in the open sea. I think everybody will be pleased with the little treasure the "Jupiter" brings to

England. I continue to be more and more pleased with Lord Malmesbury.

Saturday night, April 4th.—We are here in the Thames, on board the "Jupiter," and to-morrow we shall go in the yacht to Greenwich, and from thence to London. Have you got my letters? Have you said what I desired to the Queen? Seven messengers have arrived since we have been off land, and not a line from you. One private letter would have been worth fifty despatches to this dear Princess, for then she would have guessed when she is to be married; she hopes not to-morrow. I wish it may be on Tuesday, it will make the Duchess of Brunswick so happy, for all the Brunswick family think nothing good that does not happen on that day of the week.

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Here ended the correspondence. On Sunday, April 5th, the Princess landed at Greenwich, where the King's carriages waited for

her. She was met by the Countess of Jersey, her first Lady of the Bedchamber; and the Hon. Mrs. Aston, her first Bedchamber woman; the former, with Mrs. Harcourt, attended the Princess to London, where she arrived about two o'clock, and went immediately to the apartment prepared for her at St. James's, where, soon after, the Prince of Wales visited her. After passing half-an-hour with her, he went to the King and Queen, and then returned to dine with Her Royal Highness.

In the evening their Majesties, and all the Royal Family, drank tea with her, and she shewed herself at the window to a great concourse of people who were assembled to see her. It was settled that the marriage should not take place till Wednesday the 8th of April. The two intermediate days the Princess dined and passed the evening at the Queen's house. All the Royal Family were there, and the ladies of the Queen's Bedchamber, and a few of the great Officers.

On Wednesday the Princess again dined with their Majesties, and then retired to put on her bridal dress. It was made of white silver tissue, richly trimmed with silver, and ornamented with a profusion of jewels. Upon her head she had a coronet, and she wore a robe of crimson velvet, lined and bordered with ermine. It hung loose from her shoulder, and was carried by Lady Mary Osborne, daughter to the Duke of Leeds; Lady Charlotte Spencer, daughter to the Duke of Marlborough; Lady Caroline Villiers, daughter to the Earl of Jersey; and Lady Charlotte Legge, daughter to the Earl of Dartmouth.

At half-past eight the Queen's ladies, her Lord Chamberlain, and her Master of the Horse, were summoned into Her Majesty's bedchamber, where all the Royal Family were assembled. The Princess, led by the Duke of Clarence, and attended by her bridesmaids, and by the ladies of her household, passed through the room on her way to the Chapel Royal; the Prince's proces-



sion went next; and their Majesties, the other Princes and Princesses, followed. At the altar the king stood next to the Princess, the Queen on the Prince of Wales' right hand, her daughters were ranged near her during the ceremony. The Prince gave his hat, which was ornamented with a magnificent button and loop of diamonds<sup>c</sup> to Lord Harcourt to hold, and when, after the ceremony was over, he would have returned it, His Royal Highness desired him to keep it for his sake.

About ten the procession returned to the Queen's closet, where her velvet robe was taken off by her Mistress of the Robes, the Marchioness Townsend, whose perquisite it was. All the Court was then dismissed, and the Royal Family went to the Queen's house, where they supped together.

<sup>c</sup> These diamonds are now at Nuneham amongst the family jewels.

## PROPHECY

BY

THE BISHOP OF ARLES, A.D. 542 ;

•  
ANECDOTES, &c.

Prophecy by the Bishop of Arles,

AN. DOM. 542.

TRANSLATION from a Prophecy of  
Cyarius, Bishop of Arles, written in  
the year 542, taken from a book intituled  
*Liber Mirabilis*; the original is in the  
National Library of France, Rue Richelieu,  
at Paris :—

“The Administrators of this kingdom (France)  
are so blinded, that they will leave it without de-  
fenders.

“The hand of God will be stretched out on  
them, and the rich and the noble will be despoiled  
of their possessions.

“A schism shall arise in the Church of God,  
there will be two bridegrooms, the one true, the  
other adulterate; the legitimate bridegroom will  
be put to flight, there will be as much shedding  
of blood as in the times of the Gentiles; the uni-  
versal Church, the whole world, will deplore the  
ruin and destruction of the most celebrated city,  
the capital, and mistress of France.



"The altars and temples will be destroyed ;

"The holy virgins will suffer outrages, they will fly from their monasteries :

"The pastors will be driven from their sees :

"The Church will be despoiled of its temporal possessions, but the Black Eagle will appear, with the Lion coming from afar.

"Misfortune to thee, thou opulent city ! thou wilt first rejoice, but the end shall come ;

"Misfortune to thee, city of philosophy ! thou shalt be subjected ;

"A captive king shall be humbled to confusion, but he shall receive the crown of the fleur-de-lys, and shall destroy the children of Brutus."

This prophecy has occasioned much curiosity and interest in Paris, and has been alluded to in the English House of Commons.

## Account of Suwarroff,

FROM AN OFFICER SERVING WITH HIM.

HE dines at eight o'clock in the morning ; sleeps all day ; goes about sometimes in his shirt, sometimes naked ; has buckets of water thrown over him in battle to cool him ; never sees anybody on business. I could fill a volume with all the stories that are circulated about him in the army without the least reserve. His behaviour the first morning I dined with him was not to be withstood. We all laughed *à gorge déployée* from the beginning to the end of the repast, which seemed to afford him great entertainment. With all this, they positively declare that he commands the army, which I could hardly believe if I did not observe how much they are all at bottom afraid of him.

## Account of Suwarrow,

FROM CAPTAIN SWINBOURNE.

HE gets up about three, dines at eight, unless he wishes to pay a particular compliment to Lord William Bentinck, when dinner is put off till nine. He wears no coat, but a thousand stars and ribbons upon his waistcoat sleeves. He is always furnished with a horsewhip, which he lays, without ceremony or distinction, on the back of General or Fifer if they happen to offend him. When his shirt is too dirty, he stops at any pool, takes it off, washes it himself, and puts it on in the sight of the whole army. They think him inspired, and would follow him anywhere; but lest he should give way to his feelings, there are four officers always stationed by him, to drag him off the place when he rushes into

danger. Such is the account given of him by Captain Swinbourne, and it has been confirmed by Dr. Bayeson, physician to the late Empress.



### Anecdote.

WHEN the "Feast of Reason" was to be celebrated at Paris, the Convention proposed to a beautiful young lady, of a good family in Lorraine, to personate the Goddess of Liberty; struck with horror at the idea of profaning the Temple of the true God with such a mockery, she declined the offer, and was instantly sent to the guillotine. The goddess was afterwards represented by M<sup>lle</sup> Soulhier, a tall and awkward dancer, who was formerly upon the English stage; and to her, in the first church in Paris, the homage due to a divinity was impiously paid.

### Anecdote.

AT a moment when the emigrants were in great distress, the Countess D'A. gave, to enliven them, 134 medals; many were exquisitely worked, and of great value; some were seven inches in circumference; they represented all the great events, from the reign of Peter the Great to the present time.

### Epigrame.

Y a t' il rien au monde de pire  
Que Merlin, Chabot, et Bazire ?  
Est il rien de plus Coquin  
Que Bazire, Chabot, et Merlin ?  
Non il n'y a rien de plus sot  
Que Merlin, Bazire, et Chabot.

### Anecdote of Tallien.

THE Duchess of Cam—— dined with Tallien, with forty English, and Mrs. Fox. Tallien took the latter, and carried her up to the table, placing her on his right hand. The Duchess complained afterwards of this to Mr. Merry, who said that he was as much surprised at seeing her there as she was at her reception, but that the Republic piqued themselves on despising titles and distinguishing merit; and that he doubted not but that when Her Royal Highness's merits were better known, she would take the place of Mrs. C. Fox.



### Extraits de plusieurs lettres de France.

“ IL s'en faut bien que les Scélérats qui viennent de commettre le plus grand des forfaits puissent se flatter d'en tirer un grand avantage. Toutes les classes, et même tous les partis, à l'exception des coupables et d'un petit nombre de complices, montrent de l'horreur et de la sensibilité.

“ Il paroît que Dumourier en allant à Paris avoit le projet de faire un parti pour le roi, il avoit même fait jurer a plusieurs députés de ne le point condamner, mais ils l'ont trahi, ou n'ont pas eu le courage de tenir leur promesse, et Dumourier a dit, en passant par Amiens pour rejoindre son armée, qu'il regrettoit ses succès, qui avoient haté la mort du roi dont il a fait beaucoup d'éloges, et dont il porte encore le portrait sur une boîte.

“ Les nouvelles de la Belgique portent aussi que le crime du 21 Janvier y a répandu une douloureuse sensation, que partagent même beaucoup de soldats de la république, et surtout un grand

nombre, d'officiers qui quittent l'armée en foule depuis cette affreuse nouvelle.

“ Les Autrichiens, au contraire, se renforcent et ont eu depuis quelques jours plusieurs avantages. Le régiment des Hussards de Boutieux a quitté presque en entier l'armée Française, pour se joindre à eux.

“ Et tout s'accorde a faire croire que les François ne resteroient pas longtemps dans leurs nouvelles conquêtes, où les vexations et les crimes les font haïr d'un peuple encore religieux, et qui, non content de pleurer la mort héroïque de Louis XVI., a fait publiquement des prières pour ce prince qu'on regarde pour un saint.”

### Rapport de ce qui s'est passé à Varsobie le 25 Febrier 1803.

“LE Roi Louis 18 fut instruit par M<sup>r</sup>. l'Abbé Edgeworth que M<sup>r</sup>. le President de Mayer arrivant de Berlin étoit chargé d'une mission auprès de lui, de la part de S. M. le Roi de Prusse. L'objet de cette mission étoit d'obtenir la renonciation pleine et entière de toute la Maison de Bourbon au Trone de France, ainsi qu'à tous les Domaines qu'elle avoit possédés. Pour prix de ce sacrifice Buonaparte lui assureroit des indemnités, et même une existence brillante.

“Le Samedi matin 26, le Roi reçut M<sup>r</sup>. le Président. Après les assurances du tendre intérêt que S. M. P. prenoit à M<sup>r</sup>. le Comte de Lille, et à sa famille, M<sup>r</sup>. le President exposa le sujet de sa mission, il observa que Buonaparte n'avoit point renversé le Trone de France, qu'il n'avoit eu aucune part aux horreurs de la Révolution, qu'il l'avoit terminée; il s'étendit sur les bien qu'il avoit fait à la France, et même à l'Europe; il dit que la Révolution étoit consolidée; plus de faction au dedans, plus de guerres au dehors; toute réaction impossible, parceque par tout se trouve le besoin

du repos, par tout se rencontrent des intérêts créés par elle, et incompatibles avec le retour à l'ancien ordre de choses; la Religion a consacré le nouveau, les Souverains de l'Europe l'ont reconnu; un système politique, commun à tous les peuples, s'est établi sur cette base, et les Rois les maintiendront par conscience, par devoir, et par intérêt.

“La conséquence fut que la Maison de Bourbon restoit sans appui, et sans moyens d'existence pour l'avenir, car les secours qu'elle reçoit de la Russie peuvent du moins manquer aux enfants, et aux successeurs du Comte de Lille, que dans quelques années Buonaparte ne trouveroit plus d'avantage à mettre un prix à la résignation, qu'il seroit plus sage de profiter du moment actuel ou leur droits n'étoient pas encore present pour transiger honorablement, utilement et sûrement.

“Utilement, car le P<sup>r</sup>. Consul feroit à la famille de Bourbon un sort brillant, sûrement, parceque la Prusse, la Russie, et les autres Puissances garantiroient le Traité, honorablement, puisque cette famille consolideroit le repos de la France et de l'Europe entière par ses sacrifices.”

Sa Majeste le Roi Louis 18 répondit :—

“Je ne confond pas M<sup>r</sup>. Buonaparte avec ceux que l'ont précédé. J'estime sa valeur, ses talents



militaire, je lui sçais gré de plusieurs actes d'Administration, car le bien que l'on fera à mon peuple me sera toujours cher ; mais il se trompe s'il croit m'engager à transiger sur mes droits, loin de là, il les établiroit lui même s'ils pouvoient être litigieux, par la démarche qu'il fait dans ce moment.

“ J'ignore quels sont les desseins de Dieu sur ma race, et sur moi, mais je connois les obligations qu'il m'a imposé par le rang ou il lui a plut de me faire naître. Chrétien, je remplirois ces obligations jusqu'à mon dernier soupir. Fils de S<sup>t</sup>. Louis, je scaurais, à son exemple, me respecter jusques dans les fers, successeur de François I<sup>r</sup>., je veux du moins pouvoir dire comme lui : *Nous avons tout perdu fors l'honneur.*”

Le Lundi 28 le Roi remit à M<sup>r</sup>. le President de Mayer cette réponse civile revêtue de l'adhésion de M<sup>gr</sup>. le Duc d'Angoulême en ces termes : “ Avec la permission du Roi mon oncle j'adhère de cœur et d'âme au contenu de cette note.”

Signé “ LOUIS ANTOINE.”

Et une lettre pour S. M. le Roi de Prusse, dont suit la copie :—

“ M. M. F. et Cousin, j'ai cru devoir mettre par écrit ma réponse aux offres qu'il a plut à V. M. de me transmettre, et je prie M<sup>r</sup>. le President de Mayer de la lui faire parvenir. Mais je ne puis

me refuser à y joindre cette lettre, d'abord pour la remercier des expressions pleines d'amitié pour moi qu'elle a ordonné à M<sup>r</sup>. de Mayer d'employer en s'acquittant de sa mission, ensuite, pour déposer dans le sein de V. M. quelque réflexions que je n'ai pas cru devoir placer dans ma réponse.

“ Non seulement la démarche actuelle de M<sup>r</sup>. Buonaparte établiroit mes droits s'il étoit nécessaire, mais elle dévoile encore ses anxiétés ; et je me félicite de les voir en des mains aussi augustes, je sçais tout le parti que je pourrais tirer de cet aveu, mais j'aime mieux garder le silence, si l'on ne me force pas à le rompre. C'est un égard que je crois devoir au Souverain généreux qui m'accorde un asile dans ses états. La grande âme de V. M. m'est trop connue pour ne pas séparer ses pensées des mesures que ses relations semblent lui dicter.

“ Les Rois pour épargner à leurs sujets les horreurs de la guerre, ont pu céder à des circonstances impérieuses ; le malheur me prête son appui, je suis seul, c'est à moi à maintenir les droits de tous, en ne sanctionnant jamais une révolution qui finiroit par renverser tous les Trones.

“ M<sup>r</sup>. Buonaparte pouvoit marcher à la gloire, il a préféré la route qui conduit à la célébrité ; mais si jamais, écoutant la voix du devoir, et de son véritable intérêt, il n'osoit cependant pas s'en fier

à ma seule parole, ce seroit alors que je verrois avec joye V. M. devenir Mediateur entre nous, et donner sa loyauté pour garant de nos engagements réciproques.

"Je vais transmettre, (ainsi que je l'ai fait à l'égard de mon Neveu,) à mon frère, et aux autres membres de ma famille, l'ouverture qui vient de m'être faite ; V. M. voit la réponse de mon Neveu, je mettrois les autres sous ses yeux aussitôt qu'elles me seront parvenues.

"Le Samedi matin 19 Mars 1803, le Président de Meyer, ayant demandé au Roi de France une audience, est revenu à la charge, non plus sur le fond, mais sur la forme, en exécution des ordres datés du 15 Mars, qu'il venoit de recevoir par estafette de Berlin. Le Roi de Prusse paroît craindre que la phrase qui termine la première *alinea* de la réponse du Roi ne choque Buonaparte, et on auroit voulu que le Roi la changeat. S. M. a répondu au Président, que Buonaparte auroit tort de se choquer de sa réponse, qui est aussi douce que possible, puisqu' enfin, si elle l'avoit appelé rebelle et usurpateur, elle ne lui auroit dit que la vérité.

"Le Président a fait envisager des dangers ; les quels a dit le Roi ? les malveillants exigeront du Roi de Prusse de me renvoyer ? je le plaindrois et je m'en irai. Oh non reprit le Président, mais Buonaparte pourroit exiger de l'Espagne, et de la

Russie, dont le Ministère est versatile d'ôter au Comte de Lille ce qu'elles lui donnent ; le Roi a répondu, je ne crain pas la pauvreté, s'il le falloit je mangerois du pain noir avec mes enfants et mes fidèles serviteurs, mais ne vous y trompez pas je n'en seroit jamais réduit là. J'ai une autre ressource dont je ne crois pas devoir user, tant que j'ai des amis puissants, c'est de faire connoître mon état en France, et de tendre la main, non au Gouvernement usurpateur, cela jamais, mais à mes fidèles sujets ; et, croyez moi, je serois bien —tôt plus riche que je ne le suis."



### The State of France in the Summer, 1800.

THE whole appearance of the city is very much improved since the Revolution, all the streets are cleaner, and many fine houses are built. A magnificent new street has been constructed as an approach from Montmartre into Paris, very wide, and planted on each side the road. All the Royal Palaces are put into perfect order; the Luxembourg is so beautifully cleaned that it looks like a palace of ivory, and there is a design to complete it by adding the other wing. All the public Libraries are in the highest state of preservation, and have received great additions of most valuable books from Rome, and the other conquered countries. A person expressing his surprise at the number of these books, and the accuracy of the accounts of them, was shewn a large bundle of papers, which contained the orders given to the Generals to inquire

for such and such books in the various conquered towns, with the answers of the Generals, shewing how and where they had procured the books, or the reasons why they failed. The library of the Queen of France was preserved as she had left it, not a book having been displaced.

The inhabitants are as much improved in their appearance as the streets; the lower orders of people are better dressed and better mannered; gaiety prevails throughout all ranks; there are more places of public amusement than ever, and there is more eagerness in flocking to them.

Scarcely an appearance of religion is left. The churches that are now opened have not even had the bricks and rubbish removed which were left in them when the altars were destroyed; where an altar is left perfect, a few, very few, people may be seen kneeling about it; but an almost universal Deism, bordering upon Atheism, is professed by all ranks; and when religion is mentioned it is spoken of as a mummary,

too ridiculous to be credited by an enlightened people. For the battle of Marengo a Te Deum was performed in Notre Dame; the priests attended in their habits, and the church was crowded; but it was considered only as a political ceremony.

Great preparations had been made to do honour to Buonaparte on his return after that victory, but he refused the honours, and desired all the preparations might be applied to increase the magnificence of the celebration of the 10th of August; which was accordingly distinguished by very extraordinary splendour. All the monuments of the Arts are preserved, with the most exact attention to science and taste.

In the Gardens of the Sorbonne is the National Museum; in which are all the pieces of statuary and sculpture collected from the different parts of the kingdom, from public buildings, and churches; arranged according to the centuries, from the eighth to the present. In the Louvre is a gallery for pictures, 1,400 French feet, or

a quarter-of-a-mile long; half of it filled with the most capital works of French, Flemish, and Dutch painters, the other half with Italian.

The state of morals is such as might be expected amongst a people who have cast off religion. To give a specimen of it. A lady told an Englishman who had been introduced to her acquaintance, that he had it in his power to be of very essential service to her, in a transaction which would cost him very little trouble. Upon his desiring to know how he could be of use to her, she told him her mother had been obliged to leave France at the beginning of the Revolution; that she wished to bring her home, but, as a preliminary step, it was necessary to have a deposition from three persons in the district where she had lived, that she had never left the place of her abode; and that, as her daughter had now no communication with that part of Paris, and this Englishman had, her request to him was, to procure her such a deposition.



He expressed his surprise at her request. She said that was his English prejudice; the matter was thought nothing of in France; and that the Deputy, before whom the deposition was to be made, knew the circumstances, and had consented to it. Upon the Englishman's still refusing, she asked if he would conduct her to three persons, and leave her to prefer her own petition. To this he consented. The first person to whom she applied, agreed to do it without scruple; the second made some little difficulty, but consented afterwards; the third again made no objection; so that these three persons, living in French credit, solemnly deposed that, of their own knowledge, a person had been living in a particular part of Paris, whom they knew to have been eight years in Brussels, and the Deputy consented to receive their deposition, knowing the falsehood of it.

Madame Buonaparte is well behaved in society, and associates chiefly with persons of the old aristocratic families. The people

in general are looking forward to a restoration of monarchy, saying that France cannot subsist under any other form of Government; but they have an unconquerable dislike to the present King and Monsieur: they have everywhere either pulled down the Trees of Liberty, or suffered them to wither.

The person who gave this account, breakfasted with Abbé Sièyes, at the house of a friend of the Abbé's. In the course of the morning, being taken into the private cabinet of this person, he was surprised to see the finest picture he had ever seen of the late Queen, and, as a companion to it, Mary de Medicis.

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THE  
HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE.

BEFORE commencing this sixth volume, it is incumbent upon the Editor to make an acknowledgement of an error which is to be found on pages 75 and 122 of the second volume, and in the foot-notes to those pages. It is there recorded that the only Latin epitaph which exists in the church at Stanton Harcourt is one to the memory of the Huntingdon family, and that the Latin epitaph to his son, by Lord Chancellor Harcourt, is nowhere to be found.

At the time of writing these foot-notes, it was impossible for the Editor to go to Stanton Harcourt; and his own strong convictions in reference to the existence of the epitaph in question, were reluctantly overruled by the determined and reiterated assertions of a friend on the spot. On the Editor's subsequent visit to Stanton Har-

court, he saw the Chancellor's epitaph exactly where he expected to find it, and he now inserts it here :—

“Plorate,  
Studia quicunque colitis venustiora,  
Afferte huc lacrymas ac suspiria ;  
Hoc enim sub saxo jacet  
Ille eruditæ juventutis Flos,  
Vestri gregis decus,  
Vestræ laudis cultor atque Hortator  
Simon Harcourt.  
Qui  
Cum Ingenio, Literis, amicitijs vigeat,  
Tum etiam domesticis rebus prospere usus est.  
Felix erat Lectissimâ Conjuge  
Elizabethâ, Joh. Evelyn Armigeri Surriensis Filiâ :  
Felix et sobole,  
Sibi nempe superstites reliquit  
Natum unicum Simonem,  
Breves quidem Patris  
Diuturniores (faxit Deus) Avi Delicias.  
Natas tres, Elizabetham, Martham, Mariam,  
Maternæ virtutis imitatrices,  
His et mariti et parentis dulcissimi  
Eo luctuosior Mors obtigit  
Quod peregrino in cœlo,  
Dum Parisios Hospes reviseret,  
Non domi

Non inter suorum planctus atq. amplexus.  
Animam efflavit  
Jul. 1, A.D. 1720, æt. 35.  
Simon vicecomes Harcourt et Baro de Stanton Harcourt,  
Nuper  
Annæ Reginæ Optimæ a secretioribus Consiliis,  
Et Magnæ Britanniæ Cancellarius,  
Tanto ætatis suæ jam provectæ subsidio,  
Tali curarum suarum particeps avulso,  
Mærore acerbissimo pene oppressus  
In memoriam Filij  
Magis Magisque indies desiderati,  
Hoc Monumentum Fecit.”

The Editor has yet another confession to make. On page 236 of the third volume, “a snuff-box with a miniature of Queen Victoria set in diamonds,” is described, on the authority of a friend; the description should have run thus,—“a snuff-box with the monogram of Queen Victoria set in diamonds.”

The present volume, in continuation of the Memoirs of George Simon, Earl Harcourt, and of Elizabeth his wife, is chiefly occupied with correspondence from Queen



Charlotte, from George the Third, and from other persons.

This form of Memoir will probably be extended through some of the succeeding volumes.

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## Memoir of George Simon, Earl Harcourt.

IN Massey's "History of England during the Reign of George the Third<sup>a</sup>," we read, vol. iii. p. 312 :—

"The Queen (Charlotte) had none of those endearing qualities of her sex, which often maintain harmony and happiness in a family. Bred up in the rigid formality of a petty German Court, her manners were cold and punctilious; her understanding was dull, her temper jealous and petulant.

"It is not surprizing, therefore, that the younger members of the family longed for the day when they should be emancipated from the sober state and grim decorum of the palace. The princes rushed into the brilliant world of pleasure and excitement which awaited them, with headlong impetuosity. But the less fortunate princesses were doomed to repine in their dreary captivity, longing for marriage, as the only event which could release them."

The Editor of these Papers carefully guarded himself, in his Preface to the first

<sup>a</sup> Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1860.



volume, against being supposed to assume the office of an historian. He feels sure, however, that those who may happen to peruse the following extracts, selected from a large collection of Queen Charlotte's letters, will find in them abundant internal evidence that those historians who have saddled upon the Queen the responsibility of being the cause of disorders in the conduct of her children, have done so with very slender knowledge of the facts of the case.

The unhappy events which hung as a cloud over the Court of George the Third, were in themselves sufficient to damp the joys of domestic life. What is chiefly exhibited in the correspondence which follows is, I think, an anxious desire on the part of the Queen to do what was right, entire self-sacrifice, devotion to her husband and children, cheerfulness under great trials, and extreme reticence in relation to public affairs.

It may, perhaps, be said that these letters are totally destitute of general interest, as

all State matters and politics were carefully excluded from them.

They are, however, germane to the object which the Editor has in view; and which has been best expressed by Gibbon, when, in answer to D'Alembert's proposal that, after a selection of facts had been made at the end of each century, the rest should be delivered to the flames: he says,—

"Let us preserve them all most carefully, a Montesquieu will detect in the most insignificant, relations which the vulgar overlook."

Various reasons have prevailed in influencing the insertion of the several letters. For instance, the first two letters addressed to Simon, Earl Harcourt, are given, to shew how completely the Queen's style of writing was altered after a short residence in this country. It is the intention of the Editor to let the letters speak for themselves, and to add only such notes and remarks as may appear to be absolutely required.

## The Queen to Lord Harcourt :—

"MY LORD HARCOURT,—I cannot help but return you as soon as possible a great many thanks, for having taken so much trouble in executing your Commissions so well in France<sup>b</sup>. I beg you will, when you return, bring the list of the Expenses to what a compleat Table Service of White China will come to.

"The King of Danmarck does amuse himself with Plays, Operas, Balls, Assemblies, & seeing the Beauty of the Contry of England. This latter part I must Confess I do envy him.

"You will pardon my not being a good Christian there, for, though I hate envy, I think here it is allowable; and as I could not have that happiness before, I only now wish to imitate him.

"On Monday we are to give a Ball to the King of Danmarck, when I flatter myself to see L<sup>rd</sup> and L<sup>dy</sup> Newham, having sent a express this morning. In my Family you will find a change by your return, Miss Meadows having very Imprudently married Collonel Compton; in which place, Miss Vernon, Lady Harriet Vernon's Daughter, is come.

"To the Sons of Duke Harcourt you will say

<sup>b</sup> Lord Harcourt was at this time Ambassador to France from the Court of St. James's.

every polite thing from my Person, as also to Madam de Guerchy.

"CHARLOTTE.

"16th Oct., 1770."

"MY LORD HARCOURT,—You must by this Time have formed a very bad opinion of my Promises, as well as of the performance of Hamilton<sup>c</sup> the Painter. The blame cannot fall upon me, as my Orders were given even before your Departure; but I believe that the great encouragement he has met with, has made him rather neglectfull; however, this delay is fully repaired in the Drawing, as I think it even better than the Original one you saw in the Sumer last.

"You have been very obliging in sending me the different things I wishd for; and I own that your great accuracy made my delay appear the stranger. Madame de Guerchy finds my Compliments here; & I beg you to assure her that I was glad to hear how well she got over the Small Pox.

"I won't detain you any longer, as I am afraid you will be so much taken up with preparing yourself for the Dauphin's Wedding.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Q. H., the 23rd March, 1770."

<sup>c</sup> A miniature of Queen Charlotte, by Hamilton, is now at Nuneham.



Simon, Earl Harcourt, as we have seen in a previous volume, died in the year 1777; and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Simon, with whose memoir we are now occupied. Elizabeth, wife of George Simon, to whom the letters that follow were chiefly addressed, was a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, and was possessed of a large share of her friendship and esteem for a period of something like forty years.

The Queen to Lady Harcourt :—

“MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . . We have lived, if you can call it living, in a constant round of company and amusements, a situation in which reflexion shares but little; & yet I know few moments in which the most serious reflexion is not more called upon than the present. It is true, on the one hand, we see a degree of Sunshine, for nothing is more favorable than the accounts from Italie, which gives hopes that by degrees all the right owners will be placed again in their former situations; & it is pleasing to think that the Almighty blesses the endeavours of this Kingdom to establish Justice again in Europe; & I only wish that, as we have reason to rejoice in our success, so may we increase in

our Trust and love of that Great being, without whose gracious interference we should fall to nothing.

“I always fear Prosperity will make us forget ourselves, & give to our own Power what is due to a far greater one. Our Secret Expedition is gone, & more are to follow; in the Second, the Dukes of York & Cumberland will be included.

“I have no Idle fears, nor ever allow myself any bad Presentiments, but I will aver that the Duke of York's situation is a very serious one; & my sincere wishes attend Him, that He may get through this responsible situation with Honor, and satisfaction to the World. The former I have no reason to doubt, but the latter is a difficult Task, and God grant that His Conduct may prove satisfactory to His Conscience; if so, the slander of the World may hurt & offend Him, but cannot suppress His spirits.

“We are happy in our Weather; for since our arrival we have had no rain, and our three ships are safely arrived. The reports of the ‘St. Fiorenza’ having been lost, made me not write on Monday, for indeed I was unable to do any thing else but to listen to vague reports. At last, by 4 that afternoon, a letter from the Commissioner at Portsmouth restored us again to ease & comfort; & yesterday afternoon we saw Her arrive in the Bay, & the Commander & Crew were joyfully received.

"Lady Charlotte Bruce is arrived with the Captain on board the 'Anson.' She is indeed the very picture of Happiness; & I had great satisfaction to hear lady Neal say that Her Conduct & Civility had gained every body at Plymouth; & in particular, that she had left off Her manner of shewing partiality to particular People. I find she sees and lives with every body Civilly; and, as in Her Husband's situation she must associate with many of inferior Birth, she always appears glad to see them as His Friends.

"We have at present only the Poulets, Damers, 1<sup>dy</sup> Mansfield, & C. Grevill, L<sup>rd</sup> & 1<sup>dy</sup> Charles Somersett, for our Society. The Pitts are expected, but not arrived; that will be a Melancholy meeting, for 1<sup>dy</sup> Pitt is very low indeed. The Sudleys I expect on Sunday, & my little Grand Daughter on Tuesday: L<sup>rd</sup> Powes is here with his Militia, & very pleasant in Society.

"Adieu, my dear Lady Harcourt; say every thing kind to your lord, remember me to lady Elizabeth, & believe me unalterably,

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Weymouth, the 21<sup>st</sup> August, 1779."

"MADAM,—According to our agreement, I must desire you, if not inconvenient, to come to Windsor, in order to celebrate the Prince of Wales's

Birth Day in a quiet way, I leave it entirely to your own choice, Madam, whether you will come on Wednesday to Dinner, or not till Thursday, assuring my dear Lady Harcourt sincerely, that she can never come too soon for me.

"I must likewise mention, that I shall be glad to accomodate Lady Harcourt, & flatter myself that it will be as convenient at least as any lodging she could meet with at an Inn.

"As we are in the Country, our Dress will be Italian Night Gowns, but not the Uniform on the Birth Day.

"I beg my Compliments to lord Harcourt, & desire you will tell Him, that, as I know the value of the Treasure He sends me, I intend not to deprive Him too long of your Amiable Company, & flatter myself that by behaving so very discreetly, I shall the oftener enjoy the pleasure of your Company.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Queen's Lodge, Windsor, August the 9<sup>th</sup>, 1784."

"MADAM,—I am particularly happy in the King's Commands of acquainting you that we propose Storming your Castle at Newneham, on Saturday the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month, if perfectly convenient to you & Lord Harcourt, & though we shall be a large Party, pray don't be alarmed, for we are all good Friends & well wishers to



the Owners of the Castle, but none more Sincerely  
so than my dear lady Harcourt's

"Very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Queen's Lodge, Windsor, Sept. the 15th, 1784.*"

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—May expect us  
about Ten a Clock, but should the Weather not  
be propitious, we shall defer the pleasure of Visit-  
ing you till the Monday following; I flatter my-  
self, however, that on the first mentioned day,  
*Phæbus* will smile upon us.

. . . . I do not doubt but Mrs. Harcourt will  
already have informed my dear lady Harcourt of  
the arrival of *Madame de Genlis*. She brought  
over with Her a new Edition of Her Theatre  
d'Education, with an additional Volume of Sacred  
Dramas, which are extreamly pretty, strictly ad-  
hering to the text of Scripture, with some small  
additions here & there, without which no Drama  
can subsist; as, for instance, in the Drama of *Isaac*,  
where Scripture tells us that Abraham implicitly  
obey'd the Lords Command in offering His Son.  
She has composed a Scene, in which Abraham,  
though submissive to the decree of Providence,  
undergoeth a severe struggle betwixt the love  
of a Father, & the love of His Duty, which  
makes the Piece much more interesting, & could  
not well be a Drama without this Scene; & an-

other between Him & Sara, when she accused  
Him of Murthering Her Son. This shows how  
very judiciously she has gone to work. To come  
back to the Author, She has a pleasing appear-  
ance, neither Handsome nor Ugly, a pretty Figure,  
Her conversation Modest, reflections just, but  
totally void of all *pretensions* whatever, and what  
the French would call (*une Figure interessante*).  
I saw Her for about an hour, not without great  
fear to appear before so great a Critick, being  
very sensible of my own deficiencies in every  
thing; but must own that I should not have  
been sorry, after a quarter of an Hour's Con-  
versation, to see more of Her; She has, like  
every body else, two Characters. I neither *do*  
*accuse nor excuse Her*, but I own myself a great  
admirer of Her Works. She is to go as to  
Day to Oxford, to see Blenheim, & what else  
she has time to see, I wish she could go to  
Newnham, & to know your opinion of Her.

"I beg my Compliments to Lord Harcourt  
& lady Vernon, who I was extreamly sorry  
to have missed again at Mrs. Harcourt's. How  
pleasant it is to enjoy the Country air when  
the rest of the World are doing penitence in  
a warm House of Lords. I long to see an end  
to that buisness, as the King will not be able  
to *fulfill His promise* about the visit to Newnham  
till that is over.

"I am, my dear lady Harcourt, present or absent,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 19th July, 1785."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I have this instant received the King's Orders to acquaint both you & Lord Harcourt with His intention of visiting Newnham next Munday, if not inconvenient. I am also to add that in case General & Mrs. Harcourt are still with you, the King hopes to see them there. Oh, how happy shall I be to see the Possessors of Newnham again, & therefore, Madam, you will not doubt my Sincerity when I say, that the King never could choose any body who more gladly did convey His intentions, than,

"My dear lady Harcourt,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Queen's Lodge, Windsor, 10th of Sept. 1785."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT, — My first employment to day is, as it ought to be, that of returning thanks both to you & Lord Harcourt, for the Numberless Civilities we received during Our Stay at Newnham.

"Were I to say all I think upon that Subject,

my Sincerity perhaps might be suspected, & therefore I will in a very few words only tell you, *that you did contrive to make us all feel happy*, which is a thing but seldom obtained.

"I shall, however, feel an additional pleasure when I hear that neither yourself nor Mrs. Harcourt are the worse for the Fatigue you experienced on our account.

"I am, my dear lady Harcourt, with great Sincerity,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Q. L. W., the 14th Sept. 1785."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT, — . . . . The King orders me to say that He hopes you, dear lady Harcourt, will not Quarrel with Him for giving you a Neighbour at Christ Church, by having appointed your Brother, Mr. Vernon<sup>d</sup>, a Canon of that Place.

"I congratulate, & rejoice with you on this event, & am with unalterable affection,

"My dear lady Harcourt's

"Very Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Queen's Lodge, Windsor, the 18th Sept. 1785."

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Vernon was then twenty-nine years of age, he became afterwards Archbishop of York.



Letter from George III. to George Simon, Earl Harcourt :—

*"Windsor, Aug. 6th, 1786.*

"LORD HARCOURT, — It would be want of justice to my feelings if, in writing to you, did I not first express my sensibility at the affectionate manner with which you received the account of my Providential escape on Wednesday. This has been very exactly stated to me by Mr<sup>s</sup>. Harcourt, and your intention of being next Wednesday at St. James'. I desire both you and Lady Harcourt will not think of coming, as the Queen & I propose, if not inconvenient to you, coming on Saturday to Newnham, agreeable to obliging hint before you left Town of wishing we could come this Summer.

"We mean to bring the three eldest Princesses with us, and stay a couple of days with you. When I have received your answer, I will then let Major General Harcourt into my secret, and desire him to go and communicate to you what we wish to see, that you may the better arrange it.

"This trouble your very hospitable conduct the last year has drawn upon you, from those who very sincerely regard both you and your excellent Countess.

"GEORGE R."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt :—

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—It is His Majesty, not me, who is to give notice to Lord Harcourt of the arrival of the Bande Joyeuse, & more joyeuse than ever after what has happened. God be praised for preserving the Life of the best of Princes & of Men, & I will only add, may He live for ever, Amen. A Thousand thanks for your attention upon this Occasion, I do assure you it is not lost upon us, nor will it be forgotten.

"I now come to a point upon which I beg you to answer Sincerely. The D. of Ancaster & Her Daughter are with us, & should it so happen that, as Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave not being here, the Dutchess should go with us, may lady Charlotte come? this is only amongst Ourselves, & I beg you will not take notice of it to them, as perhaps it may still be some other lady, for the Dutchess is not quite well. I also beg to know if my bringing Miss Planta & the Princesses Maid Servant will not be inconvenient; should it be indiscreet, Pray, my dear Madam, say Sincerely yes or no, & you will really oblige me.

"I take this opportunity of inclosing a Specimen of my Summer's Work; may I flatter myself that you can find a place for it in your

Packets, & that in examining it closely, you will discover every knot to be the Tie of Friendship of your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"the 6th of August, 1786."

The following note, in Lady Harcourt's handwriting, is attached to a copy of the Form of Thanksgiving which was issued upon the occasion of the King's preservation from the murderous knife of Mary Nicholson :—

"This was the form of Prayer<sup>e</sup> the King made

\* "A Form of Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Providential Preservation of His Majesty's Sacred Person, in the late Attempt upon it, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Day of August, 1786.

"To be used at Morning and Evening Service, After the General Thanksgiving,

"Throughout the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and elsewhere within the Bills of Mortality, on *Sunday* the Thirteenth Day of *August*, 1786; and in all Churches and Chapels throughout *England* and *Wales*, on the *Sunday* after the Ministers thereof receive the same.—*London*: Printed by C. Eyre and the Executors of W. Strahan, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty, 1786.

*A Form of Thanksgiving to Almighty God.*

"O Lord God of our Salvation, in whose Hands are the Issues of Life, and by whose Almighty Power all the Kingdoms of the Earth are governed, We humbly prostrate ourselves before Thee with all Thankfulness for the Providential Deliverance of Thy Servant, our

use of, when he returned thanks in the Parish Church at Nuneham, in Oxfordshire, on Sunday, August the 13th, 1786, for his escape from Mary Nicholson.

"The King, Queen, and three eldest Princesses, came to Nuneham on the 12<sup>th</sup> and staid till the 15<sup>th</sup> of August."

During this visit to Nuneham, the King and Queen drove over to see Blenheim. The two following letters from the Duke of Marlborough relate to this event.

The Duke of Marlborough to Lord Harcourt :—

Sovereign, from the great Danger to which his Life was lately exposed. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, O God, Thou Preserver of Men, for this Signal Instance of thy Goodness to these Nations. We laud and magnify thy glorious Name that, notwithstanding our manifold Sins and Transgressions, Thou hast not forgotten to be gracious to thy Servants.

"Continue, we beseech thee, the Favour of thy Countenance to thine Anointed, and to us his People. Let thy Almighty Hand ever be over him; let not the Arm of Violence approach to hurt him. Bless him in his Person, and in his Royal Family. Sanctify the Means and Instruments of all his righteous Purposes; direct his Counsels, and prosper his Undertakings, to the Establishment and Promotion of thy true Religion, and to the Comfort of thy faithful People. Finally, let the Manifestations of thy Mercy and Loving-kindness ever create and maintain in us sorrow for our Sins, Reformation of our Lives, and Trust in thy salvation, through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*"



*"Blenheim, August 10th, 1786.*

"MY LORD,—I am much obliged to your Lordship for the information contained in your letter.

"The Dss. of Marlborough has at present a little feverish complaint, in consequence of the fatigue she underwent at the Races, where she was obliged to sit up three nights successively. She is very anxious to be well enough to receive the honour intended her on Monday next. But as your Lordship mentions their Majesties intention of passing some days at Nuneham, it is possible that Tuesday morning may be as convenient as Monday, & a day gained would make a difference in the Dss. of M. indisposition, as it proceeds entirely from over-fatigue.

"Your Lordship will excuse my mentioning this circumstance; but I thought it possible that you & L<sup>dy</sup> Harcourt might have the arrangement of the plan, & I have sent a servant with this to know whether you think it practicable or not. If Monday must be the day, I much doubt whether the Dss. of M. will be well enough to appear.

"I have the honour to be your

"Lordship's most obed<sup>t</sup>, Hum<sup>ble</sup> Servant,

"MARLBOROUGH."

The Duke of Marlborough to Lord Harcourt :—

*"Blenheim, August 11th, 1786.*

"MY LORD,—As I wrote to your Lordship in a great hurry yesterday, I can't help troubling you with a line just to say, that I only proposed Tuesday instead of Monday, under an Idea, that it might be equally convenient, & that the Dss. of M. would be more certain of being well enough to appear. But should Tuesday be found inconvenient, I shall at all Events hope for the honour of the intended Visit on Monday, and I will trouble your Lordship with another line on Sunday to know the hour their Majesties would wish to have Breakfast.

"I hope you will excuse my giving you this farther trouble, & not think of answering this letter.

"I am, with great Truth,

"Your Lordsp<sup>s</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup>, Hum<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"MARLBOROUGH.

*"August 12th.*

"I meant to have sent this letter to your Lord<sup>p</sup> yesterday, But I thought, upon second thoughts, that it would be best to send it to day, that I might not be obliged to trouble you again on Sunday."

Lord Howard to Lord Harcourt :—

"MY LORD,—Having had it whisper'd to us by a Friend that we may soon expect their Majes-

ties gracious Intentions toward Audley End made known to us, induces Lady Howard and myself to avail ourselves of the Indulgence your Lordship did us the honour to permit in the beginning of the Summer, in case such an Event should take place; which I hope you will, my Lord, be kind enough to admit as a plea for the Liberty I am taking, & for the Trouble I am going to give you for a few friendly Instructions; & may I trespass still farther upon your Lordship's Goodness to intercede with Lady Harcourt to excuse Lady Howard's taking the Liberty of applying to her Ladyship for some few informations. Such Questions, or rather Instructions, that I shall presume to ask of your Lordship, I have taken the Liberty, in hope of giving your Lordship less Trouble, to note down on a separate enclos'd paper<sup>f</sup>.

"Whatever other Etiquette or attention that seems to be necessary, I shall think myself much honor'd by your Lordship's further Instructions for.

"I beg leave to offer my best Respects to Lady Harcourt, & to be believ'd with the highest Regard,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient  
& most humble Servant,

"HOWARD.

"*New Burlington Street, August 29, 1786.*

<sup>f</sup> This consisted of six sheets of questions.

"P.S. Lady Howard is just recovering from a dangerous illness, with a Tendency to Inflammation in her Bowels, which will keep us in Town till next Saturday."

Lord Howard to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY LORD,—Lady Howard & myself are too sensible of your Lordship's Goodness, in the honor you have done us by your kind Instructions, that you will, we trust, excuse our troubling you with our grateful acknowledgments. You will however, my Lord, permit me to ask you one Question or Two more,—Whether your Lordship's Chaplain appeared to say Grace, & if before & after Dinner.

"We have at Audley End a regular Service every morning, which being well known to the King, his Majesty may possibly order to be used on Sunday morning before they set out for Cambridge. We have a Gallery handsome enough & big enough. It is about four Steps above the general Floor, which is divided with what is call'd the Nave, & the two Aisles. Within the latter all our Family usually sit with their Backs to the Wall, & reading Desks in their Front to kneel to, the Women on one Side, the Men on the other, The Upper Servants nearest ourselves. We have also over head a Gallery.

"We should be happy to have your Lordship's



opinion whether we should, before their Majesties, introduce the Livery Servants & lower class of Maids, into the Chapple. We shall, to be sure, be comparatively thin without them; in the whole, we generally muster about Thirty on Sundays.

"Indeed, my Lord, I feel myself at this moment growing again very troublesome, but I should be glad to know if I shall have anything to do at Cambridge, by way of presenting Persons with or without addresses. I will now relieve your Lordship, adding only our joint Respects to yourself & to Lady Harcourt, if return'd to Nuneham.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest Regards,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient

& most obliged, humble Servant,

"HOWARD.

"*London, Sept. 2, 1786.*"

On the occasion of the King's driving over to Oxford from Nuneham, the Royal bounty and clemency was exercised in respect to the prisoners confined in Oxford jail. The transaction is fully explained in the following letters.

Letter from George III. to Lord Harcourt:—

"*Windsor, Sept. 9th, 1786.*

"I AM much obliged to Lord Harcourt for the intelligence he has sent me concerning the Debtors & convicts in Oxford gaol; but could have wished that Mr. Willoughby's modesty would have permitted him to propose such sum as he thought necessary for compounding the Debts. Having no ground to fix what may be required, I have looked back to see what had been necessary at Salisbury and at Maidstone, and find each amounted to near £300. I have, therefore, enclosed that sum; if not enough, I trust Lord Harcourt will have the kindness to acquaint me what sum may be necessary, and it shall be instantly transmitted to him.

"I approved much of Mr. Willoughby's plan of employing the Convicts in the Gaol, & shall be very ready of shortening the duration of the confinement of those that worthy magistrate may think deserving of such favour. I therefore Authorize Lord Harcourt to inform him of my wishing he will examine who of them deserve that indulgence.

"I thought I could not have this delivered in so pleasing a manner to Lord Harcourt as by his

truly deserving Lady, who is so obliging as to be the bearer of it.

"GEORGE R."

Mr. John Cooke to Earl Harcourt :—

"MY LORD,—I am requested to convey to you the enclosed papers, containing the thanks of a (once unhappy) set of people, who now hope to avail themselves of that great instance of Royal Bounty and Mercy which your Lordship had the goodness to communicate to them yesterday. The distinguished part, my Lord, you have taken in the forwarding his Majesty's most gracious intentions towards these miserable objects, speaks (I doubt not) in reflexion, as much comfort to your own Breast, as it does in actual Service to *them*. And when I consider how greatly the Magistrates' hands are strengthened by so signal an extension of Royal Mercy to the Convicts on *their* representation, I should be wanting to my own feelings, as well as to the Interests of the Commission under which I act, if I omitted this opportunity of expressing the obligations we all owe to him thro' whom alone that representation could with equal propriety have been made.

"May I beg, my Lord, my most respectful

Compt's to Lady Harcourt, and that you will ever believe me to be,

"Your Lordship's Most obliged & faithful Servant,

"JOHN COOKE.

"*Oxford, Corpus Christi College,  
Sunday, Sept. 17th, 1786.*"

Mr. Christopher Willoughby, Chairman of Quarter Sessions, County of Oxford, to Earl Harcourt :—

"*Baldon House, 7th October, 1786.*

"MY LORD,—As Chairman of the last Quarter Sessions for the County of Oxford, I have the honor of sending to your Lordship an order<sup>s</sup> then

<sup>s</sup> "Oxfordshire, 1786. At the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King holden at Oxford, in and for the County of Oxford, on Tuesday, in the first week next after the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, in the twenty-sixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, King of Great Britain and so forth, before Christopher Willoughby, Esquire, John Fane, William Lowndes, William Vanderslogen, Esquires; Joseph Chapman, John Cooke, William Harrison, and Thomas Nowell, Doctors in Divinity; Edmund Goodenough, and Henry Gabell, Clerks; and others their fellows, Justices of our said Sovereign Lord the King, assigned to keep the Peace of our said Lord the King within the County aforesaid; and also to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses, and other misdemeanours within the said County done and committed.

"Ordered that the Right honourable the Earl of Harcourt be requested to make known to the King the most humble and grateful acknowledgements of the Magistrates of the County of Oxford,



made, expressing the grateful acknowledgements of the Magistrates of the County for his Majesty's most gracious attention to the respective Prisoners confined in the Gaol of their County; which order I am to request your Lordship to transmit to the King, in any manner & at any time your Lordship shall think most proper.

"I have likewise the pleasure to enclose an order<sup>h</sup> of the same Sessions, requesting me to return the thanks of the Magistrates of the County to your Lordship, for the very polite manner in

for his Majesty's most generous and benevolent donation for the relief of the Debtors confined in the Gaol of their County. And more especially for the very gracious manner in which the King has by the Earl of Harcourt expressed his Royal approbation of the Plan introduced by the Magistrates of the County, of punishing Offenders by Hard labor within the Castle Gaol. And likewise for his Majesty's most gracious attention to the application of the Magistrates reporting the ready submission and decent behaviour of the several Convicts and Prisoners now confined within the Castle Gaol to hard labour, by remitting to each Prisoner who was thought worthy of such indulgence a part of his imprisonment remaining to be undergone and performed. And at the same time to assure his Majesty that his faithful Magistrates of the County of Oxford will at all times be happy and studious to use their utmost exertions to carry the Laws of their Country into execution, and more especially to preserve the peace and good order of their own County."

<sup>h</sup> "Ordered that the Chairman be desired to signify the above order of Sessions to the Right honourable the Earl of Harcourt; and at the same time to return the thanks of the Magistrates of the County to his Lordship, for his very humane and kind attention to the unfortunate Debtors. And also for the very polite and friendly manner in which his Lordship has been pleased to signify his

which your Lordship was so kind as to make known to them his Majesty's sentiments. And I am very happy to comply with this request, as it gives me an opportunity of expressing their unanimous sentiments of gratitude to your Lordship, for your very great humanity to the Prisoners, & for your Lordship's kind and friendly assistance in promoting a plan introduced by them, which they hope will be of public utility.

"I feel myself particularly obliged to your Lordship for the very great friendship shewn to me on this & every occasion; and I am very glad of the opportunity of expressing the respect and esteem with which I am,

"My Lord,

"Your much obliged & most faithful h<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,  
"CHRIS<sup>r</sup>. WILLOUGHBY."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I have been about this fortnight writing to you, & every Time was interrupted by something or other to prevent me. I do therefore Seize this Morning, as every body is gone to Church, to desire my

Majesty's most gracious approbation of the mode of punishment introduced by the Magistrates of the County by hard labor within the Castle Gaol.

"TAUNTON,

"Clerk of the Peace of the said County."

dear lady Harcourt of returning thanks to Lord Harcourt for the Drawing He has been so obliging to send me with so much expedition. It is so pretty, & of so much Taste, that I can hardly see nor admire it enough, & shall think myself very happy if I can but one day or other arrive to do a quarter as well, at least will I try to copy it in my Humble way, which still continues to Amuse me, though the King says it is the shabbiest way of Drawing in the World; & as hope always does keep up our Spirits, I flatter myself in Time to arrive to some perfection.

"I have of late seen several ladies just returned from Paris, some very much improved in looks, & others far otherwise. M<sup>rs</sup>. Eden by wearing an Enormous Quantity of Rouge looks much more pleasing, & M<sup>rs</sup>. Goldburn, by Hiding Her Fine Complexion, on the Contrary loses by that Ornament; the latter is quite Formidable by Three immense Feathers, which so directly run into my Eyes when she was presented, I was under the necessity of drawing myself back in order to avoid Mischief, & I rejoiced a little in lady Claremont's distress who presented Her. . . .

"The Thames is at present quite in its glory, Fields & Gardens are all under its Dominion, & should the Isis be less Powerful? No, Heaven forbid! for to its Powers alone I shall be indebted

for the Pleasure of assuring you a Viva Voce how Sincerely I am,

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, 17th Dec., 1786."

Letter from George III. to Lord Harcourt :—

"Windsor, July 7th, 1788.

"IT is out of my power, after the attention and cordiality I have met with when I visited the possessors of Nuneham, to pass by the gate of that beautiful place without calling to see them. This is therefore a friendly notice to Lord Harcourt, that on Saturday, the Queen and my three eldest daughters will, with me, thank him for some breakfast a little after ten, as by twelve we must continue our journey to Cheltenham.

"This will enable me to pay due *Respect* to the *Venerable Tapestry*, and just cast an eye on the more beautiful Flower Garden.

"I hope everything that is proper will be said in my name to the Excellent Countess, and that this season may be the time of Lady Vernon and her Daughter's visit at Nuneham.

"GEORGE R."



Letter from George III. to Lord Harcourt:—

*"Cheltenham, July 14th, 1788.*

"IT may not be improper, as time is necessary to prepare a Wardrobe for any Water-drinking Place, that Lord Harcourt should be apprized that on coming on Saturday to Cheltenham no one appeared with a cocked hat but the *modest* Lieut.-General Borough. This has obliged round hats alone to be worn and the Plain coat, the other is kept for more public occurrences; on communicating this hint, the writer is desired to add that Lady Harcourt is desired, when she comes, to bring Linnen gowns for the morning, as silk ones are instantly destroyed. This night is the Ball given by the Master of Ceremonies to the company. He thinks it will be very brilliant, and Lord Oxford is arrived, and he means to beg his Lordship to open the Ball; but if he cannot succeed, there is no doubt that Lieut.-General Borough, who dances every night, will make that conspicuous figure, to which the fame of having long been an admirer of the divine Cecilia<sup>1</sup> gives him a just claim.

The prospects on the hills are beautiful beyond description, but from the trial of this morning unattainable by a carriage, and too difficult

<sup>1</sup> Lady Cecilia Johnston, daughter of Lord Delawarr.

of access for walkers; riding is the only mode possible of getting to the summits of them; it is hoped therefore Lord Harcourt will not fail to bring his little poney, or rather borrow one of the offered Spaniards, who, as they bend their kness very much, will be perfectly safe; but should neither be agreeable, there are mules employed in this Country to carry coals, one of which shall be secured, that Lord Harcourt may not miss the satisfaction of riding up Cleve Cloud Hill.

Letter from George III. to Lord Harcourt:—

*"Cheltenham, July 26th, 1788.*

"IT will not be thought improper by the Earl Harcourt that H.S. should fulfil his offer to his Lordship in equipping him for the beautiful rides at this place. He therefore, after congratulating his Lordship on His safe arrival at Cheltenham, makes bold to present him with the packet that accompanies this."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— Pray be so kind as to procure me from lady Salisbury a kind of Aigrette which is to hold the Sultana. My Daughters are going wild about it: lady Weymouth comes to Morrow, therefore it will be safe

in Her Hands, & I promise to be very carefull of it.

"Adieu, excuse great haste, for Dinner is upon the Table. I intend to Eat Chicken in order to appear more beautifull when I see you next; but in case it does not succeed, believe me Equally handsome as Chicken can make me, or Ogly as I am.

"Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 5th April, 1789."

"Weymouth, the 20th, 7th, 1791.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I take the earliest opportunity of thanking you & My lord for your very unbounded goodness and attention to my youngest Daughters; they are perfectly drunk with the pleasure they have felt, & are still feeling, of being with you, & will, like me, retain an everlasting remembrance of your kindness.

".... Our Company is increased within this week by 1<sup>rd</sup> & 1<sup>dy</sup> Chesterfield; they are very welcome: for wherever He is, He makes time pass agreeable; & I have also the satisfaction of seeing 1<sup>dy</sup> Chesterfield much better.

".... What does pass in your part of the World about L<sup>rd</sup> Blendford's Marriage; is it supposed that His income will be increased or not, or are the mighty to be inexorable; I think it lucky,

after all that has happened, that His choice has been a Woman of Fashion.

".... The Newspapers of the 19th mention General Parker's death; should it be true, I should be happy to hear that at least, if not all, some part of His Fortune is gone to his Brother's Children; but I fear my hopes will be disappointed, as I remember hearing, at the time He married 1<sup>dy</sup> Cotterell, that He had settled all His Fortune upon Her. As the Family live in your neighbourhood, you may perhaps be able to know something about it....

"Your very affectionate friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

Left by Queen Charlotte on Earl Harcourt's table at Windsor, with a pair of old-fashioned gold-fringed gloves, 1791:—

"Go, happy Gloves, bedeck Earl Harcourt's hand,  
And let him know they come from Fairy-land,  
Where antient Customs still support their Reign,—  
To Modernize them all attempts were vain.  
'Go,' cries Queen Mab, 'some Noble owner seek,  
Who has a proper taste for the Antique.'

"C."



## The Queen to Lord Harcourt :—

*“Weymouth, 4th Sept., 1791.*

“MY LORD,—I am sure that yourself & lady Harcourt will be glad to hear of our arrival at Weymouth in 13 hours & an half; & we should have done it exactly in twelve had we not been detained by the Wheels of the Princesses Coach taking Fire about 8 miles from Salisbury. This accident, though not uncommon, might have been prevented by the Wheels being made upon the same principle as those of the King's Carriage. I have therefore desired Colonel Gwynn to write to Hatched, & inquire if such Wheels could not now be made immediately, and forwarded to Weymouth before our departure; as a delay at that time of the year, when Dark comes upon us suddenly, would be truly inconvenient. . . .

“CHARLOTTE.”

## The Queen to Lady Harcourt :—

“MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I should like to know how my Lord has bore the journey. . . . Perhaps a few days quiet in Town, the sight of his friends, and above all the company of the Divine<sup>k</sup>, may by degrees recover him entirely; & I beg in particular that my Lord will not by over attention to me make himself worse: that would

<sup>k</sup> Lady Cecilia Johnston.

be no compliment to me, nor pleasure to his friends, amongst which I reckon myself. . . .

“Dear Lady Harcourt,

“Your affectionate friend,

“CHARLOTTE.

*“Windsor, 9 Jan., 1792.*

“Pray make L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt drink the King's health twice a-day. A little more wine is necessary, you know; that is St. Paul's advice.”

## The Queen to Lord Harcourt :—

“*Odds Bodykyns, Lord Harcourt,* The K<sup>g</sup> orders me to say, that He is of oppinion y<sup>r</sup> presence at Windsor during this week (Race Week) would be very agreable to Him & to us all. I do assure you, & I promise you faithfully, that when we have done Broiling at Ascot, you shall Cool y<sup>r</sup> self at Frogmore, where it looks very *Ruralistic* at present, & the Plants have not suffered much from the *Frosted* of last week; & *Oh dear Heart*, every thing comes on us one could wish; & the *good lady & little Mistress* approve of all that is done, which I hope you will also grace with y<sup>r</sup> approbation. . . .

“I beg my best Compliments to l<sup>dy</sup> Harcourt, & hope to see you to-Morrow by Dinner-time. For though I have wrote in Green's Language, by

way of making you laugh, it is notwithstanding true that the K<sup>s</sup> ordered me to invite you.

"CHARLOTTE.

"*the 9th of June, 1793.*"

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—.... At our arrival here, the King received the account of the Duke of Brunswic's having entirely surrounded Dumourier's Army, & that the French General had offered to give up His Canons, Baggage, & Tents; but the Duke sent for answer, nothing would satisfy him but the French delivering up their Arms.

"The Event of this Message was not known when the Messenger left Brussels; & now, my dear lady Harcourt, receive once more my thanks for all y<sup>r</sup> attention & kindness during our Party at Weymouth; and believe me when I say it, & you may even repeat the same to y<sup>r</sup> Lord, that it never will be forgot by

"Y<sup>r</sup> affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Windsor, the 2nd Oct., 1792.*"

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I was extremely happy to hear that L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt bore the going down to Newneham so well; & still

more so for his continuing to feel the Air of His sweet Place, so salutary to His Health. How happy must the change have been from Waves & Winds, & Bleak Downs, to a Cheerful well wooded Country, & the sweet odours of the Flower Garden so universally Admired by every Body; & how much must not M<sup>r</sup>. Mason feel when He sees His own taste not only answer to the Owner, but doing justice to by the generality of People.

"Much as I rejoiced to know that y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>rd</sup> & His Friend were to meet again, as much did I fear that the first meeting would cause some uneasiness, as I understand that M<sup>r</sup>. Mason is much broke; & L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt's sensibility I know will suffer. However, His Faculties being entire, I hope His Company will still give pleasure. Of late we have enjoyed some Dryer Weather, which makes Walking very agreable; but the roads are so heavy & jolting, that even the Royal Drivers think it more prudent to go slow; for even we think upon that subject that an overturn cannot be called *Pleasure*.

"What must your roads not be in Oxfordshire. I am afraid if ours are bad, y<sup>rs</sup> must be worse; & yet notwithstanding my knowledge of that I am a going to give you a Commission which may perhaps make you liable to go the worst road you



have; but before I mention it, let me beseech you not to name it to any Body but those who must be concerned in it.

"L<sup>dy</sup> Charlotte Finch finding herself of late very unwell, & feeling Her strength greatly to decrease, has begged leave to be excused giving so close an attendance upon the younger Princesses as she used to. That Her request should be granted after so long a service you will not be surprised at; but you will also see my difficulty in finding Persons capable of giving that sort of assistance, who will be fit to be both Companions & Advisers to my youngest Daughters. As they are to gain not only their Friendship and Confidence; but that degree of power to persuade them in doing that what is right, & not to appear to be a Governess, what they are in short not to be. I have ever heard the most Amiable Character of l<sup>dy</sup> Mary Parker. She is described to me as Cheerfull, sensible, ingenious, possessing many resources in Herself, used to a retired life, & well principled. You yourself have often spoke in Her favour; & should she answer the description, I think my Choice in her could not be better.

"The attendance I require (for there are to be two) is that one of them always to attend of an Evening; & when we are not in Town to come by Dinner, to Dine, & stay with them all Day;

& when poor dear Gooly is indisposed, to be in readiness to come & attend their lessons, & to watch that they prepare themselves in the afternoon for what is to be done next Day. Never to pass any incivilities or lightness in their behaviour; & to tell me openly & fairly every difficulty they meet with; & when I am not present to speak to Miss Gooly, who as sub-Governess is the only Person empowered to direct, & who will ever be ready to assist them with Her Advice whenever it is necessary; and who it will be their Interest to Consult, as she hath known them ever since their Birth, & they are much attached to Her. The salary will be the same as that of the Elder Princesses ladies; & whenever the younger ones appear in public they are of course to attend.

"All this I beg my dear lady Harcourt to think over; & when well digested, to sound the Macclesfield Family, whether or not they will agree to lady Mary Parker being one of the ladies about the younger Princesses. I have secured one already, & am sure that you will be pleased with my choice; but I do not name Her untill all is settled, in order to prevent disagreeable applications; & I think it right to add, that the lady who I am sure to have, is Married; & that perhaps the unmarried one may at times be called upon to appear, when an increasing situation of

the other prevents Her coming into Public; all this should be said, & be well understood, in order that no doubts & surprizes may arise hereafter, nor the attendance be looked upon as too much; for I think it much better that both the pleasant & unpleasant side should be seen at once; a fair statement on my side, makes me also hope that Nothing will be undertaken on the other side, without full Consideration; & here I leave off, my dear l<sup>dy</sup> Harcourt, putting it in y<sup>r</sup> Hands, as I am Certain it could not be in better; the Event of this Commission I shall wait patiently; & I do insist you will take the time the most convenient for you to execute it. I beg my best Compliments to L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt, & to l<sup>dy</sup> Vernon, & am

"Y<sup>r</sup> very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 20th Nov., 1792."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—.... One other thing occurs to me, which it would not be improper to insert in your letter to Lady M.P., that of health. Pray say, as strongly as you can, how necessary it is not to undertake being about Court without having a good share of that blessing; & you ought to know how to state this point, as both of us are acquainted with the inconveniences of the want of it in others....

"I beg my best compliments to L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt

& Lady Vernon; & I return you thanks for all the trouble you take upon this occasion; & am my dear Lady Harcourt's

"Very affectionate friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"24th Nov., 1792."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I am just come from Church, & cannot employ the Hour which I have left to myself to greater satisfaction than in answering y<sup>r</sup> Letter which I received last Week. I am most sincerely sorry for the great anxiety & distress of mind you have undergone since I had the pleasure of seeing you; but yet great as the loss of a Parent is at all times, you have that Comfort of having fulfilled your Filial Duty to the utmost; & at the same time are possessed of such proper principles of Religion, as to see that L<sup>dy</sup> Vernon's release was a happiness to Herself; as at Her time of life she had not the smallest chance of recovering in any way to live Comfortably. You say y<sup>r</sup>self that she dyed the death of the righteous; that alone is a reflexion which conveys every possible Comfort to those who are left, & comprises much more than my Feeble Pen ever can express.

"I need not say how much every body at our House sincerely shares in y<sup>r</sup> Grief; & most anxiously wish that you may not suffer any bad



effects from this Melancholy event. I am inclined to advise you, my dear Madam, not to indulge too much in reflecting upon past scenes; it is injurious to y<sup>r</sup> Health, & can avail nothing to those that are gone; you have still many Blessings left in this life, & that you may long enjoy them is the sincere Prayer of y<sup>r</sup>

"Very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"the 18th April, 1794."

Letter from George III. to Lord Harcourt:—

"Queen's House, Jan. 22nd, 1794,  $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>r</sup> 6 p.m.

"I SHOULD not do justice to the sentiments Lord Harcourt so continually avows, and what is less common, acts up to, if I did not instantly answer the letter I have received from him, enclosing the one written to Him by Mr. Willoughby; the more so as from circumstances I am enabled without inconvenience to do it. On the death of Mr. Powney, my inclination led me to Lieutenant-General Harcourt; but on my mentioning it to him on Sunday, he so decidedly objected, that I could not further press him; and wrote to Mr. Pitt, that as Lieut.-Gen<sup>l</sup> Harcourt declined, I would support any Candidate administration might be desirous of

proposing; in consequence of which, Mr. Grant, a very able lawyer, has canvassed Windsor this day; of which intention I had on Monday sent notice to the principal persons who look up to the Castle.

"This being the case, I can only return to Lord Harcourt the letter he enclosed, but perfectly approving of the step he has taken.

"G. R."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"July, 1794.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—By the Newspapers you see that we are alive; & I hope you perceive that we are not quiet: for though no land parties have taken place, we have never ceased going out at sea in pursuit of L<sup>rd</sup> Howe's Fleet; who, after all the Trouble we have taken, gave us the slip at two a Clock Yesterday morning; & that being Certain, we shall now begin to Visit about. Company we have very little; but what I have is *good*. The Chesterfields & Powlets are here; & the addition of L<sup>dy</sup> Burlington is not to be forgotten, for she is very amiable indeed, & L<sup>rd</sup> Burlington by no means unpleasant. They lead a very Domestic life, their Children live upon a very agreeable & easy footing with them, & both He & She are Adored by

their Servants. Is it not a pity when so much real good unites in Private, that in Public it should be the Contrary? We know it is so; but as I have nothing to do with Public Business, it is but justice to them to Admire the one & regret the other.

"Public News must come to you even sooner than to us; it is not the best, & therefore we will pass it over with Silence; & as for Scandal or Town talk, not much of that neither. I will, however, mention that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Miss Scott's intended Match with L<sup>rd</sup> Down is over; it is said that the Settlements demanded upon the occasion were so enormous, that the Parties could not agree upon it; & other People pretend that there are other reasons more serious even than Settlements which broke it off. I am sorry for both Parties, for I am afraid that in either Case it must appear odd to the Public.

"The younger Lascelles, Alias Cupid, is to marry Miss Seabright. The Gay Lothario is to Wed the Sedate & retired Wife; how they will suit, time will shew; for Beauty there is none, nor Fortune on the Female side. I do not mean by that, that much of either is necessary for real Happiness; but as on the one side there has always been so much pretension to Beauty, I wish there was more Money on the other side. She has been well Educated; as I hear, is pos-

sessed of many Talents, & has behaved with great attention to Her Mother; I hope she will be happy.

"The K<sup>g</sup> is, thank God, remarkably well; & so is every body belonging to us, both Old & Young, Great & Small. We have at last been visiting Portland Island, where the People are very good & Loyal; but luckily for them, in a happy state of Ignorance, I mean happy for the present moment. They work hard, & live hard; the Women live by Spinning both Wool & Cotton for their own Consumption, & Knitting; & the Men by Cutting Stone, Farming, (N.B. no more of that neither than what will just keep their Family,) & Smuggling.

"They are averse to any Match out of the Island, both for Men & Women; & the chief reason given for that, is, that the Women in the Isl<sup>d</sup> have a right to dispose of their own Fortune; the Husband enjoys it when the Wife is alive; but at Her Death she may leave it as she pleases; she is not bound to leave it in preference to Her own Children, nor altogether to one Person, but in little parcels; which makes the inclosures look ridiculously small; but small as these are, no Man or Woman will cultivate more than their bit. They never Marry until the intended Wife is a Mother; & there is hardly one instance of their forsaking them; but if the Man forsakes Her, it



is no disgrace for another to marry the lady in Question.

"I am told, in some parts of Oxfordshire it is the same; will you allow that, my dear lady Harcourt? I think I hear L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt say, 'Oh, that is too bad!' We have just seen the Winchelseas..."

To Lord Harcourt:—

*"Frogmore House, the 8th July, 1795."*

"MY GOOD LORD,—Indeed you deserve a letter after having Twice taken the trouble to write to me, which I know is to you absolute penitence. I will therefore reward you, by assuring you that I never passed a more pleasant morning than that of Fryday last; & that, independent of all the Fine things which are to be seen at Strawberry Hill, the Company of the Host is what we one & all were the most pleased with; & I should myself have enjoyed His Presence still more, had I not continually been thinking of the Fatigue our visit made Him suffer. I desired & intreated Him to sit down, but in vain; & I fear His great civility will take weeks for Him to recover. L<sup>rd</sup> Orford had very kindly invited M<sup>rs</sup>. Damar, & His two Nephews, Colonel & M<sup>r</sup>. Horace Churchill, to be there; the Lady did all possible Honor to His Choice by Her attention, as well as by Her man-

ner in showing my lord's Collection, & drawing our attention to the most remarkable Beauties contained in it, & quand a ces messieurs je m'aperçois que leur gout ne s'accorde pas avec celui de leur Oncle, mais hélas ils sont fait pour la guerre & ne pense qu'a cueillir des lauriers, dailleurs ils ont des bonnes manieres....

"CHARLOTTE."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—You must be so good as to satisfy yourself with a few lines only. For indeed I am but little at home, & almost constantly at sea, from 11 in the M<sup>ng</sup> till 11 at Night, where we pass our time in Singing, Dancing, Playing at Cards, & Working. The Stanhopes, & Onslows, L<sup>ds</sup> Sudley & Chesterfield, & l<sup>dy</sup> Gertrude Villers, are our additional & pleasant Company. Y<sup>r</sup> Letter is arrived. I have no personal dislike to Miss Gambier, But the Prince of Wales, when here, interested Himself for Miss Seymour Coleman, & I am determined to oblige him; a little douceur from me to him is my inclination always; but at present j'aime encore mieux a la faire.

"We are to be at Windsor on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of next month; & I understand to have a Circle on the 8<sup>th</sup>; & after that I hope to have the Company

of L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt & you; & I long to assure you how sincerely I am

"Y<sup>r</sup> affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Weymouth, 27th Sept., 1795.*"

"I DID not write, my dear Friend, for various reasons, after all that has happened since we parted; but I thought much of you; I have been much alone. . . . I am of opinion that the quieter one keeps at present, the more prudent it must be; & by seeing but a few people, one has less Temptation to talk. The Chesterfields & Stanhopes come every night at 8, to make up our party; and the rest of the Day is spent in walking, working, reading, & Drawing, & Music. All this will prove to you that our life is not very merry; & consequently nothing passes to make my letter either pleasant or agreeable, which I always wish to be when I write to you. There is, however, one thing which will make you laugh; & that is, that I take a very nice little *Trott* every Morning round my Grounds upon a pretty little Bourique, which is a Galanterie of the Dowager lady Spencer, & furnishes great amusement to myself, Princesses, Servants, & labourers. It sleeps in the Fields at night; is taken up early in the morning to prevent its swelling itself by drinking too much water; & after a little ride, is fed with

a piece of Bread; it will prove of further use by roling my Garden; for the Groom who brought it says, that it would Trott for Hours without being tired; & should be exercised; & was used to that work at St. Alban's. I have also a little Garden Chaise, which is to be drove by another Bourique; so that I think I am now quite equipped as I ought to be. . . .

" . . . . I send a little drawing for L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt, which is to give him an Idea of myself & bourique<sup>k</sup>. I beg you will be so kind as to say every thing that is Civil to l<sup>dy</sup> Dungarvon; remember me to General & M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt, & l<sup>dy</sup> Gertrude Villers; & believe me,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*the 7th Dec., 1795.*"

Letter<sup>l</sup> from George III. to Lord Harcourt:—

"*London, March 30th, 1796.*

"MY LORD,—It would be the truest mark of ignorance, were I to omit transmitting to so true a lover of works of art the invaluable relics of antiquity which were left to me by such an acknowledged Virtuoso as M<sup>r</sup>. Sebastian Periwinkle,

<sup>k</sup> This drawing is preserved at Nuncham.

<sup>l</sup> Meant to be received on the 1st of April.



in Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, to whom they had been bequeathed by Mr. Peregrine Pilkington, who had purchased them of a descendant of the Great Sir Walter Rawleigh, who is supposed to have collected them during his famous Sea Voyage. The only reward I can possibly expect from your Lordship is, that they may find a retreat in the magnificent museum I understand your Lordship is about to erect.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Your lordship's most humble  
and obedient Servant,

"TIMOTHY TRENCHARD."

Letter<sup>m</sup> from George III. to Lord Harcourt :—

*"London, April 1st, 1796.*

"MY LORD,—By the advice of Timothy Trenchard, my Worthy friend & brother Antiquarian, I humbly presume to present your Lordship three most curious remains of antiquity, the one a Lock which would be most suitable for your Lordship's bed chamber or private study, as, if any one should get a false key, they could not use it if your Lordship should be within hearing, without being discovered.

"I will not take up more of your time by ex-

<sup>m</sup> Meant as a hoax.

plaining the particular merits of the two others, but subscribe myself,

"Your Lordship's most obsequious,

humble and devoted servant,

"MARMADUKE SPOONER."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt :—

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . . How many unpleasant things have passed since we saw one another. To know them, & not to have the power of soothing & assisting the sufferer, is real Martyrdom. I hear all sides, & know so many things which must not be revealed, that I am most truly wore down with it; & my dislike to the World in general gets quite the better of me; for those who do know one & those who do not, all take a *Tort & a Travers*, & say indeed most cutting things. Our Ball looked Gay, whether it was truly so I do not ask; My feelings were far otherways, but we did go through with it tolerably well, & the best part of the Day was the end of it. We were all equally happy when it was over. As I mean this for you alone, I may venture to say thus much upon the subject of a relation<sup>n</sup> of yours; that it will be prudent for you to continue silent with her upon Carlton House; I have

<sup>n</sup> Mrs. Harcourt, afterwards Mary, Countess Harcourt.

my particular reasons, believe me; it is not for the sake of doing mischief that I say so, but I have reasons to suspect that what we won't spread ourselves others are employed to do; I name no Names, when we see one another I shall explain it.

"The Princess Royal told me that L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt has expressed a desire of seeing one of my Drawings, I take the liberty of sending three, which L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt may burn when He has looked at them; you may tell Him that I begun to learn just as lady Dashwood went to Town, & that during the Winter months I have not taken above Six Lessons, & that I never attempted to do a stroke of a Figure till last December.

" . . . . I will only add one request, which is, that you will believe me unalterably,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Q. H. the 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1796.

"Pray do not answer if it fatigues you."

The Queen to Lord Harcourt :—

"MY LORD,—After the account you were so good as to send me about M<sup>r</sup>. Adams having made use of my name very improperly about the Election at Totness, I thought it but right to myself & him, particularly as his Wife enjoys

still a Pension from me, to have Him made acquainted of such a report being about, & insisting upon his contradicting it immediately.

" . . . . I am very much obliged to you for having afforded me an opportunity of clearing my own Character from meddling in Politics, which I abhor equal to Sin. . . .

"CHARLOTTE.

"Q. H. the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 1796."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . . You may perhaps wish to know some Particulars about the Bath Family. I hear all the Family are well in Health, & and at present returned to Arlington Street, until L<sup>rd</sup> Corke vouchsafes to determine what He will do about the House: Lady Bath's Jointure is £3,000, but I do not understand that any little Douceur is left Her in Money to set out with: The young ladys' Fortunes are doubled from Five to Ten thousand Pounds, those who are of Age are to have five per cent., and those under Age only four per cent. The two younger Sons share the same, excepting £300 a year more, which the Father was obliged to give them as a Qualification for Parliament. The present Lord has all the Personals, and I understand that the intention is for lady Bath to take a large House, and all Her Children,



both Male and Female, to live with Her. In the world it is understood that the present Lord cannot enjoy more than £6,000 a year, as the interest upon the Debt is very Considerable. L<sup>rd</sup> Thurlowe is consulted by the Family, & He proposed two things, either for the present Lord to live in Town for several years, & *not at all at Longleat*, & to sell part of the Estate in order to pay the debt; or to live entirely retired in the Country upon little for some time to come, & to pay off, without selling any part of His Estate. He has chosen the latter, to the great grievance of all His Friends; I myself shall give no opinion upon the Subject, but I see by some who either are, or pretend to be, intimate with the Family, that it is feared by Lord Bath retiring into the Country, He will with His indolent disposition, totally give up the World. *Entre Nous*, if He will make no more use of His Talents than His Father did, He will be no great loss.

"In this part of the world it is reported that lady Ann Spencer is to be married, Saturday the 8<sup>th</sup>, & that neither Her Father nor Mother have either seen Her or Mr. Ashley. The Duke of Marlborough has wrote a letter to General Gordon, in which, however, He expresses great Satisfaction to hear that the world gives Mr. Ashley so good a Character. The young people are to live with the Dowager lady Shaftesbury, which does

the young Man Honor, for His Mother would have given Him up Her House; However, He declined, knowing it to be inconvenient to Her.

"The Opera is begun, & like all other things, approved of by some, and torn to pieces by others. The Town is too empty at present to fill it, & I find some people, who shall be nameless, have not been there; What that means I cannot guess, but I suppose there is some hidden meaning in it, & you will not blame me in thinking so, when I know that there always is an uncommon anxiety to appear in Public: & now, my dear lady Harcourt, you must be anxious to be released from reading this dull letter; Permit me through your means to return Lord Harcourt thanks for His *Sweet* present, & assure Him that even the King likes it; & believe me, Absent or Present,

"Your unalterable, sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 7<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1796."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I was a going to inform you of the King's intention of going to St. Paul's, when y<sup>r</sup> Letter arrived; . . . but the time for the Thanksgiving is not as yet fixed, for two reasons: the one is, the expected Death of the King of Prussia, which would put a stop to it for at least a month, on account of

the black Gloves; and the other reason is, that Nothing can be fixed as yet in what *manner, or how many Standards* there are to be carried of the Ennemies, *whether all, or a few, or one of each Nation, nor how they are to be attended, & which way they are to come, whether from our side of the Town, or from the Tower*; All this you see must first be arranged. The King talked of a fortnight, & should it be so soon, you shall hear from me; at least, I promise to be punctual in my information. I fancy that if we go, that all will go with six Horses, & if all my Daughters are to go, I fear there will not be Horses enough for them; & in case it should be, as upon a former occasion, that the King wishes all my ladies to attend, I am convinced there will neither be Carriages nor Horses sufficient; all this I name that lord Harcourt may think about it, & be prepared<sup>o</sup> in case it should be so; for if not, no harm is done, he being prepared before hand.

"... I have seen lady Kingsborough, & find Her a most melancholy sight, God knows, but very resigned, & quiet, and Mild about every body; Grateful to those who shewed feeling upon the occasion, and reproaching Herself with having Idolized Her Mary too much. Oh, how various are the trials of Mankind, but severe as

<sup>o</sup> Lord Harcourt was Master of the Horse.

they appear to us, Coming from an All-wise Providence, who also supports us, we will say with David, it is better to fall in the Hands of God than that of Man; Happy are we who know there is a God, and that God a Father to us all; & I do firmly believe that the Wicked never will Florish. ....

"Believe me sincerely,

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Queen's House, the 30th Oct. 1797.*"

"4 Dec. 1797.

"WELL, My dear lady Harcourt, The King of Prussia is dead. Our Black Gowns just on, & our Thanksgiving being fixed before the arrival of the Berlin Post, for the 19<sup>th</sup> of this month, cannot be deferred, therefore our Sable is to be put by for that Day, & the Windsor Great Uniform both for Gentlemen & Ladies to be worn instead. The latter I have endeavoured to make as cheap as possible, by having a Dark Blue Sattin Fashionable Gown trimmed with Gold Fringe, & a White Crape Petticoat trimmed the same. I am always sorry to put L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt out of His way, but this time all of us must submit to Higher Orders. The Sattin is made at Mr. Ibbetson's. ....

"Your ever sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE."



## The Queen to Lord Harcourt :—

"MY LORD,— . . . . I was extreamly sorry to see on Thursday last in this part of the World the appearance of a very wet day: the Review on Wimbledon Common & the Dutchess of York's performance in giving the Colours to Lord Amherst's Corps were obliged to be shortened; & the disappointment at Oxford must have been equal there. As to what relates to l<sup>dy</sup> Harcourt's doing Her part well, I did not fear, knowing that notwithstanding Her nerves being easily shaken, she possesses a great deal of Fortitude, and as she assures me that Her nerves commonly take away Her Sight, She would not see your anxious face, which I think might have been the only thing to overcome Her.

I hear every thing went off to the satisfaction of every Body, that lady Harcourt's speech was extreamly genteel & well delivered, & the spectators numerous. So far for the Morning, but the Newspapers say that my lady opened the Ball with a Colonel or Captain Croker. Pray was you obliged to dance also? or did you get off by saying My Dancing Days are over; I hope not, for if you have accommodated yourself to the desire of the loyal Company which your good Nature is always ready to do, I stand

some chance of your standing up at my next Ball, not as a Duty, but by way of taking compassion upon some forsaken young lady who, tho' perhaps not equal in Beauty to the Oxfordshire ladies, may yet deserve your compassion.

"How happy should I have been to sit in a corner when you received Miss Payn's Visit; I do not doubt that the party must have been entertaining, for, as she is an actress of some standing, she must be full of interesting anecdotes, which will not be lost upon you, & I hope there will be some amongst them worth relating over to us when we meet.

"His Majesty has just finished the 5<sup>th</sup> Volume of Lord Orford's Works, & appears to have been much amused with what He read. He told me that many of the letters were very interesting, some extreamly trivial, the facts which He relates in them not always quite strictly true, & His personal Hatred to the late Prince of Wales incomprehensible; that He speaks ill of all the Royal Family, even of Princess Amelia, with whom he associated much, & that excepting yourself & a few other People, He speaks well of nobody; that He never was a Democrat, & hated modern Phylosophers, but, notwithstanding that, the King thinks He had no fixed Religious Principles. In my oppinion He was a dis-

appointed Man, & if I happen to be right in my judgement, He could not write otherways, ceci est pour vous seul.

"My lord, The accounts from Ireland continue to give us the greatest hopes of a Speedy Peace & tranquillity; I wish as much could be said from the Continent.

"I suppose you know that the Dowager lady Harvey's Daughter marrys Mr. Charles Ellis, nephew to the late lady Effingham, a young man of good Character & great fortune. Mr. Chusto Price is to marry a Miss Lambert, niece to Mr. Cook of Norfolk; lady Elizabeth Manners to a Mr. Norman, who is a Widower with two children; of the age of 40, & on Trade, but bears a charming Character; The Dutchess of Rutland sent him a refusal in rather a rude stile, but the young lady says that Her own answer would prove different, & so it has, for I understand the Match is Settled. Her Sister, lady Catherine, it is reported, will marry a Mr. Forest, some say He is of a good Family, & will have a good fortune. These are consequences of Hunting acquaintances.

"Lord Guildford I understand is given over by His Physicians in London, & 1<sup>st</sup> Lucan, who labours under the same Complaint at Bath (a Dropsy), is also thought to be near His end. The former might have been an Ornament to

His Country, but the part he has chosen to take of late will make Him leave the world without being regretted: of the latter I know so little that I dare not make any remarks, but I think He will be missed by His Children.

"I have had a visit from 1<sup>dy</sup> Courtown, & am astonished to see how well she bears up against all their misfortunes. They have, like many others, not received any rent for a year, & are sure of receiving nothing this year, which is a clear loss of £12,000; their House totally destroyed with every thing in it, their best Tenants Killed, & their Wives & Children left destitute, & two of my lord's Sisters, very well married in the County, are so totally ruined, that they have wrote over for assistance to their Brother. Lord Courtown is very low indeed, and at 70, which He is very near, such shocks are not so easily overcome; they mean to live with Lord Stopford in London, & 1<sup>dy</sup> Courtown to Keep House.

Their youngest son, Richard, has just got the living of Boughton from the Dutchess of Buccleugh, worth £300 clear, but with all the little agreements of being a relation, & the liberty of having Fish, Game, & many etceteras, lady Courtown says it is nearly worth 400, and there is a good & genteel House, in excellent repair, which will be furnished by the Overflow of the town Houses. He will therefore be well settled



without costing them any thing, which is indeed a great relief to their oppressed minds.

"& now you must wish to see an end to this letter, but, before that happens, let me intreat you to Write again, for your letter did really make me a little Cheerful; you know the times are not most Cheerful, & one sees & hears of nothing but distress. My best Compliments to dear lady Harcourt; all are well here in Health, but Amelia's Foot not better. My Garden in great Beauty, & in my walks you are often remembered with Pleasure & Satisfaction.

"CHARLOTTE.

"the 11th July, 1798."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY dearest lady Harcourt will be glad to hear of our safe arrival at Weymouth. . . . I hope now to be a little quiet; for of late I have led a life perfectly unknown to me in England. One week really passed in going three times to a Review, to three Dinners, & three Balls; & the fourth day was breakfast at St. Leonards, which was called *a God Bless you*, to which the King also went.

"... I have still many things I could say, but Prudence imposes *Silence*; & that *little dear word silence* has so often stood my Friend in Necessity,

that I make it my constant Companion, which I hope will not offend you. Public news I know none very agreeable, therefore shall not touch them; & not to make this scrawl longer than necessary, I will conclude my letter by begging my best Compliments to lord Harcourt, & to assure you of my unalterable Friendship & Regard.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Weymouth, the 2nd Sept., 1798."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... Perhaps my son Edward may meet you at Bath. We expect His arrival every hour; & tho' I am sorry for the cause of His return, which is owing to a fall from, or rather with His Horse, I rejoice to see Him, for He has been absent for Thirteen years. He bears a very Amiable Character abroad; & I hope He will have sense enough to see the Necessity of supporting it in His Native Country.

"Public News have been of late so glorious, & so many, that it would be quite unreasonable to expect any more for some time to come; however, the French are determined to add every day a little more to our complete Command of the Sea. For so far from becoming Wiser by Sr John Warrin's destruction of the Brest Fleet, they have actually sent another from Dunkirk, who is come

upon the Irish Coast; & it is strongly reported & believed in the City that four of those Frigates are also taken by us; no Official account is come as yet. . . .

"Y<sup>r</sup> very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Windsor, the 5th Nov., 1798.*"

The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY LORD,— . . . Our Fêtes have gone off in a manner truly delightfull, the weather fine, & little sun, quite *des jours des dames*; & what is more extraordinary, good Humour & Cheerfullness did also grace our Company; & that is so seldom the case, that I could not omit mentioning it, particularly as I am confident that those two beings frequently only leave their names, & pass their time in Hiding. The difference of the three entertainments consists in the Duke of York's being all Military, The King's all Grandeur, & mine all humble, rural, and out of the way. The Songs & Speeches upon the Occasion shall be conveyed to you when they are printed; & I have the pleasure to think that the King was much entertained & pleased. One thing, however, I have to regret, which was the want of your Company, & that of lady Harcourt's; as the sight of Friends would have made it more compleat to me; this

is another proof amongst many others that nothing is Compleat in this World.

"Windsor is so full, that it looks like London in Miniature; I retire from the Military & Terrace-bustle, & hurry as much as I can. The former I do not understand, & the latter is not quite so sweet as my Garden on a Sunday Evening; I therefore only inhale the odour de la Chrétienneté for a quarter of an hour, not to appear either Whimsical or uncivil to the beau Mondes. . .

"*Windsor, 23 July, 1800.*"

"MY LORD,—Thanks to a boisterous, blustering Day, we Females are at home to enjoy a little quiet; & what is more, to reflect a little, which, by the by, never will do harm to any body, & is without doubt most Beneficial to our Sex. For as our Minds are easier led away by Fashion, amusements, & trifles, so do we also require more time to recollect & to reflect. The first use I shall make of my power of commanding what I can call my own time, disposes me to write a few lines to an absent Friend. . . .

"We have had some very pleasant parties both at Sea & Land. . . .

"The Chancellor is at times in the most agreeable spirits possible; but as things & Men are not always the same, so His Lordship is found very



different in the Evening to what He was in the Morning; but His Niece, Miss Erskin, is & continues the same agreeable, Sensible Girl at all times. . . .

"Our Sailing Parties have gone on very quietly & pleasantly as far as relates to ourselves. The last time we were out, an unforeseen accident happened to poor M<sup>r</sup>. Sturt, who, thank God, was very Providentially saved; an account of which you will probably have seen in the papers; & tho' I do not intend to enter into particulars about Him, knowing your feelings too well upon such horrible accidents, I think it my duty to state that the intimation of it in the papers of his being Drunk is perfectly false; & that it is Wonderful that a Man after fighting *for full five hours* in the Race of Portland, against Winds & Waves, thinking every moment to be His last, & losing His strength, should have retained his senses so well, as to remember where he had laid his valuable Watch, & to go back & fetch it. He assured the King in my presence, that the moment of greatest horror to him was when he saw the boats come off to save him; & the fear that they should not be able, by the violence of the Sea, to come up to Him. He is well, but greatly bruised, & sailed home on Tuesday last.

"In our sailing parties many ludicrous events have happened, which I should wish to mention

in order to make my letter entertaining; but as this cannot be done without naming People who should be nameless, I think it more prudent not to expose them; but when we meet, it will I hope render our Conversation more Chearfull. . . .

"Weymouth, 25 July, 1800."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... Indeed, my dear Madam, this year is Big with Events; may the issue of them prove Peace & Plenty, & may the Almighty Continue to protect us in this new Century as He did in the last; I trust He will Continue His protection to us, & likewise support our poor Suffering Brethren upon the Continent.

"Oh! I can never doubt the Justice of Providence; & as He promises that the Just shall not fall with the Wicked, I will put my trust in Him alone, & always hope He is near to help us; for I am clear that nothing but the Power of the Almighty can save us all.

"... What must I not expect when I meet my lord; who I rejoice to hear is so well, as to look but Five & twenty years old. Nay, I am told he feels Himself so; & I am prepared to hear of nothing else but quarrels amongst the Fine Ladies this Winter, which is to be the happy one to be noticed by the Young Peer. But what will become of the dear St. Cecilia, who, by the by, n'est

pas rejeuné, for neither Rouge nor any other Substitute I fear, can be found out to make Her look what she was. Well, she must employ Herself by writing the *Lamentations of St. Cecilia*.

"... Believe me it is with pleasure I look forward for the 19th, to assure you by word of mouth how Sincerely I am

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 3rd January, 1801."

"Weymouth, 2 Sept., 1801.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—We are arrived & settled at this Place ever since one a Clock on Saturday Morning, after a Sailing of very near 14 Hours. We embarked at Christ Church exactly at Eleven, & had so fair a Wind at that Time, that had it continued, we should have been at Weymouth by four in the afternoon; but at three it changed all at once, & we bore our disappointment Heroically well. . . .

"Last night we went to Church, & had a Fine Sermon, Preached by a Mr. England, a Friend of L<sup>rd</sup> Dorchester's; it was so fine & moving upon the K<sup>g</sup>'s illness, & the situation of the Country during that time, that there was not a Dry Eye in the Church.

"Our Stay at Cuffnel's was the most delightful imaginable. The House is very spacious & hand-

some, very much improved since I saw it; I believe all has been spent in improvement, for the Property itself is not enlarged. We went on the Tuesday to Limington, where the K<sup>g</sup> received an Address at the Town Hall. From thence we proceeded to S<sup>r</sup> Harry Neal's Place, where we dined, & returned to Cuffnel's by 9 in the Evening. Nothing can be prettier than all the environs thereabouts; & I envy every body that has the Supreme Felicity to enjoy a Cottage in the New Forest.

"... Pray accept this little ring from the Radiopot fair; the motto of which speaks the true Sentiments of

"Your affectionate friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY LORD,—... I have the pleasure to assure you that the King bore all his fatiguing journeys to London as well as his friends could wish him to do. Every thing went off well on Tuesday last in both Houses, which contributes not a little to our remaining well. After the King has received the joint Address of both Houses tomorrow, we return again to Windsor. . . .

"A propos, the Duc de Choiseuil goes to France on account of the illness of an old Aunt, who brought him up, & is a dying. She asked, un-



known to him, of Bonaparte for his coming to see her. The Duke came to the Duke of York to ask, I think, leave of absence, which he obtained; but the Duke of York could not help saying to him that he was a little surprized, as the Duc de Choiseuil was a marked Character. He told him, in answer, that the chief Consul's answer to the request was, Madame la Comtesse de suis charmé d'être en état de donner la permission pour Votre Neveu de venir vous voir, car je connois sa loyauté & sa *Bravoure*! Qu'en dite

"vous, My lord . . . .

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Kew, the 5th Sept. 1801.*"

"MY GOOD LORD HARCOURT,—I expect you to adhere to your resolve on Sunday Evening not to appear in Public, but to rest in order to be brisk & merry on Monday, & as the Fête is in honor of the King's Birth Day, you will order all my Servants down in full Liveries, even the Coachmen; & give directions that my four Chairmen should be early at Frogmore on Monday morning.

"I have had some little difficulties, which I bear with Christian Patience; Sunday Evening is the Grand Rehearsal, & if you could have been there by Six to hear it, I should have called it *la petite Fête Harcourt*; you know I am always glad to

see you, but never wish to put you to any inconvenience.

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Windsor, the 8th June, 1802.*

"I am just going to Montem, which, entre nous soit dit, is a great *Bore*, but it is right to do so."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . We are now in London, which is very dull as far as concerns news. Andreazi had His Audience of the Kg, where He intended to go in Boots, & was sent home again to change for Shoes & Stockings. His uniform I hear is fine, His Livery's finer. The Mob said the Cloaths were worth looking at; the Man they detested. He never named the First Consul in His Audience, & His Credentials are enormously long; Lord St. Helens dined with Him at Lord Pelham's, & found Him modest & well bred: sense every body allows Him, but those who knew Him formerly say that He is cunning.

"Here I was stopt by a Visit of the Duke of York, & obliged to go to St. James, & of course you will guess that I have seen this Ambassador, who, by the by, displeased me more than any body I ever saw, for He had breakfasted upon Onions, & the smell He brought with Him

into the Room, & left behind Him, will leave an everlasting Remembrance upon all those who attended me. He is not well looking, seems to me not quite what Lord St. Helens found Him to be, & looks so Dirty that He is quite degoutant to me.

"By the Newspapers you will learn the news that every body is full of, another proof of the particular interference of Providence, Oh, might we never forget His unbounded goodness to us. Particulars I cannot state, for nothing is transpired, & Perhaps will not for some time. If I do hear any Truth, you & Lord Harcourt shall know it, as I trust you will never quote me to any body; & now God Bless you, my dear lady Harcourt, & believe me,

"Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Q. H. the 19th Sept. 1802."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—... As to what relates to Despard & His associates, you know as much of it as I do from the News Papers, for nothing else does transpire, & tho' I am a Woman, & should like to know more; I must approve of Government to be silent upon the Subject; God grant that for once there may be some real justice done. We have a Chancellor who will do what He can upon the Subject, &

Chief Justice Ayr being dead, I hope there are no more Cowards, *ceci entre nous*.

"You may have heard of the very extraordinary conduct of the first Consul towards Count Starenberg, by ordering him to leave Paris in 12 hours. The story is this, C. S. went with the Countess to Paris to see Her relations. The first evening they passed en Famille, the 2<sup>d</sup> they all went to the Spectacle, the 3<sup>d</sup> they forced Him *contre Cœur* to go to an Assembly, there He met Taleyrand & Lucien Bonaparte; not knowing them, they did not take notice of one another. When Cards were over & every body agoing away, the Duc de la Valle spied Starenberg, & called out quite aloud, Starenberg, *Vous ici parmi ces gueux*; the Count made Him a Sign to be quiet, but He repeated the words, adding, *Oui, oui, je dis des gueux, je gagne leur Argent, & je ne m'en Souci pas du reste*; all this passed without any answer.

"The next morning, Count Coborzal received a note from one of the Ministers to complain of the C.'s conduct, & an order for Him to leave Paris in 12 hours. The Austrian Minister saw the Count, and went to have it explained, but the answer was, *Il faut qu'il quite Paris, et il n'est point Necessaire d'alleguer des raisons particuliers*.

"In former Times, such a conduct might have



proved fatal, at least it would have been resented, but now it is supposed by the generality of People, that the Court of Vienna will satisfy themselves with making a formal complaint.

"I hear a great variety of reports of those English who are at Paris, & when I relate them I beg to observe that I do not vouch for the Truth of all. The Cholmondeleys live in a Great Stile, give Dinners, Assemblies, & keep open House. He holds a Pharo Bank, & says He wins sufficient not to Draw for money from England; the names of those who are connected with Him in this *unlordly* if not ungentlemanlike undertaking, I forget. He likewise has given up his Family Livery, and Dresses the Servants in Yellow Coats turned up with Black, & all the rest black, which I understand is quite French, & hurts some of His Family in England not a little; you will have seen by the Papers the number of English that were presented by Lord Whitworth, it was by His particular desire; & Lord Barrington, who wrote quite a Friendly Letter to His Sister, expressly states it there that He for one was against it, but when L<sup>rd</sup> Pembroke agreed to it, He could not refuse. Bonaparte spoke to all, & when He came to L. B. He said, *Dans quel parti d'Angleterre vivez Vous? Dans la parti du midi, ah oui*, said he, *c'est un beau Pays le Comté de*

*Kent*. Now was this true ignorance, or put on? I think, take it which way you please, it cannot gain him Credit.

"There is one very ridiculous story told, which, whether true or not, is laughable enough; & I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of relating it. It is briefly this. When the first Badge of English went over, the Consul was very curious to know who they were; but the number being too great to remember their names, He said to one of His Aid-de-Camps, *Mais dîtes moi donc qu'ils sont-ils, et leur Nom*. In answer to this, the A.D.C. said, *Ils sont aparament ce que les Anglois nomment Tag, Rag, & Bobtail*; this He took for real names & Family. The day following Mr. Adair was presented. The Consul remembered unfortunately only the last name, & in speaking to Him gave Him the name of *Monsieur Bobtail*, which of course offended very much; & Mr. Adair is very sore upon the subject. I give you the story as it was related to me, more to amuse you than for the belief I put to it; & as such I hope you will receive it.

"... I saw M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt & l<sup>dy</sup> Elizabeth last night: all are well; the former in very good spirits. I asked Her what relation Amadé was to the Dutchess of Harcourt; she said Harcourt blood all over, what your Lord called *Essence of Harcourt*, & therefore she called Amadé's child

*double Distilled*; a very strong expression, quite like Mrs. H. The poor Dutchess was very low when I saw Her. She cried much when I came in, & was so overcome when I went away, that she was in Histerics; she is much altered, but was very pleasing, & seems a noble-minded creature.

"You must be pritty near tired with my English, German, & French Potpouri Letter; but, alas, my Four Walls of the room I inhabit furnish nothing entertaining. Witty I never was, & therefore *Je vole partout*. . . .

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 20th Dec. 1802."

"Queen's House, 8th March, 1803.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I have neither Time nor Spirits for writing; we go on *tant bien que mal*, hoping for, if not better times, at least to come back to what we were; & I acknowledge fairly, that I have every Day more reason to adore Providence for keeping us in Ignorance of what is to come, as I am perfectly sure that, with our best endeavours to prepare for it, we should miss our aim; for our walk within this twelvemonth has been in a maze; but *n'importe*, I will go on, do my duty, & endeavour not

to forfeit the good opinion of those I love, & also the World; for I am not above that, & always rejoice to call you my friend, & to assure you I am heartily yours,

"CHARLOTTE."

### The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY LORD,—... I wish you would order Mr. Cowden to make out an exact account of my travelling Expences the whole year through, *taking ten weeks off*, which I call the Weymouth weeks. I do not mean the expence of my own Horses, but merely the Post Horses, which, as far as I recollect, are 12 in number every time we go to London, Viz.—

"4 for my Femme de Chambre.

"4 for the Princesses Servants.

"2 for the Pages.

"2 for the under Servants.

"I have calculated myself that it comes to £23. 15s. per week; which I wish would be made in Cowden's account £24. There may be, independent of what I have named, more Post Horses wanted which I do not know of; & therefore I beg that it may be stated in the fullest manner, & if it be possible to have it ready by Wednesday next at latest.

"... Have you seen a Poem just Published by



a Mr. Scott, & dedicated to the Duke of Buccleugh, called *The Lay of the last Minstrel*; it is allowed to be a good performance by the Connoisseurs; I have received, but not read it, & only mention it as a work which perhaps might amuse, as it relates all the antient Customs & Manners of the Scotch; so I was told, & so I report it again.

"My best Compliments to dear lady Harcourt.

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Frogmore, the 9th March, 1803.*"

"MY LORD,— . . . I want you to exert your authority in dismissing my Footman, Oby, the Service as soon as possible, as His unquenchable Thirst is now become so overpowering, that neither our absence nor presence can subdue it any more. Some messages of consequence being sent by Him to the apothecary's, were found in His Pockets when laying dead Drunk in the street a few days ago, luckily enough by the Duke of Cumberland, who knowing they were for the Family, sent them to Brandi; I do not want Him to starve, but I will not have Him do any more Duty. This I hope will be an example to the others; but as I write a Tipling letter, I think it not amiss to mention that Stephenson has appeared twice a little *Bowzy*, the consequence of which was a fall from His Horse yesterday,

by which He was very much bruised; & the Surgeon who came to bleed Him at the Duke of Cambridge's House, who very humanely took Him in, declared him to have been at least over dry, if not drunk. A reprimand to Him will be necessary; for should it happen again He must go also. . . .

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Kew, 8th July, 1803.*"

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— Will you not say that I am a contradiction, when I tell you that I both regretted & rejoiced at our Journey being put off.

"You are acquainted with the melancholy reason for the latter, & are too reasonable not to feel that, under such circumstances, none of us could have enjoyed any thing; & tho' an exemplary Fortitude is shewn by the dear King under this heavy Calamity, yet there are moments when He feels most deeply; & the necessity of keeping up before Him is such a strain upon both body & mind, that all Idea of any amusement, excepting what is necessary to enliven Him, vanishes.

"Indeed, my beloved Friend, for this stroke I was not prepared": it is a severe Tryal I will

" The King's blindness.

own; but as the Almighty directs every thing for some wise purpose, I do trust that we shall reap Joy from this new affliction, & that we shall have reason to Bless Him for this as well as many other Tryals which have befallen us.

"Mr. Phipps gives every hope for the restoration of Sight; & is quite confident that the Eyes are not diseased, which is the greatest thing in our favour. He is to come every other week to see us; & his mild & encouraging manner, as well as his honorable & open Conduct to the King upon the Subject, have been the means of persuading his Majesty to conform as much as he can to his prescription; & I think it one of the greatest blessings in this Case to know that there is a Cure for this Complaint. . . ."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I fear so much for poor lord Harcourt's nerves being shocked by the death of lord Jersey, that I must beg you will give me a fair account of Him. I know that of latter years their intimacy could not be kept up in the manner it used to be; but notwithstanding those changes & alterations in life, Connections formed in the early part of our life are most Commonly lasting. The poor deceased was never bad in himself, but weak & indulging to a little bewitching Wife, which made

him appear to some wanting in Sense, and to others unfeeling. For Himself & to many others, I grant it would have been better had He shewn more Spirit, at least it appears so; but in Domestic affairs, none but those who belong to them can form a true Judgement.

"His Children seem to be attached to Him, & I hear are very much hurt; & as to the Widow, She is reported to be in Constant Fits since the News reached Her. This is scrutinized enough; but I own I believe it: for Common humanity would feel for such an event happening in any Family, without having any connection with it; & therefore I think that having lived so many years together, she will feel the Shock more Severely, & I do not think Her void of Feeling.

"We are in hourly expectation of the news of the poor Duke of Gloucester's Death. His sufferings must have been dreadfully Painfull; but his good temper & chearfulness never have left him. I understand that He was not quite open with His Physicians, & that some Complaint He kept a Secret for three days, to which the Medicines which they administered at that time were almost fatal. How unfortunate to deceive oneself, & much more when one wishes to deceive others. This the King is not to know; but the Physicians stand justified to the world. Vaughan's attention



has been quite exemplary. What a change to his poor Family.

"So far I was, when they came in & told me that Mr. Vincent was arrived from London, & that all was over with the poor Duke; & since that moment I have never had a quarter of an hour to myself. The dear King was so well prepared for the stroke, & every thing managed with so much delicacy, that I have the satisfaction to say that His Health has not suffered. . . .

"Prince William hath behaved uncommonly well. His letter to the King was short, but very expressive of what He felt, and Respectfull, & the dear King answered it very kindly. The Dukes of York & Cambridge arrived this morning; the Duke of Kent was here; & I understand the Prince of Wales is a coming on Monday. . . .

"The poor Duke has left a Will, & desires to be buried at Windsor; which is granted. He left the Dutchess sole Executrix; but with a proviso to pay His Debts, which the World says are but very few. Yesterday we put on Mourning, which enables the King to have some air; without which His Health does suffer; but we shall reckon the beginning of it from the 1st Sept. . . .

"I ever am your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Weymouth, the 29th August, 1803."

"Windsor, November 6th, 1804.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT, — We are now returned to our new habitation in the Castle; not to shock you or Lord Harcourt with my opinion upon this subject, I will only briefly tell you that I have changed from a very Comfortable & warm habitation, to the Coldest House, Rooms, & Passages, that ever existed. . . .

"We have led a dissipated, idle life ever since the month of August; & by what you have read in the Newspapers, & perhaps heard by report also, gay & Merry. How it was I cannot tell; but amidst all this I found the Principal Person always was left out, viz., *Pleasure*, without whose attendance the attempt of enjoyment upon such occasions is fruitless.

"We are now all settling ourselves as well as we can; it will require weeks before it can be completed to the satisfaction of every bodies taste. Mr. Wyatt has done Miracles; for what we see & behold seems more than common labour; but I understand that what comes not, nor ever should come to our view (by that I mean where our vocations don't call us) is still more astonishing.

"The King is gone to Day to London to prorogue the Parliament. He means to Hunt tomorrow, & to visit the Duke of Portland on

Wednesday; to the latter place I attend *par devoir*; & if I had my choice, to Newnham I should go with satisfaction, if I could go alone; but that will not be this year. But I do not despair of seeing you there again...."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I ought to have wrote long ago; & indeed I did mean to do it, but, to tell the truth, neither interior nor outward affairs are of a nature to enliven me; but why should I trouble you with all this, it makes it not better in any way.

"I am glad L<sup>d</sup> Stafford brings in your nephew<sup>a</sup>; it is a creditable, & I hope useful choice. I hope you are better, & take care of your health; the Confirming this will give sincere pleasure to

"Your affectionate friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, 30th Oct., 1806."

The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"WELL, my good Lord... Our Election is just over; not quite as one could wish. Desbrow is come in, but not Vansittart; but enough of this, pray no answer to this in yours.

<sup>a</sup> G. G. Vernon, M.P. for Lichfield from 1806 to 1830; afterwards G. G. Harcourt, M.P. for Oxfordshire from 1830 to 1860; eldest son of Archbishop Harcourt.

"The dear King is well, His Eyes not worse; may you be able to say as much of your Cramps, it will give me great pleasure.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 30th Oct., 1806."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"31st August, 1807.

"PRAY, my dear Lady Harcourt, How do all y<sup>r</sup> Invalids do? & Particularly dear L<sup>rd</sup> Harcourt, after the shock of the Dutchess of Gloucester's Death? There is by Her death another acquaintance, & I believe not to Err in saying an Old Friend gone; which Losses are not so easily replaced, & I fear that He will feel it deeply; & greatly shall I rejoice if you can send me a favorable account.

"The Person the most to be pityed is poor Princess Sophia, who has but barely recovered the loss of Her Father; & now again, after having in all appearance settled Herself in a Comfortable way with Her Mother, is to begin a new arrangement of Life....

"The Funeral is to be to-night at 8 a Clock at the Cathedral, attended by as many Carriages as there were at the late Duke's. Some People Blame them for doing so, but I for one can feel for their Situation, for as no Public Notice can



be taken of this Event, as Children they think it right to shew Her that Respect which is due to Her, not only as a Mother, but as their Father's Widow. So do I think; but I find I am Singular, & therefore *c'est entre Nous*. The only thing I regret is that they could not contrive to have had it very Early in the Morning. . . .

"I have many thanks to return to the Bishop of Carlisle for some very fine Growse; *en revenge*, as I cannot send game, I will relate to you that Sr Vicary Gibbs told the Ks that He was greatly pleased with a Speech made by young Vernon<sup>r</sup> at the Comittee; not long, but much to the Purpose, good language, & keeping to the Point; Sufficient to give Hopes, that with attention & application, He may become a very useful & able Member of Parliament. I trust when that Time comes, His Talents will Grace Government.

"... Lady Sidney, as usual, came to Windsor; but is always confined when she is wanted,—*the Finger, the Bowels, the Head, & the Stomach*, are warring against one another, & make Her as useless as if she was not here.

"There is no Scandal; no Marriages to entertain you with. *Oh yes*, there is a Something that will make you happy; for I saw last night *Sir Robert & Lady Wigram*, Father & Mother of

<sup>r</sup> G. G. Vernon, alluded to before.

20 Children, all alive; their ages from 30 *years old to five months*; & he hopes to have 4 more to complete the two Dozen. What is y<sup>r</sup> opinion; and ... about lady Ann Vernon; how do you feel upon this Subject? Pray do not call me Barbarous, or suspect my wishing such an event; But when I saw this prosperous Pair, I could not help thinking of you. I wish very Sincerely that those Children that are in being may live to give both pleasure & comfort to the B. & lady Ann; but I wish no increase any more; & now, having made peace with you upon that subject, I will not detain you any longer; make my best Compliments to Lord Harcourt, remember me to your Sister, & believe me

"Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Windsor, the 31st August, 1807.*"

"I TRUST, my dearest Lady Harcourt, that my two Daughters, Augusta & Elyza, have not omitted to include me, when they returned thanks for the kind attention we met with at Newneham on Wednesday last.

"The Day seemed propitious in every sense; for we were wellcom'd Home with the news of the surrender of Copenhagen, & the Blessed Confirmation of so few losses on our side. The Humanity of the English Nation upon this occasion

is very Conspicuous, & insures them Everlasting Honour. I should not be sorry to give as good a testimony to the Enemy; but, by all the accounts received from thence, they are themselves the cause of the mischief the Town & Inhabitants labour under at this present moment.

"This is a proof of how difficult it is to steer to the right medium; for as much as their Defence was for their Honour in the beginning, it was censurable to persist against so superior a Force, & one who held out such Honorable Proposals. . . .

"To St Christopher Willoughby I beg you will express my thanks, for the attendance of His Troop as far as Dorchester; the swiftness of their Horses equals those of any Dragoon's Horses I have seen. . . .

"Accept the assurances of the unalterable affection of

"Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 20th Sept., 1807."

The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"Windsor, 5 October, 1807.

"OH! what would not I give to write you a letter, my good Lord, as entertaining as the one I received from you yesterday, & for which I re-

turn you many thanks . . . & now let us *Compare Notes*. You talk of Loquacity as an Evil. I, on the Contrary, of *Taciturnity* as a drudgery; for the words of *Yes* & *No* is what I experience daily; & if it goes a little further, I have the History & distresses of the Betties, Harries, &c. &c. of the Families. Some People attribute it to Shyness; & poor me attributes it to S—ss, & think myself quite a Phylosopher to bear it with Patience; but as Necessity has no Law, I do not look upon this as a particular merit, for I am *Philosophe Malgré moi*; & you may apply our stile of Life to this:—

"They *Eat*, they *Drank*, they *Slept*, What then?  
They *Slept*, they *Eat*, they *Drank* again."

"Yet after I have said this, tho' we are not *la Bande joyeuse*, we are *la Bande Contente*, et c'est beau coup dire en peu de mots. . . .

"CHARLOTTE."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I cannot pass this day without giving you Joy upon the Bishop of Carlisle succeeding the late Arch-Bishop of York; knowing how sincerely you are attached to Him, I know what you will feel upon the occasion; & putting that aside, I do also rejoice to see a Man in that Situation who I know will



do His Duty well, & promote every thing in His power to keep up the True Religion, & prevent the spreading of the numerous Sectaries lately so wonderfully increased; in short, Dr. Vernon will be a *strong Pillar to the Church*; & I most sincerely wish that He may enjoy this new Situation, at least as long<sup>a</sup>, if not longer, than His Predecessor, which was 30 years. . . .

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 26th Dec., 1807.

"Pray write me some News, & let me know whether the sale of the Estate<sup>t</sup> answers your expectation; if it has, of course I shall be glad to hear it."

"IT was my intention before I left London, my dear lady Harcourt, to see your Lord, & to write to you; but my time is not my own at present. . . . The dear King's Eyes depend chiefly upon me in London. . . . I hope for happier times; but leave to a Higher power to fix the moment when that is to happen. . . .

"The beginning of our Parliament seems to promise more quiet than expected; but it is early days to form any judgement. Mr. Yorke's speech

<sup>a</sup> He occupied the See ten years longer than his predecessor.

<sup>t</sup> Pipewell Abbey, Northamptonshire; sold to pay General Harcourt's and Lady Elizabeth Lee's fortunes.

on Fryday is looked upon as a very good one; & it is thought that His Voting Contrary to His Brother, Lord Hardwick, will bring the latter round for Government; I wish it may be so. The taking of the Island of Madeira must prove a Philip to Ministers; it shews, at least, that their undertakings are not mercenary, notwithstanding *all The Talents* can say against them. *What do you say to Lord Sidmouth*, He verifies the Proverb that every Body's Friend is Nobodies Friend. . . .

"Your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

#### The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"I WAS in the midst of preparing for Montem when your letter arrived, my good Lord.

"... We past a very pleasant morning at Eaton yesterday; the present Master, being quite a Gentleman in His manner, had arranged every thing so as to give satisfaction to all present, without giving up the dignity of His Situation with his Corps of Boys. The Crowd was immense, & a great deal of good Company assembled; of which I saw few to speak to, but saw them in their Carriages.

"The Sight and Procession lasted from Eleven o'Clock till three. The thing most worthy to be talked of is the Furling of the Standard, which

was executed with great ease & gentility by a Boy of the name of Patterson; & for the doing it well I understand the Boy is trained for upwards of a Month before the time. It requires great exertion, & must Spend the Boy much, as he repeats it twice, once at the School, & again at the *wood be* Hill, at Salt Hill; for very little but the name will soon remain of that. . . .

"I hope, before you settle in the Country, you will not forget your promise of making me a visit at Frogmore. It shall be your own time to come, to stay, & to go away; tho' the latter I should always wish to put off when it relates to you & lady Harcourt; but, however, a little of your Company is better than not Coming at all.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 8th June, 1808."

The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY LORD,— . . . This place, tho' Inhabited by Royalty, affords nothing for any pen, tho' perhaps sufficient for others to scrutinize our Conduct; & then, I think, like Sr Peter Teazle, I must always leave my character behind me; & as my conscience does not accuse me of any Criminal action, tho' God knows many Errors, I feel very easy in my mind upon that subject.

"The Terrace was very full last night; but not

with people of Fashion, excepting a lady who we passed several times, well Dressed, Horribly Rouged, & quite in style, who continually Court-sied, but never shewed Her face; & indeed of an appearance that I feared to ask who she was; & it was not till we were at Cards I was told that it was the Dowager lady Grenard. Alas! no shame remains.

"To-morrow our Races begin, where I must go *par devoir*, & where I understand much Company & much sport is expected; of the latter I understand nothing, & of the former I see but little; therefore I only gain a little more fatigue than I should have otherways, & very little amusement, tho' I will allow that the first *Coup d'oeil* of the Ground is Beautifull. . . .

"Windsor, 20th June, 1808."

The Queen to Lord Harcourt:—

"I WILL write, tho' it is a question, my good Lord Harcourt, when you will receive my letter; for the state of our Roads is miserable, & it is at the peril of people's lives that they venture to come. The Bridges at Slow, Colebrook, & Eaton are partly blown up on one side; & the Road which leads from Egham Hill down to the Village is about five feet under water. The little park up to what is called Mother Dod's Hill one sheet



of water; & on the North side it is a perfect River up to the Terrace Wall. The large Kitchen Garden quite under water; & Eaton Colledge so inundated, that there can be no School for fear of the Boys being Drowned.

"The accounts from Oxford & every other place are equally bad, which makes me fear that poor Newneham's Field will suffer essentially; but I hope this will produce good grass. . . .

"My room is at this moment perfumed with the smell of Hyacinth, Persian Lilacs, and other sweet-smelling flowers; I wish you could also enjoy them with us.

"CHARLOTTE.

"29th January, 1809."

Queen Charlotte to Hon. E. Vernon, Archbishop of York :—

"MY LORD,—I am truly concerned that the account of poor Lord Harcourt was such as to give us reason to fear the worst. I have ever since my acquaintance with Him, found Him so upright & sincere a Friend, that both by Gratitude & Inclination I do most *Truely* interest myself about Him; & do most earnestly wish that it may please the Almighty to change the House of Mourning again into that of joy, tho' I own I fear the worst. . . .

"... I beg you, my lord, to receive my thanks for the trouble you have taken in writing to me; & I hope your next account will be more favorable. Excuse this indiscretion, for my inquiries are not Curiosity, but those of a *True Friend*.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 20th April, 1809."

Queen Charlotte to Hon. E. Vernon, Archbishop of York :—

"MY LORD,—... I cannot let another Day pass by without returning you thanks for your attention to me upon this Melancholy occasion. It was, I must own, not a Surprise, for I was prepared for the Event by your accounts; but I wished it otherways, & therefore indulged some Hopes. Providence has directed it contrary to our wishes, & we have both to lament,—You, my lord, a Brother, & I a sincere, attached Friend, whose loss I must ever Sincerely regret; & am not ashamed to acknowledge, that I have always been the better by following those little well-meant thrown out Hints the late Lord Harcourt used to give with all possible civility, yet impressive enough not to be mistaken; & as few such are to be found, you will not be surprized at my feeling this loss most deeply.

"To desire you, my lord, to tell dear lady

Harcourt how much I feel for Her distress, what I write is not half of what my heart feels; & here Madame de Sevigné must come to my assistance, for she says, *Pourquoi faut-il sentir ce que la Plume ne peut pas exprimer.*

"This is so truly my case at this moment, that I must trust to your goodness of saying every thing that is kind from me; & if you only will express what your own Heart feels, you will not say too much. . . .

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 21st April, 1809."

The Queen to Lady Harcourt:—

"It is with Sincere Satisfaction, my dearest lady Harcourt, that I again do acknowledge the receipt of one of your letters. It is a proof to me that you have obtained a degree of Calmness in your mind, which was hardly to be expected after so severe an affliction; & I am sure that upon this, as well as upon every other occasion, you are Supported by those Religious Principles which you have never failed to put into practice when called upon to act; & the consciousness of having ever fulfilled your duty to the utmost to a most deserving Friend & Husband, must in the moments of the deepest affliction cause you the greatest satisfaction. . . .

"I must ever remember, both with pleasure & regret, Lord Harcourt's personal attachment to me; of which, even after his decease, he has given me a proof, by the Legacy of his favorite Snuff-box<sup>u</sup>; a gift I am not unworthy of, as *I know how to value the gift of a friend*, & am most truly thankful for it. . . .

"The King orders me to say everything that is both gracious & kind to you; & shares most truly in your affliction, & sensibly feels the loss of one so faithfully attached to Him. . . .

"Windsor, 13 May, 1809."

"To cheer myself, my dear lady Harcourt, I take up my pen to return you thanks for your very kind & affectionate letter. . . .

"I look upon our Friends thinking of us when we are under anxiety as one of the greatest Comforts. Indeed, my dear Madam, we have had an uncommon share of distress ever since the month of May, about one beloved object or the other; but some of them are past, & I trust, at least I hope, that I have learnt in that time a true Submission to the Will of Providence. I do not deny that I have struggled; but after all, could I have done better than that Providence which Directs all for the best? No! Certainly Not!

<sup>u</sup> This snuff-box, on the Queen's death, was given back to Lady Harcourt by the Prince Regent, and is now at Nuneham.



& I do assure you, that when I am alone, & think it over, I see such singular instances of the Hand of Providence in all that has happened, that I must say to myself, Thank God for it. But those are Events which it would be imprudent to name in a letter.

"Our beloved King's illness leaves us still under some anxiety; but, thank God, there is not the smallest doubt of His perfect recovery, of which the Physicians give us all the greatest assurance. His strength does not fail Him; but we require Time & quiet, which I hope will be allowed to Him; & if we go on as we do now, improving by degrees, great hopes may be entertained of some unpleasing Events not taking place, *vous comprenez?* I will only add how sincerely I am

"Your affectionate friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, 10 Dec., 1810."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—.... A certain Friend of mine is desirous that there should be no more Court Days this year; the reason you may guess, & as long as the Mourning Days lasts I have come into it; but I have a fear that the World, who will talk & censure, will explain this step as Cowardice, whereas I think that, suppose a certain lady comes, which I cannot prevent, it will be better to face the Evil now, even if a Noise

be made at Her coming to Court, than to revive it another year, when perhaps all has become Quiet. ....

"I must just mention an anecdote of the Chancellor & Sir W. Scott. The day it was settled between the latter & lady Sligo, He set off to announce it to the Chancellor, who met Him in the Street; the Coaches stopped, & Sir W. S. said, *Brother, I intended going to your House & to inform you of my intended Marriage with the M<sup>s</sup> of Sligo: upon which the C. said, Brother, where did you Dine? Dine! Brother, you know this is not Dinner time! Well then, you are Drunk, & better go home; Coachman, go on.* Do you not admire the elegance of this conversation?

"It has already been reported that lady A. H. had given up Her Place as lady of the B., but I give no credit to that report.

"How the acquaintance with such a Trio as the C. of O., lady P., and lady A. H. could be brought about, would be astonishing to me, were we not witness, that Delicacy of Society was never thought of either in Town or Country; & I am most truly sensible of the dear King's great strictness, at my arrival in England, to prevent my making many acquaintances; for He always used to say, that, in this Country, it was difficult to know how to draw a line, on account of the Politics of the Country; & that

there never could be kept up a Society without party, which was always dangerous for any Woman to take part in, but particularly so for the Royal Family; & with truth do I assure you, that I am not only sensible that He was right, but I feel thankful for it from the bottom of my Heart.

"The Partys at the Q. H. have of course been guided by the Ins & Outs of the moment, by the King's orders, but He allowed & encouraged me to be Civil to all; by which means I hope to have done tolerably well in the World, & my intention is to continue in the same way: tho' I may be called *Hum Drum*, *n'importe*, my Conscience is free from accusation, & I am a Piece of Antiquity myself.

"I beg my Compliments to the A. B. & to lady Ann, & beg you to believe me,

"Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 22nd April, 1813."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... A very singular anecdote is come to my ears, which I must mention as a strong proof of the Lord Chancellor having nothing to do with the Secret Examination. When He was in the Court last week, He wrote in pencil to ask a Mr. Leach, Is it true that I am reported to be the Secret

Examiner of the suspected Secret Examination? to which upon the same paper, the answer given was, No! not the Examiner, but to sanction it. Under that the Chancellor wrote, *Both are Equally false*. That paper was handed about afterwards.

"Ever your affectionate friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, 29 March, 1813."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... The Dutchess of Angouleme wrote a very pritty letter to Eliza when she arrived in town, expressif of being desirous to see me; of course it cannot be here, & therefore, whenever it is to be, it must be put off till I come to the Q. H., but I wish you would call there in my name, and say every thing kind & feeling, & if possible to find out in what manner She means to be treated & received. I hope & trust that she will keep quiet, as in Her present situation that would, *selon moi*, be the wisest thing all the Bourbons can do. The Orleans wish to go in the Country, and, if she remains, I hope She will do the same; I know I must See Her, but the less fuss we make with them the better it will be for their cause (so I think), for too much Shew in civility, I mean outwardly, will of course



Exasperate B., & do mischief; but I am for rendering their Suffering state as little so as possible, but let it be done quietly, *ceci est entre Nous*.

"Windsor, 25 April, 1813."

".... I AM a going on Saturday Evening to Town, to see the Consecration of the Bishop of London at Lambeth on Sunday; I rejoice (for I am curious) to see the whole ceremony, which I expect to be very awfull, for I never was present at an Ordination in Germany without being greatly overcome.

"Richmond seems to be this Summer a Colony of all Nations, Russians, Prussians, Spaniards, & Swedes, are all settled there. Amongst the latter, I must number Madame de Staehl, who is very much visited & liked by every body. Amongst Her particularities I must not omit to name that she carries a little bit of Stick in Her Hand, which lies by Her at Dinner, & when she speaks she plays with it in Her Hands, as very few people could suppose that a Sensible Woman like herself *pouvoit s'amuser, d'une telle Bariolle*. A lady in the Company, where she saw Her manoeuvring with this would-be Fan, was determined to find out the meaning of it, & made acquaintance with the Femme de Chambre, who explained it to be *Necessaire à Madame pour lui fournisseur des Pensées & des Idées*.

"Madame de Staehl's Book is to come out next month; She has sold it for £1500. I understand that she is not much pleased with the translation; for what appears Gentil in one language, becomes vulgar when literally translated in another language....

"Windsor, 26 Sept., 1813."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—You do really stand the chance of seeing my Antique Face in about 10 Days at Brighton; of which I beg, however, you will not say any thing yet; but *en attendant* you will be so good as to make inquiries what Charities there are to which I ought or ought not to Subscribe, & whether or not I must give any thing to the Master of the Ceremony. Remember, I cannot give as the King, but will Stretch my Purse as far as it can go; but I do not volunteer unnecessary Expenses.

"You will inform me of all this before I leave this place, that I may prepare myself with the Needfull in time.

"I hope the air agrees with you as well as you had a Presentiment it would do; & that if we meet it will be in tolerable Health.

"My dearest lady Harcourt,

"Ever your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 13th August, 1814."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—Tho' later than it ought to be, yet with not less sincerity, do I congratulate you upon the prospect the Archbishop & all His Family have of seeing a Son & Nephew<sup>z</sup> so well settled; & that the choice of so young a man should happen to fall upon so amiable a young woman<sup>y</sup>. Her Sister<sup>z</sup> is so worthy a person, & so beloved in the Family she is married into, that there is every reason possible to expect the same happy establishment in Mr. Vernon's Family; & if to amiability of character she can add good Health, & which I do wish Her most Sincerely, she will be enabled to enjoy Her happiness; for that I am sorry to say Her poor Sister wants sadly.

"... I made a Visit at my return from London to Sir J. Banks, at Springrove, where I was to see some very curious & beautifull Plants; but the rain was so constant, that I promised to go again the first Sun Shining Day. I found Him in excellent spirits, looking like Ivory, free from Pain, but quite helpless in point of legs. He is roled about both within & without Doors, & finds hardly time enough for the variety of his pursuits. His present undertaking I should think (but then I am an ignorant Creature) extreamly laborious, as it is the Etymology of all the old English words, for which He must consult a world of old books

<sup>z</sup> Granville Vernon.<sup>y</sup> Miss Eyre.<sup>z</sup> Lady Manvers.

& dictionaries, and which with writing down & looking out gives work enough; but he assures me that it is extreamly entertaining. . . .

"I will now add my compliments to the A. B. & Lady Ann Vernon, & beg you to believe me,

"My dearest Lady Harcourt,

"Your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, 13 August, 1813."

"... THERE have been two subjects started in the House of Commons, which I am sure must worry the Prince; & I fear will make His party at the Pavillion less chearfull than He expected it to be, which I am truely sorry for. The Military Business I should hope, by what others tell me, may be easily got over, as it has been conducted with so much propriety; & I am sure the Duke of York is so just, & so desirous to act right, that He never would have approved of the Sentence if not perfectly Justifiable. But the other motion about a Certain young Lady, I fear will not so easily be got off. The consequences of its being carried will be to deprive the Father of the Power He ought to have; for independance is what we aim at, which of course must insue if an Establishment is made; and what effect it will take upon a daring mind is very doubtfull. After what has happened, we must always be appre-



hensive of something like it recurring, if not worse; and I cannot see how Ministers will be able to stand out against it, without incurring Blame from all sides; for whatever party they take, they will disoblige both the K. & the Public.

"I am indeed very desirous to know what effect it has taken on the P., and perhaps you may give me little hints about it. I should not be surprized if the Prince was to come to Town upon it, as it is a subject that of course must require much conversation & prudence to Manage; and also can never be entered upon by Ministers without special Order.

"I am sorry that, after having had the Prospect of quiet, we should so very soon see an Inclination to bring forward so many Cutting Subjects; and, that under the appearance of being Just, so much mischief is intended; for I fear much of this is Personal. God Grant that Honest advisers may be found, whose Counsel may be accepted and followed; but which ever party carries their point, there is much to be feared, and very little good to be expected. . . .

"I will now release you, my dearest Lady Harcourt, only adding my compliments to your sister, & to assure you how sincerely I am

"Your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, 13 Nov., 1814."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I have just read the most melancholy & most glorious account for this Nation that the D. of Wellington ever did send. Amongst the dead I see poor Major Howard's name, & feel most truly for His Parents, His little Wife, & Children. Pray let poor lady Carlisle know how sincerely I partake of their Distress, & say every thing that is kind. Oh, what a list of Killed & Wounded, it makes one's heart ache; and those who understand it better than I do, are of opinion that the Blow has been so severe to that Tyrant, that it may be the means of putting an End to this Strife much sooner. God Grant it! I can say no more, for I am in haste.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 22nd June, 1815."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . Kew air has done me much good; & having been absent from that place above 10 full years, our reception there was most Hearty; in short, we were such a Novelty there, that the two Sundays we passed at that place the Gardens were Crowded with People, & the River with Boats, which made it look uncommonly Chearfull.

"My Assembly on the 12th went off in perfection; it was a little fatiguing, but there were many reasons why it was proper to be in Town;

& I hope it will convince the World that whatever unpleasant steps I am necessitated to take upon a particular Event, I have no reason to fear coming to Town, as many did believe; for my decision is not taken by caprice, but upon principle; & God knows it was a bitter Pill to swallow for me, & yet I cannot regret the step I have taken.

"During my stay at Kew, I dined at the Dutchess of Orleans'. It was a charming party, only their own Family. Both she & Mamsell d'Orleans are most agreeable people, much united, prudent, & very desirous to be quiet at Home; & having many rational amusements within themselves, the Day is never too long for them. . . .

"Thank God we are to have no Visits from the Potentates. The Emperor of Austria has sent His excuses to the Prince for not coming, on account of the affair in Italy. The Arch Duke of Tuscany is to marry the former Crown Princess of Würtemberg, to the Great Joy of every body. I hope she will be happy, for Her Qualities are such as to make Her deserve a better fate than she had with the C. P. of Würtemberg.

"I beg my best Compliments to the A. B. & lady Ann Vernon, & am ever

"Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, the 18th August, 1815."

From Queen Charlotte to the Archbishop of York :—

"MY LORD,—The Regent having received a request of His Daughter to prolong Her Visit for a few Days more, is very anxious that I should also remain: Tho' my Heart is more at Windsor, where Duty & Affection equally incline me to be, I am sure that without my stating any further reason for my acquiescing, than that much good may arise both in Public & Private by Indulging Father & Child by staying, and possibly doing some good by my Presence, I shall not be Blamed by the World. I have therefore recourse to you, & beg you will be so good as to Inform the D. of Montrose of it, that He may settle with His Colleagues who is to attend at Windsor during My Absence, which is decided by The Prince to be till next Wednesday.

"CHARLOTTE.

"Brighton, the 10th January, 1816.

"I beg my Compliments to l<sup>dy</sup> Ann."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—You will be glad to hear that I have had the pleasure of a Visit from your Brother, the A. B. of York, & His three Daughters; & I was glad to see the



Eldest of them look in such good Health after so much suffering for such a length of time; & I think that Her having grown Four Inches since that painfull operation, you may expect to see Her grow still a little more. The two others are very nice behaved little Girls; & your little favorite was so very quiet, that the A. B. said, If lady Harcourt was present, Georgina would be romping enough, & she would not be so Sedate. Upon my asking Her if Aunt Harcourt was the Romping Aunt, she burst out a laughing; but what entertained Her the most was by going away: Her Father turned Her round in order to go Backward out of the Room; and she was very much struck with, I believe in Her Idea, this awkward Ceremony. They were prittily Dressed in Cloath Pelices, well fitted, & made up in good taste.

"As to the A. B. Himself, I think He looks better than He did before He left Town. He certainly sinks in spirits at times; but recovers again surprisingly. He has had a severe Tryal, by hearing Handel's Music played by the Prince's Band, of which His lost Daughter was, I understand, a perfect mistress; but I flatter myself it was less overcoming the last time.

"If I had wrote so much of my own Family, I should say Pardon me; but at present it is

needless to do so, as the contents of this must interest & give you pleasure. . . .

"Ever your sincere friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Brighton, 16 Jan., 1816."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . Lady Maccelsfield was highly flattered by the notice the Royal Family took of Her at Paris, but shocked of the bad manners the French allow themselves towards the English. For instance, when she was at the Dowager Dutchess of Orleans', the Duchesse de Duras was there also; who was so offended at the notice the Dutchess took of lady M., that she got up & said quite loud to the lady in waiting, *Vous ne faite qu'introduire des Anglois*; this said Dutchess is reported to be particularly rude to the Duke of Wellington.

"I rejoice to hear so good an account of the Arch-Bishop & lady Ann, & beg you will say every thing that is kind from me to them. Lord Carlisle's recovery must make all His Family happy; I wish most sincerely that it may last.

"My paper will only serve me to say how sincerely I am

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, Oct. 30th, 1816."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I should like very much to increase our company with a *Beau* of your procuring; for I know that you will not refuse me your assistance, when I tell you that I have set my Heart upon a Visit from the A. B. of York, whose Company I never can enjoy, as His Visits at Windsor chiefly are during my absence. I know there will be no Antient Concert Easter Week; & if you could persuade Him to come Easter Munday, & give me two or three Days, not only myself, but I do not advance too much when I say every body, will be glad to see Him.

"I leave the arrangement of this in your Hands, knowing well that the Commission will be gladly undertaken by you; & that you will obey my orders not *malgré bongré*, but *de bon Cœur*.

"Ever Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"Windsor, March 26th, 1817."

"DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—By your kind Inquiries after myself & Family, for which I return you sincere thanks, You are acquainted with the melancholy Event at Clermont, which came like a Thunderstroke upon us. God knows, from the moment I saw the poor deceased Charlotte advance in Her Pregnancy, I had a bad opinion of Her, & named it to my Daughters; for Her

Figure was so immense (to me not natural), that I could not help being uneasy to a considerable degree.

"I have seen, since my return, the Prince; & you will be glad to hear that tho' He is very much shook & nervous, I do not think His Health has suffered for the present; & I do hope, nay I am almost sure, that the reflexion of His having been able for the last year & a half to render His only Child happy, must greatly alleviate His distress; for He granted and accomplished Her wish to marry the Man she chose Herself, and gave Her the place to reside at she always was partial to. Her Leopold made Her completely happy, for without Him she enjoyed nothing, & Clermont was indeed Her Earthly Paradise; & God be praised that the Prince can have nothing to reproach Himself with, but can say with truth, I made Her Happy. Much more may be said upon this painfull subject, which I will postpone till we meet, when we may Philosophize, & say many things which would be improper in a letter.

"The Day for the last Ceremony is fixed for the 18th, but your presence will not be desired. I told the Regent that you would be ready to strain every nerve to show both attention & affection, but I would not call upon you, as the agitation upon this occasion might injure your Health; so you see I have been beforehand with you, &



trust that you will approve, & the Regent is satisfied with what I have settled. . . .

"I expect the D. of Gloucester, & Mary to-day; the others are all as well as this stroke will admit of, & of course our dear little Sophia's delicate frame feels it more: & now my dear lady Harcourt,

"Ever Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Windsor, 11th November, 1817.*"

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... My return to Bath is fixed for the 24th, if all goes on well. I should have been glad to go two days sooner, but the melancholy ceremony which is to take place to-morrow will retain the necessary Servants for my attendance a day longer here at Windsor, which obliges me to go two days later than I intended.

"You name in your letter the 5th of December as the day of your coming into waiting; as I must, of course, be still taking the Waters at that time, I wish you to tell me sincerely if you would not rather decline this Journey, as perhaps a Visit to Bath might recall to your mind many pleasant Days, accompanied also with regret about the Friend you past them with; & since which time you have not, at least not to my recollection, been there. Should you feel any uneasiness upon this,

I know that lady Melville will be ready to remain; & you have only to write a line to Her upon the subject, that she may settle it with Mr. Wallis whether He is to remain at Weymouth, or stay at St. Giles', where He now is; for if she does not remain He will go back to Blackheath. I trust that you will treat my proposal as I really mean it, Delicacy towards your feeling, & avoiding unnecessary anxiety, for I did not nor ever will meddle in the ladies Waitings; but as far as common feelings go, to prevent unnecessary agitation of mind, I stand Justified in representing it.

"I beg my compliments to Lord Vernon, & hope that you enjoy the fine mild weather, tho' it is certainly not seasonable.

"Ever Your Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE.

"*Windsor, 18th November, 1817.*"

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SUPPLEMENT  
TO  
*THE LONDON GAZETTE*

*Of Tuesday the 17th of November.*

Published by Authority.

Tuesday, November 17, 1818.

*"Whitehall, November 17, 1818.*

"This day, at One o'Clock, the Queen departed this life, to the inexpressible grief of all the Royal Family, after a tedious illness, which Her Majesty bore with the most pious fortitude and resignation. The many great and exemplary virtues which so eminently distinguished Her Majesty throughout Her long life, were the objects of universal esteem and admiration amongst all classes of His Majesty's Subjects, and render the death of this Illustrious and Most Excellent Princess an unspeakable loss to the whole Nation.

*"Printed by ROBERT GEORGE CLARKE, Cannon-Row,  
Parliament-street."*

[Price Seven Pense.]

Anecdote of King George the Third  
when Prince of Wales.

HIS Royal Highness, when he was about twenty years old, was one day walking with Lord Bute from Kew to Richmond: just as they were crossing the lane that divided the two Gardens, a Man, who had for some time appeared to be watching them, came up and asked if the Prince of Wales had been out that day?

H. R. H. answered, "He has been in the Garden."

"Can you tell where he is now?" was the next question.

"He was at the end of this lane a very little while ago," was the reply.

The Man ran on, and Lord Bute expressed his surprise at the manner in which the Prince had answered him.

Upon which he said, "I told him nothing that was not strictly true; but I did not think it expedient to inform him who I was."



The Prince and Lord Bute then walked on to the old Palace at Richmond, where George the Second then was. The next day the Man was found in the lane with his throat cut; but it was done in such a manner, as proved that it could not have been his own act.

### Letters.

IT appears necessary to state, for the guidance of the reader, that the following letters are given in sets; that is to say, that the letters of one writer are printed altogether; so that, in commencing a fresh series, the reader is carried back again to an earlier date.

Doubtless, the mixing up of the letters of various writers, according to their several dates, would have given a more consecutive narrative; but, upon the whole, the method here pursued appeared preferable to the Editor.

The Prince of Wales<sup>a</sup> to Lord Harcourt:—

“1794.

“DEAR LORD HARCOURT,—I never was more vex'd in all my life, than finding when I call'd at your house at Windsor yesterday morning, between nine & ten o'Clock, that Lady Harcourt

<sup>a</sup> Born 1762, married 1795, Regent 1811, King 1820, died 1830.

& you had set off for Nunham above two hours before. I had very strong reasons for regretting the not seeing you both, as I was particularly desirous of talking over *various & many* topicks with you; convinc'd in the first place that there are no people who wish me personally better than you both do; &, secondly, perfectly certain that there are none of whom I entertain a higher opinion in *every* point of view; but particularly in point of knowledge of every thing that is right & proper in the sphere of life we live in, than I do both of you & of Lady Harcourt. However, I hope some how or other we shall meet soon; till then, Adieu.

"I beg my best respects & compliments to Lady Harcourt, expressive of all my regrets in not having seen her previous to her departure; & desire that dear Lord Harcourt will ever believe me

"His very sincere Friend,

"GEORGE P.

"*Carlton House, August 16th, 1794.*"

The Prince of Wales to Lady Harcourt:—

"DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—Pray give the enclos'd note to the Queen; but not when the King

is present. I will call upon you when I have seen the Queen, & relate to you what has past.

"I remain, dear Lady Harcourt,

"Your very sincere Friend & humble Servant,

"G. P.

"*Windsor Castle, Tuesday Morning,*  
*nine o'Clock.*

"P.S. Pray deliver it as soon as you can."

The Prince of Wales to Lord Harcourt:—

"VERY particular business makes me wish to detain Lady Harcourt longer than I am afraid would suit your punctuality. Pray go to dinner, & she will take care of herself. We are waiting for Lord Jersey's return, & Lady Harcourt will have the goodness to explain the circumstances when next she sees you.

"Ever sincerely y<sup>rs</sup>, My dear Lord,

"G. P."

From William, Duke of Clarence<sup>b</sup>, to Lady Harcourt:—

"*St. James', Friday afternoon.*

"MY EVER DEAR AND SINCERE FRIEND,—I was fortunately at home when your Ladyship's

<sup>b</sup> Born 1765, married 1818, King 1830, died 1837.



kind letter and various enclosures reached me. I do hope and believe Miss Cooper will accept the situation about my dearly beloved daughters. I have so many good and excellent reasons to wish it, that I trust Miss Cooper will bring herself to take charge of what is really nearest my heart,—my daughters once *happily* and *respectably* settled,—I do look forward with every fair prospect of happiness, considering the high character the Princess Adelaide<sup>c</sup> bears, and the insight that her letters gave me into her mind, and resolution not to *be at once* dazzled by the offer, but seriously to reflect on the step which she means to take.

"I really want words to express the unbounded goodness of the Regent, both in his public and private capacity, towards me; and your Ladyship has been an eye witness of the tenderness and affectionate goodness of the Queen, as a good mother, and sincere friend towards her son. The Queen has done a thing never even thought of in Germany before, that is, of writing at once to the Princess Adelaide, before she had informed Her Majesty of her intended marriage with me. My Sisters and the Dutchess of York have most kindly and equally unusually followed the considerate and kindly affectionate example set by the Queen,

<sup>c</sup> Daughter of George, Duke of Saxe Meiningen, born 1792, died 1849.

which must prove both to the Dutchess mother and the Princess Adelaide there sincere wishes to see this marriage concluded. I now hope and trust Miss Cooper, on this other point so interesting to me as a father, will set my mind at ease; and then I hope by prudence and discretion to look to prospects of real comfort.

"I want words to express my full gratitude to your Ladyship for *all*, but particularly for *this* mark of your Ladyship's friendship and regard for me. Adieu, and ever believe me,

"Dearest Lady Harcourt,

"Yours most sincerely and devotedly,

"WILLIAM."

From Edward, Duke of Kent<sup>d</sup>, to Lord Harcourt:—

"Kensington Palace, July 6th, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,—Permit me to acknowledge with many thanks your most obliging favor of the 25 of June. The immediate attention you have been so good as to pay to my wishes in behalf of my Servant, Charles O'Bee, claims every mark of gratitude on my part. Since I wrote, I have been informed that Pitt, one of the Queen's hobby Grooms, has been in so miserable a state

<sup>d</sup> Born 1767, married 1818, died 1820.

of health for many Months past, that he is totally incapable of doing any duty at all; indeed, it is thought he never will again. Should he therefore either be pensioned off, or die, I am peculiarly solicitous that O'Bee should succeed him; for having been always brought up in a saddle-horse stable, he would be fitter for that situation almost than for any other in the Queen's stables; but, in the mean while, should he be fortunate enough to be appointed either a Postilion, or a helper on the Establishment, I shall feel equally thankful to your Lordship. He is still with me, & will remain till I embark for America, which I am apt to think will be about the 15th or 16th. I shall then send him immediately up to the Clerk of the Stables, who, I conclude, will have rec<sup>d</sup> your Lordship's instructions respecting him.

"I cannot conclude this Letter without expressing how highly flatter'd I feel myself by the friendly manner in which you express yourself as to the good opinion you have formed of me. I trust, my dear Lord, I shall never thro' life forfeit it; believe me, I shall ever entertain the most grateful sense of your kindness towards me; and I hope many years will not elapse before I shall again shake you by the hand; till then, my best wishes will ever attend you, as well as Lady Harcourt, to whom I again beg leave to offer my best

regards. Permit me now to subscribe myself, with every sentiment of the truest esteem,

"Most faithfully & devotedly yours, &c.,

"EDWARD.

"*R<sup>t</sup> H. Earl Harcourt, &c. &c.*"

From Edward, Duke of Kent, to Lord Harcourt:—

"*Kensington Palace, 16th April, 1802.*"

"MY DEAR LORD,—The Bearer of this letter, W<sup>m</sup> Clure, my head Groom, is under the necessity of leaving my service, on account of his large family rendering it impossible for him to follow me to Gibraltar. I have therefore most anxiously to solicit Your Lordship's good offices to think of him for a Hobby Groom's place in the Queen's livery, whenever a vacancy offers, or for a Chairman's place, should one in that class happen first, provided his appointment to the latter will not preclude his promotion to the former afterwards. Of his character I never can say enough; for his Sobriety, his honesty, and his fidelity are beyond all praise; and I am certain that to the Queen he would prove a most valuable servant indeed.

"Having said thus much, I shall only add, that Your Lordship will oblige me more than I can express by your attention to this request, which



I shall always acknowledge with the warmest Gratitude. I am to leave London on Sunday Morning to pass a few days at Windsor, in my way to Falmouth, where I expect to embark on the 25th for Gibraltar.

"I cannot conclude this letter without desiring you to present my best wishes to Lady Harcourt, and to accept the assurance of similar Sentiments towards yourself, being,

"My Dear Lord,

"With truth Ever yours most faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"*The Earl of Harcourt, &c. &c.*"

From Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex\*, to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have till now delayed writing to you, untill I could execute the Commission you charged me with for my Brother, the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness has now ordered me to return you his best thanks for the offer of your House, & intends profiting of your kindness.

"We shall leave this place on Thursday next, & sleep on the Road, so as to be at Newnham for Dinner on Friday, & to remain the whole of

\* Born 1773, died 1843.

Saturday. I think it right to inform you, my Dear Lord, that the Prince eats nothing but *Fish & Vegetables*. My Brother will be accompanied by me and Colonel Bloomfield. Pray give my best Compliments to Lady Harcourt, & say how happy I feel at the Idea of seeing Her Ladyship so soon.

"Believe me, my Dear Lord, with the Sentiments of the truest Regard & Esteem,

"Yours truly obliged & Devotedly,

"AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.

"*Berkeley Castle, October the 5th, 1807.*

"*To The Earl of Harcourt.*"

From Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge†, to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—... Mrs. Harcourt has often mentioned to me that you asked after me in your letters to her; I can assure you this renders me very happy, as it proves to me you have not forgotten me. We always were great Friends together, & I hope that we shall always remain so.

"I have very little news to give you this side the Water. We are here very quiet; and I do believe that the French are going into Winter

† Born 1774, married 1818, died 1850.

Quarters. I am at present with a Brigade under General Abercromby's orders.

"The weather has been very severe, so that I can assure you we have suffered a good deal. We are at present making huts; and I hope that in a few days they will be ready. I suppose that I shall now be soon relieved, as I have been here a fortnight, & my Brigade is the only one of the Hanoverians which is not in Cantonments. I was rendered very happy by the arrival of Ernest<sup>5</sup>. I found him looking remarkably well; but his sight is grown very bad, and in my opinion much worse than when he went over to England. . . .

"With the hopes of hearing from you soon again, I conclude my letter in remaining

"Your affectionate Friend & servant,

"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.

"*Nov. 24th, 1794.*"

Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge,  
to Lady Harcourt:—

"*20 March, 1795.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . Thank God, I have bore the Campaign very well. The cold was shocking, and the marches we had to make horrid; but I luckily have escaped having any limb frozen. What a comfort it is to me

<sup>5</sup> Duke of Cumberland, born 1771, married 1815, died 1851.

now not to have quitted the Army this winter. I have shared every thing with the Men, but I would not miss what I have seen & gone through for the world. I wrote this to the King in my last letter, & thanked him for having left me here.

"The poor Family of Orange is certainly very much to be pityed; but the Dear King's kindness and goodness to them must be a very great Comfort to them in their Misfortunes. The young Princess is a charming young Woman: so is Prince Frederick a very fine gallant young fellow; He has distinguished himself very much in this War, not only by his personal Bravery, but also by his application and Military Talents.

"Be so good as to give my best Compliments to Lord Harcourt, and be assured I ever shall be

"My Dearest Lady Harcourt,

"Your Devoted & aff<sup>te</sup> Friend,

"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK."

Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge,  
to Lady Harcourt:—

"*Oldenburg, Sept. 25, 1795.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I am very sorry not to be able to give you any good news from Germany. The last accounts, which



arrived yesterday, brought the news of the Austrians having evacuated the Fortress Ehrenbreitstein, and having left there 141 Guns. I hope this news may not prove true; but as things are going on now in the World, one gets inclined to believe the worst. Should the second Descent on the Coast of France succeed, I do then believe that the French will be forced to stop in their progress into Germany. It is wonderful in what a short time they crossed the Rhine. The Austrians, it seems, have not made any very great defense; at least, one must conclude so, after the manner in which the Enemy got over the Rhine.

"This is now the 6th month that I am here, always expecting my Fate. You will agree with me that it is not very agreeable to be so long a waiting. Thank God! it now must soon be determined; and I believe we shall soon quit this place, which is as tiresome as possible, for there is no Company in the world. One resource we have here is a very good Library, else there would be no living here.

"Adieu, my Dearest Lady Harcourt, with my love to L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt; and many wishes for the further Continuance of your Good Health. I subscribe myself

"Your ever Aff<sup>e</sup> Friend,  
"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK."

From Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge:—

*"Hanover, June 29th, 1797.*

"MY DEAREST L<sup>y</sup> HARCOURT,—... I am very glad to be able to give you a very good account of my sister<sup>h</sup>, whom I left in perfect Health at Münden last Saturday sennight. She bore her journey remarkably well, though she was exceedingly hurried and worried the whole time; for she never stopped a day at a place where she was a moment quiet, nothing but Fêtes and Balls awaited her wherever she came, so that she has had very little rest the whole time. I trust in God she will be happy; at least, she behaves in such a charming manner, that she has quite captivated the affections of her Husband; and I do not doubt that she will always please him in the same manner if she only continues going on as she has begun...."

From Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Hanover, Sept. 1st, 1798.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—... I have from my Childhood been very much attached to you; and the short time I had the pleasure of seeing

<sup>h</sup> The Princess Royal; married the Prince of Wurtemberg, May 18, 1797.

you when I was last in England, and the goodness you then had for me, has certainly not diminished, but on the contrary, encreased that attachment on my side; and I can assure you that whenever we meet again you shall find me in this Respect unaltered.

"The good Turn of the affairs in Ireland has rendered me very happy; and I trust that all Idea of Rebellion will soon be given over in that Country. The Firmness shewn by Government has undoubtedly contributed the most to the Quelling of this unlucky Rebellion; and had the other Governments on the Continent shewn as much Energy, I will answer for matters being quite otherways than they are now. . . .

"Believe me, my dear Lady Harcourt,

"Your ever aff<sup>e</sup> Friend,

"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.

"As I have not mentioned a word about myself in my Letter, and that you perhaps may be anxious to know what I am about, I will just write you a few lines to mention I am very well, and very contented in this Country.

"The King has lately been so good as to make me Lieutenant-General, which has rendered me very happy. I have been since two years Major-General on the Staff, Commanding a Brigade of

the Troops which form a Line for to protect the Line of Demarkation. I have been two years quartered at a Village; but luckily am now at Hanover, owing to our Cantonments having been changed. I will now not trouble you any longer than just to beg your pardon for having written so much about myself; but as you were so good as to interest yourself about me, I thought you would like to hear what I was about."

From Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Cassel, January 27th, 1818.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I cannot leave your very kind letter of the 5th Instant unanswered any longer; for I feel very anxious indeed to thank you myself for the very friendly manner in which you have been so good as to express yourself on the fortunate change which is soon to take place in my situation. Having known one another for so many years, I was fully convinced that you, my dearest lady Harcourt, as one of my oldest friends, would not be sorry to hear my news. And it will be an additional satisfaction to you to hear from me that I am the happiest of men; and I really believe that on the surface of the Globe there does not exist so



happy a Being as myself. Every hour I feel that my esteem and attachment for my bride<sup>1</sup> increases; and she is really every thing both as to Heart, mind, and Person I can wish.

"You will, I am sure, allow that, after this description, I have a right to say that I am the most fortunate of men. Truly, truly grateful do I feel to Providence for having reserved this Blessing in store for me; and Heaven grant that I may be deserving of it, and not forfeit my happiness by any misconduct.

"I cannot conclude without begging you to remember me most kindly to your Brother, the Archbishop, who I hope is well; and pray tell him that I am sure he will not be sorry to hear that I am going soon to be married.

"Now, God bless you, my dearest Lady Harcourt, and believe me

"Your ever sincere and aff<sup>ne</sup> friend,

"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK."

The overtures of Prince Ferdinand of Wurtemberg, for the hand of Princess Augusta, in the year 1791, were not crowned with success. The propositions made, five years later, by the Crown Prince of Wurtem-

<sup>1</sup> He married, May 1, 1818, Augusta, daughter of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse.

berg, for the hand of the Princess Royal of England, were very nearly meeting with a similar fate. Jealousies amongst some of the small states in Germany, of the influence to be derived from the match, appear to have prompted the circulation of various stories to the disadvantage of the Prince of Wurtemberg; which were well-nigh producing their desired effect upon the mind of George the Third. At last, however, the counsels of true friends prevailed, and the happiness of the Princess Royal was secured.

The following papers will give some insight into the difficulties which preceded this afterwards happy marriage.

Extrait Traduction d'une lettre du Prince Héréditaire de Wurtemberg, a Mr. Le Ct. de Leppetin, du 16 Avril :—

"QUELQUE peu probable, même presque impossible qu'il soit, que cette lettre, qui ne peut arriver que le 3 de Mai, vous trouve encore à Londres, je ne peux me refuser au plaisir de vous

écrire et de vous accuser la reception de votre lettre du 27 Mars, dont je vous remercie de tout mon cœur. Je partage bien vivement avec vous votre impatience, après tant de travail et une aussi longue attente, ne pas encore pouvoir prévoir la fin et le resultat de nos demarches ; cela est certainement unique dans son genre, jamais un homme d'honneur et de mon nom n'a éprouvé de pareils procedés. Les eternelles justifications de ma conduite et de mes actions, sont d'un genre si nouveau pour moi, que très souvent je me suis tâté pour savoir si je suis bien le même homme.

"Je sais certainement apprecier, comme je le dois, une alliance avec la famille royale, les avantages et l'honneur qui peuvent en resulter pour ma maison, et surtout le bonheur d'unir mon sort à celui d'une personne telle que la Princess Royale, dont la bonté du caractère, la justesse d'esprit, et les bonnes qualités, sont si generalement reconnues. Mais je vous le repete, si jamais j'avois pu prévoir que les propositions du Duc de B. me mettroient dans la triste necessité de vous exposer, mon ami, a rester des mois entiers à mandier pour ainsi dire de porte en porte la réponse à une proposition aussi simple, et de me justifier contre des prejugés aussi ridicules que depourvus de motifs et de justice, certainement rien au monde n'auroit pu me determiner à une

semblable démarche. De tout tems ma reputation a été intacte, et je crois avoir atteint l'age de quarante avec la reputation d'un homme d'honneur et de bon sens. Si j'ai été mal jugé sur mon premier malheureux mariage, certainement je ne le dois qu'à la delicatesse de ma façon de penser et d'agir, et il me semble que de ce coté la même, ma conduite doit être assés justifiée par celle des parents de ma première femme.

"Je vous avoue, mon ami, que tout ceci me blesse profondement, et que sans la bienveillance de la famille Royale, qui lui assure a jamais mon estime et ma plus profonde reconnoissance, vous auriez depuis long tems reçu l'ordre de votre rappel, mais aujourd'hui, malgré la patience que je n'ai cessé de precher a mon père, je ne suis plus le maître de sa volonté ; croyant sa dignité compromise si vous prolongiez votre sejour dans un pays ou l'on n'honore seulement pas sa proposition d'une reponse, il vous ordonne de revenir après la reception de cette lettre ; et il ne me reste à moi que le regret de n'avoir pas mieux reussi dans une affaire dont le succes eut comblé le plus cher de mes vœux. Hippisley sait il l'allemand ? Sinon traduisés lui la lettre, il m'importe beaucoup après sa conduite, aussi amicale qu'honnête envers moi, de lui faire connoître mon caractère et ma reconnoissance dans tout son jour, et de n'être pas aussi méjugé par ce galant homme.



"Vous me demandés, mon ami, si je suis content de vous? Comment cela pouroit il être autrement apres toutes les peines que vous vous êtes donné pour moi? revenés, votre ami vous attend a bras ouverts."

Copie de la Lettre du Ch. de Zeppetin, à Son Attesse Royale Monseigneur Le Prince de Galles, en date du 30<sup>me</sup> Avrill, 1796 :—

"MONSEIGNEUR,—Les ordres réstérés de ma Cour me font un devoir de communiques à Votre Attesse Royale les démarches que je fais dans la négociation dont je suis chargé, et dont j'ai eu l'honneur de Lui rendre compte verbalement, de même que de solliciter la puissante intervention de Votre Altesse Royale, pour l'accomplissement des vœux de Msg<sup>r</sup>. le Prince héréditaire de Württemberg. Je m'en acquitte en Vous envoyant ci joint, Monseigneur, Copie de la Lettre que je viens d'écrire à Lord Grunville, et où vous trouverez les motifs qui me déterminent a renouveler mes instances pour obtenir enfin une reponse. Seroit ce trop me flatter Monseigneur, que d'oser croire que l'espérance que mon maître fond sur l'intérêt que Votre Altesse Royale voudra bien prendre au succes de ma mission, ne sera point trompée, et

qu'il pourra joindre la reconnaissance, aux Sentiments qui l'attachent déjà, et l'attacheront encore à Votre Altesse Royale; Penetré Monseigneur des bontés dont vous voulés bien m'honorer, j'ose partager avec mon maître ces Sentiments, et Vous supplier de me permettre d'y joindre les assurances du très profond respect avec lequel je suis, &c."

Copie de la Lettre du Ch. de Zeppetin à Lord Grunville (*sic*) à Londres, le 30<sup>me</sup> Avrill, 1796 :—

"MYLORD,—Comme il y a plus de deux mois que j'ai fait les premières demarches relatives au principal objet de ma mission ici, et plus de trois semaines que j'ai prié V. E. de m'obtenir de S. M. une audience dans laquelle je puisse lui remettre les lettres dont je suis chargé pour Elle, sans avoir reçu aucune réponse jusqu'à ce jour, malgré *L'Empressement avec lequel j'ai produit tous les Temoignages que l'on ce parru désirer*, je suis encore en position, ni de rendre compts à ma Cour du succès de ces demarches, ni de repondre aux questions que l'on me fait à cet égard dans tous les Lettres que je reçois. . . . Je me vois Mylord d'autant plus forcé à avoir de nouveau recours à vos bontés, que la santé du Duc mon maître

s'affaibissant à mesure qu'il approche le mois de May, époque où il a été deux années de suite frappé d'apoplexie. L'inquiétude de son Altesse Royale, Madame la Duchesse, se joint à l'impatience du Prince héréditaire son fils, de voir terminer favorablement une négociation ont le but se trouveroit considérablement reculé si un événement qu'il faut craindre appelloit le Prince à succéder à son Père. Si ces considérations ne suffisoient pas, j'y ajouterois Mylord celle de l'intérêt que S. M. *L'Empereur, comme beau frère* du Prince héréditaire, *La maison de Bronsvic*, et j'ai même Lieu de croire *L'Impératrice de Russie*, prennent à l'heureux succès de l'objet de ma mission. Ce sont donc ces considérations réunies, qui me déterminent à prier Votre Excellence de vouloir bien obtenir du Roi, qu'il daigne fixer le jour où il trouvera bon que je Lui remette mes Lettres, pour que je puisse enfin porter à ma Cour la réponse que La Majesté jugera à propos d'y faire.

"J'espère, Mylord, que S. M. voudra bien ne voir dans la démarche reiterée que je fais auprès de V. E., que l'impresement d'un sujet à répondre à la juste impatience de son maître, dans une Circonstance où il attend la décision du bonheur de La Vie! de la volonté d'un Roi, auquel il se sent digne d'appartenir par des liens plus doux que celui du profond respect,

qu'il doit à l'un des premiers monarques de L'Europe.

"Trouvés bon Mylord que j'ajoute encore ici l'assurance, &c."

Sir J. Hippesley to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY DEAR MADAM,—As I find myself so unwell that I cannot wait on you, I must again have recourse to my pen. . . .

"I cannot but fancy that the King may open the subject we are so much interested in, in the course of the Day, after receiving, as He probably will, L<sup>d</sup> Grenvill's *Box* this morning. The earnestness of Russia to make her *amende honorable* will give new weight, & as I before observed, effectually silences all Calumny from that quarter.

"The King may observe that the answers to his *Enquiries* are not *so favorable* as He could wish. To this His Majesty may be correctly answered in turn, that 'unless the same candid exposition of facts had been made abroad as we have seen made here by a reference to *authentic Documents, &c.*, it could hardly be supposed that any persons who had remained so long in error could have returned a favorable report.' Add to this the political jealousies, *happy to seize* on the pretence of a suspicious character; to cover their



aversion to see the House of Wertemberg still adding to its weight in the Empire, Every person especially attached to the *House of Hesse* will certainly spare no pains to circulate these obsolete prejudices. And unfortunately *I have seen* that Hesse has had too much influence in decrying Wertemberg with the Regency of H——r.

"If it is observed that even the Duchess of Brunswick *had* her prejudices as strong as any one, the reply is, that until the Duke (who knew all the facts) *very lately undeceived* her Royal Highness, it was natural she should have had them; but the part she and the Duke have since taken is now the *best refutation*.

"In a word, can it be supposed that the Duke & Duchess of Brunswick, the Emperor & Empress Queen, would *all* enter into a *Conspiracy* to *impose on His Majesty*, & sacrifice the Princess Royal to a Prince so undeserving of Her Royal Highness? How! if the *thousandth* part of what Vulgar error has asserted be to be credited!

"On this principle, my dear Madam, I conceive it to be impossible to urge any serious objection to the very honourable proposition which has been made; & if the affair succeeds (which we must hope in God it will) we cannot *regret* the *difficulties* which have tended so much to *discover* the *real worth and Character of the Prince*. If we

had only to sail before the wind this could not have happened.

"Most faithfully, My D<sup>r</sup> Mad<sup>m</sup>, y<sup>rs</sup>,

"J. HIPPESELEY.

"*Sun<sup>d</sup>y Morning.*"

Memorandum by Sir J. Hippesley:—

"*6th May.*

"IN former memorandums the obvious fact has been stated, Viz.—that if *any enquiries* respecting the Prince of Wurtemberg have been made either at *Berlin, Hanover*, or in *Hesse*, or even in *Saxe*, the replies will naturally be governed by the *political prejudices* which influence those states against the *aggrandisement* of *Wurtemberg*; & the more so, as it is known that the Emperor, Bavaria, & the Electors under the influence of Vienna, support the pretensions of Wurtemberg. The Northern Courts will spare no pains to avert or oppose at least the rising greatness of a state already so powerfully allied, the Brother in Law of the *two Empires*; & by the late proposed marriage of the young princess to the House of the Elector Palatine, deriving new strength from that quarter.

"But how is it that these Prejudices have so long circulated, & remained so long uncontradicted? Only because the *extreme* Prudence &

Delicacy of both the Duke of Brunswick & Prince of Wertemberg did not chuse to compromise great names by a declaration of *all the facts*.

"To such an Extent was the Duke's prudence carried, that He did not even *disabuse* the Duchess of Brunswick of *her* prejudices till *very lately*; & to this moment it is supposed that Her Royal Highness is unacquainted with *much* of the dark History of former days. It is certain, however, that the Duchess of Brunswick, from the first to the last moment of the unfortunate period of the Prince's marriage, was possessed of all the facts, & fully justified the extreme delicacy & *tenderness* of the Prince towards her Daughter.

"The Wife of the Prussian *Minister*, and the *other Ladies* who were of the Princess's family, *will speak the same language*. Some *low Servants* found *it their* Interest to *speak another*; but the motives have been known.

"Tho' the Count de Zeppetin has been positively *recalled* by the Duke's last Letters, yet he has been prevailed on to extend his residence here some short time longer; & the writer of this note has fully stated to *the Hereditary Prince* the motives which He trusts will fully excuse this constructive disobedience of the Duke's Minister.

"The writer of these memoranda certainly risks much, if accident should divert the transmission of any of them from the only quarter for which

they are destined; *but in any event* He feels himself acquitting an imperious Duty *even to His Majesty*, in tracing the lines by which *Truth* at last may triumph over the most scandalous prostitution of a narrow & interested policy, which has been exerted to mislead the Judgment of His Majesty."

The following notes appear to be records of the last uneasinesses occasioned by the ruffled dignity of the Hereditary Prince; which, however, were soon to be removed by his happy marriage with the Princess Royal:—

*Secret.*

"25th May.

"H. S. H. speaking to Sr... in great confidence last night, regretted that He had received *no present* from H. R. H. on Her marriage; as it is an invariable usage in Germany, & of so much consequence, that *He could wish the Hint to be given* to Her R. H., tho' it ought not to come from *Himself* or *any one of His own family*.

"His S. H. mentioned this circumstance to L<sup>y</sup> H<sup>t</sup> & myself with so much solicitude, that it appears advisable that the Hint should be communicated to Her R. H. The P. said that it would be one of the first *Questions* put to Him on His



arrival, & He should really find himself mortified in replying to it. *Any thing*, however trivial, would answer the purpose. Perhaps a *Hair Ring* set with Brilliants, which . . . could get set in *two* or three days. Her R. H. will forgive the zeal of Him who suggests this Hint, knowing it can only proceed from the Motive which has influenced His conduct through the whole of the negociation.

"The P—— extended His *Finger* in speaking to Ly H—— saying, '*not a ring to show, &c.*'"

Answer to the above :—

"I AM very sensible of the zeal that induc'd you to write to me; & I hope you will allow my motives for refusing y<sup>r</sup> request to be just. I hope too, that upon reflection, the P. will consider that every Country has its own customs; & that it is as reasonable that he should at present be satisfied with those establish'd here, as it will soon be for the Pss. to adopt those of the place she is going to."

*Private.*

"R. Hotel, P. M.

"MADAM,—The subject of the Memorandum I had the Honor to put into your Ladyship's Hand this morning, I can assure you is *very near*

*the Prince of W<sup>es</sup> feelings.* He says it is impossible for us, unaccustomed to the Etiquette of Germany, to imagine the *ill impression* resulting from the omission. I hope your Ladyship will contrive to mention it to the Pss.

"The P. of W<sup>es</sup> is very anxious to have certain news of the Frigates destined to escort Him. I have been twice to the Admiralty, & the Telegraph is at *work* for Him. The King was apprehensive that the Sailors would not let the Frigates *unmoor* in the River.

"I endeavoured to find Mr. Harcourt at the Drawing Room, but without Success.

"Your Ladyship will excuse this Hasty Billet from y<sup>r</sup> Ladyship's most obliged."

"Sr,—I had not an immediate opportunity of seeing the person you wish'd me to speak to; &, upon consideration, it seems to me most prudent not to mention the subject; it would be impossible for her to suppose that *from myself* I should suggest to her any thing that is not usual in England; & if she thought I had receiv'd a hint from others, it would be very painful to her to find that there was any dissatisfaction, after all the pains that have been taken to show every attention."

From the Princess Royal:—

"May, 1797.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I have received the Queen's Commands to acquaint you that if *you* wish to see my Trousseau, she desires that you will be so good as to be at the Queen's House to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock. Pray mention this to *nobody*, as the Queen does not wish it to be spoken of.

"Adieu, dear Lady Harcourt,

"Your affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA MATILDA.

"Wednesday Evening."

The following letter was written by Baron de Wimpffen to Sir John Hipposly, relating to the Princess Royal of England, married to the Duke of Wurtemberg.

Extract of a Letter from M. Le Baron de Wimpffen, Chamberlain of the Duke of Wurtemberg, to Sir John Hipposly, dated 30 April, Stutgard:—

"S. A. R. Continue à se porter aussi bien qu'il est possible dans sa situation, mais Elle ne sçait pas Encore La mort de son Enfant, à laquelle on

La prepare en le lui peignant comme trop foible pour Lui être apporté. Il est impossible de vous dire l'intérêt que Le public de toutes Classes prend à cet Evenement. Les Eglises ont été constamment pleines de monde qui y courroit de son propre mouvement et Les Larmes aux yeux. Le peuple disoit que si La Duchesse mourroit, ce seroit un signe infaillible que Dieu vouloit en La retirant à lui, épargner à S. A. R. la vûe des malheurs dont Le pays Etoit menacé ; sa mort eut été pour Lui le signal d'une inévitable calamité publique. La conduite du Duc, qui s'Est rendu aux prières avec toute sa famille, et ou il a toujours resté à genoux, a singulièrement accru Le Respect et l'attachement qu'on lui porte, puisqu'il aime sa femmes il est bon mari, disoit le peuple, nous l'aimerons comme de bons sujets doivent aimer un bon maître, et nous lui en donnerons Des preuves. Il est en Effet, mon cher chevalier, difficile d'avoir un attachement plus vrai ni des procedés plus tendres que ceux du Duc pour la Duchesse.

"La Bourgeoisie se prepare à lui donner une fête pour la convalescence de S. A. R. ce qui est innoui dans les Annales de Wirtemberg. Ce fut Le Duc qui apprit à la Duchesse les temoignages de l'intérêt extraordinaire que le peuple prend à Elle, car les gens de la Campagne même accourent en Ville pour avoir de ses nouvelles.



Nous considérons la mort de L'Enfant comme un vrai malheur ; c'étoit une belle et grande fille, qui, en devenant un nouveau gage d'union et de tendresse pour Le père et La mère, eut puissamment contribué au Bonheur de S. A. R. Il faut mieux espérer de l'avenir, aujourd'hui tous les vœux se réunissent pour le recouvrement de sa santé. Elle a eu un peu de fièvre depuis hier, mais sans aucun symptôme dangereux."

From the Princess Royal, Crown Princess of Wurtemberg :—

*"Louisbourg, July 10th, 1814.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I am in great expectation of Letters from my family ; as yet it is only through the medium of the Papers that I have heard of Princess Charlotte's match being broken off. I can say nothing on the subject, as I am not acquainted with the particulars ; but wish she had, at least, not allowed things to go so far before she changed her mind. Such things make a great noise, and hurt a young Lady in the Eyes of the World. I regret much, if the Prince<sup>k</sup> was attached to her, that she should take such a step ; and hope she has well weighed the consequences of taking so decided a part, which must decide on the fate of her life. This

<sup>k</sup> The Prince of Orange.

is one of the many instances where rank and fortune are far from being a blessing ; a young person with less advantages is more on their guard, and dread the being blamed by their family or the public. . . .

"It is doubly unfortunate this should have happened during the Visit of so many foreign Sovereigns ; it will be talked of for years, and would do her great mischief was she not Heiress to a Crown. . . .

"Pray, are you acquainted with a very clever Miss Knight, who is now with Princess Charlotte ? I believe she was once under my Mother's protection, and translated the beautiful Prayers which were published at Frogmore. She must be a sensible woman ; and I should have flattered myself would have some weight with so young a princess. . . .

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

From the Princess Royal, Queen of Wurtemberg :—

*"Louisbourg, July 1, 1815.*

"... I AM sure, my dear Lady Harcourt, that you will have been delighted with the account of the glorious Victory the Duke of Wellington

obtained on the 18th ultimate. I have read with the greatest pleasure all the Reports which have appeared on the subject, and followed his march on the Map. On all sides the Allies advance; four days ago, my son, the Prince Royal, took possession of Haguenau. The British and Prussians are at Laon. I expect much of the Duke of Wellington in Picardi, which was ever famous for the Battles of Crecy and Agincourt.

"We have just received a Messenger from the Prince Royal, with the account of a very brilliant Affair he has had. Thank God that he has not suffered; but our Troops have met with a great loss, above one Thousand killed and wounded. They fought like Lions; and have driven General Rapp to take refuge in Strasbourg. The Württembergers pursued the French till they had taken shelter in the Town, fighting even on the Ramparts. It is shocking to say that while they fought the French Troops, the Peasants fell on them in the rear, and killed several Officers."

From the Princess Royal, Queen of Wurtemberg:—

*"Stutgard, April 21st, 1816.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I thank God that the dear Queen, notwithstanding the trials and fatigues she has gone through, con-

tinues to be in better health than last year; and trust that Providence will continue to watch over her, and ward off from her every evil.

"However, I shall be happy when the wedding is over, as I dread hot Rooms, and too much exertion at this time of year for my Mother; who, though strong, sometimes forgets that She ought to be more careful of her health than she was thirty years ago. Never shall I forget the wise manner in which she has acted, or the strong principles she has shewed on the most trying occasions. Every day her life grows of more consequence to her family. . . .

"I am sure that in few Countries people meet with such an example as that which is set them by the Queen, and my most amiable good Sisters, who have sacrificed every earthly comfort to attend to their aged Parents, and Contribute to make their lives pleasant. I trust that as Charlotte feels her happiness, she will try to deserve it by fulfilling her various duties. I am very glad, my dear Lady Harcourt, that you are pleased with the Prince of Cobourg's appearance; he was here for a few days two years ago with the great Duke Constantine, but I did not see sufficient of him to be able to form an opinion.

"My greatest wish is that they may both be very prudent and quiet on their entry into the world, avoiding every appearance of party, and



seeking to gain the good will of the Nation by leading a domestic, reasonable life. . . .

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

"... YOU are, dear Lady Harcourt, perfectly right in saying that the Queen<sup>1</sup> is the great link of the Chain; and I fear, should that one drop off, that much misery would ensue. In all numerous families there are a variety of opinions, which are softened when there is a person at the head of them whom all look up to. Through their influence a sort of friendly unanimity is preserved; but should they fail, all draw different ways, and outward union is no more to be thought of. . . .

"It is very fortunate that, at this moment of public depression of spirits, Charlotte should give another turn to the thoughts of the Nation by giving them hopes of an Heir. God grant that she may be safely brought a bed of a healthy Child; which I trust will ensure her happiness, and be a blessing to the Nation. It gives me sincere pleasure to hear that Prince Leopold and my Niece behave so prudently, and set so good an example by being regular in their payments; this will certainly gain them great popularity, and I believe ensure them great comfort.

<sup>1</sup> Queen Charlotte.

"Miss Mercer's being no more a favorite is by all accounts fortunate, as the independent principles she boasts of are not calculated to make women either happy or respectable. The Gentleman she intends to marry is, I believe, a celebrated Gentleman, formerly aid-de-Camp to Napoleon; and we always suspected him to have been nearly related to Monsieur de Tallérand. He was in eighteen hundred fourteen much employed to carry on secret correspondence.

"Lady Keith by all accounts is a sensible, good sort of woman, who has had much to bear from Miss Mercer's being accustomed to rule in her Father's House; but who with prudence and good nature ever yielded to her fancies, that she might avoid giving Lord Keith pain. I wish that Charlotte may hereafter make some acquaintances with amiable young women, as it is impossible for her to continue to see so little Society as she does at present. Do not, however, imagine that I do not approve of their plan of life; I think it both pleasant and wise; but I have seen so many examples of people requiring more Company when they grow older, that I fear this may be *her* case.

"It gives me sincere satisfaction to hear that my dear Mary is happy; and that by her amiable conduct she gains the good will of all parties. This is both sensible, and proves her wish to please the Duke by shewing attention to his

friends. His steady affection for her certainly deserves that she should do every thing in her power to make herself agreeable to him. I am sorry that she has suffered so much from her foot, but hope she will soon be able to go out again.

"The more I reflect on Mary's situation and mine, the more I regret my other Sisters not having been equally fortunate; as I am convinced they would all have been happier had they been properly established; and they are so good and amiable in their different ways, that they would have been a blessing in every family. . . .

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

From the Princess Royal, Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg :—

"*Louisbourg, September 2nd, 1818.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I regret much that circumstances have obliged Adolphus to quit England at a moment in which his society must have been of great use to my dear Sisters. The Dutchess is an amiable, sweet, dignified creature, and very interesting to me, as she is very

near the age of my own Infant. I remember my dear Brother having from a Child been a great favourite of yours; indeed, he is deservedly so of every body, as he bears so excellent a Character. I hope that in a few years you will have the pleasure to see him again, with his Wife, and two or three nice little Children.

"It must be a great pleasure to my Brothers that the Queen approves of all their Dutchesses, who also suit my Sisters. Towards the end of November I hope to make the Dutchess of Kent's acquaintance, who I am told is very good humoured and pleasant. I had hoped to see dear Eliza next week; but unfortunately it is quite impossible for her to come to Louisbourg till December.

"By all accounts she is very happy, admired by all, and very busy in arranging her House. I believe the Hereditary Prince will be obliged to meet the Emperor at Frankfort or Mayence. I am all anxiety to hear, my dear Madam, that you are removed to Windsor, thinking Kew an unwholesome place, and fearing that my dear Mother must be most uncomfortably lodged in so small a house. . . ."



From the Princess Royal, Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg :—

*"Louisbourg, September 17th, 1818.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . The attachment you have ever, my dear Madam, proved to my Mother, must endear you to all her Children ; and it is a great comfort to me to think you are with her at a moment in which she feels so strongly the attentions and affections of those that are about her. . . .

"It is a comfort to me to hear the Regent is so very dutiful to the Queen, and kind to my Sisters. The Queen deserves every attention from all her Children ; but most particularly from the Prince, who was ever her favourite Child. Frederick's coming often must be a great support to my Sisters, as I do not know a more amiable, friendly Being. I regret much the Queen's not being able to see my Brothers, as it must vex them, and I think it a dreadful symptom. I join with you, dearest Lady Harcourt, in looking on the day which will deprive us of the best of Mothers, as a most fatal one for Great Britain. Certainly the Queen's example has done inconceivable good ; and I am the more convinced of this, by seeing daily how much mischief is done by those whose intentions are not bad, but from being quite inconsiderate, and from the desire of enlarging their

circle, admit all sorts of people into their Society, which by degrees will, I am afraid, quite ruin the manners and morality of the Continent.

"It grieves me to hear that poor dear Sophia is so seriously ill ; and I fear that she will not long survive our beloved Mother. Her health has so long been delicate, that we must ever look on her as a Hot House plant, which requires every care to prevent its being destroyed.

"Much should I wish at least to have the hope of seeing Eliza soon, as I am sure we should be better together when the dreadful Event takes place ; but she does not think she can come to Louisbourg till December, and I am too unwell at present to attempt the leaving home. I hope you will forgive the incoherency of this scrawl ; but my Heart is so full, that I can hardly do any thing but cry or pray. Indeed, I am generally a melancholy Being since the death of my Husband, which I feel doubly at this moment, as he would have kept up my Courage."

From the Princess Royal, Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg :—

*"Monrepoo, October 28th, 1818.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . Our accounts from England are dreadful ; and though

sometimes there is an appearance of amendment, I fear there is no hopes of my dear Mother's ever leaving Kew. Her being there from the beginning vexed me; as I look upon the place as very unwholesome, and believe damp particularly contrary to Dropsical complaints. Most deeply do I trust will every branch of our family feel your great kindness in staying with the Queen and the Princesses at such a time; your presence is a Cordial to them all, and I trust a real source of comfort to poor Augusta, who from her great shyness, stands more in need of a real, steady friend than the rest of her Sisters. The account you are so good as to give me of Mary's Character gives me great satisfaction. I always thought her mild, good, and amiable; but from a variety of circumstances, I was less intimate with her than with my other Sisters. I trust that her good Heart will lead her to exert her influence over the Regent for the advantage of Augusta and Sophia, who, however, I hope will determine on having separate establishments; as, though both amiable, their dispositions and tastes are too different for them to be perfectly comfortable if they were to live together.

"Were it not on account of my dear Father, I wish Augusta would spend some months with me, as I think that at such a time the quiet life I lead would suit her, & contribute to her health.

... Everybody at Homburgh adores Eliza, & she is admired by all those who have seen her. The Prince of Homburg, by all accounts, worships her, and thinks himself the most fortunate of men. It gives me sincere pleasure to hear that my Brothers and their Dutchesses draw so well together at Hanover, which does them all credit. The Dutchess of Cambridge has been spending a month at Strelitz with both her Sisters, and I suppose will return home next week. . . .

"My dearest Lady Harcourt's

"Most affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Louisbourg, November 13th, 1818.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... The gracious affectionate Message our dear Mother has sent us is calculated to sooth our Minds, and to make us all doubly feel the very severe loss she will be, not only to her afflicted Children, but also to the Nation.

"The resignation and courage with which she has bore the being acquainted with her very precarious situation is a great comfort to me; as I was quite wretched at her leaving this world without her mind being prepared for the awful change. Not that I am not convinced of the mercy of God to all His Creatures, and parti-



cularly to a Being who has led so exemplary a life as the dear Queen; but still the most innocent soul must be anxious to devote some time to Prayer before they Expire, and to take leave of their Children; as, of course, at such a moment every word of advice has double weight on the Soul of a Christian. . . .

"Dear Lady Harcourt,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Louisbourg, December 11th, 1818.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . It is a great comfort to me to hear that the Regent is affectionate and kind to my Sisters, as his friendship will be a great support to them. The attentions he has shewn the dear Queen during her whole painful illness do credit to his Heart; and I trust he will be both rewarded here and hereafter for his dutiful affection to this excellent Parent.

"Knowing how much he dislikes writing, I have desired Mary to express in my name every thing I feel for him, as well as for all of us on this melancholy occasion. . . .

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Louisbourg, February 6th, 1819.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I at least go once a week to Stutgard, to see my poor Son<sup>m</sup> and his charming Children; which is a double duty, as all who are attached to him assure me that my visits do him good, as he loves to talk of the poor late Queen, and finds nobody who enters so much into his feelings; which is very natural, as I was much attached to Catherine, and regret too sincerely the loss of my beloved Husband, not to feel for all those who lose a partner they have found worthy of their love.

"My poor little Granddaughters are beautiful Infants, and Mary uncommonly forward for her age. On Thursday the King said to her, 'Mary will be happy this morning, for Grandmama comes to see her;' on which she turned round and answered, 'What, my own dear Mama, I know she left me only for a little while.' As this affected her Father, Miss Edwards repeated to her what he had said; on this the dear Infant smiled, and throwing her arms round the King's neck, repeated, 'I am very glad to see my dear Grandmama; but surely my Mama is only gone away for a little while, to return again; however, I hope that Papa loves Mary too well ever to leave her.' I trust you will forgive my repeating this little

<sup>m</sup> Stepson.

Story; but I think it proves the sense of a child of two years and three months. . . .

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Most affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Louisbourg, Feb. 22, 1819.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . When I think of the dreadful changes at Windsor, how often it brings to my mind my beloved Father's anxiety in his first illness to read King Lear; and his saying so kindly to Augusta, Eliza, and myself, when we came into his Great Room at Kew, on 18th January, 1789, 'I am better off than King Lear; for I have neither a Regun nor a Gonneril, but three Cordeliers.' Poor dear Angel, how good of him to say this, which is frequently a comfort to me when I am much out of Spirits. . . .

"My dear Lady Harcourt's

"Most affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Louisbourg, March 22, 1819.*

" . . . THERE seems something very illiberal in having increased the affliction the Royal family labour under for their Mother, by making the Queen's death an excuse to diminish the King's

income; as none but those who are blind to reason can think it either just or proper that their venerable Monarch should enjoy but half the sum which fifty-seven years ago was settled on the Queen as her Jointure. Or that the King's Services to Great Britain should be paid with the same sum which the Prince of Coburg enjoys for having been married eighteen months to Princess Charlotte. . . .

"On the 13th I was most terribly affected by receiving several things General Taylor had been so good as to purchase for me that had belonged to my beloved Mother, and which are treasures for me; particularly a little Reading Desk I remember her having in 1769", and a Defile Box of Tortoise-shell she always made use of in her layings in. My mind being still much oppressed with her loss, the looking over these things gave me a melancholy pleasure.

"On 15th Mr. Taylor spent the day with me, and brought me the dear Queen's magnificent Garnets; which I received with great gratitude, only thinking them too fine for me that leads so retired a life. Besides these, Augusta had the goodness to give me a beautiful Locket, with my Father's Cypher in Ivory; which you will remember my Mother's having had made at Cheltenham. It was so kind a thought of my amiable

" The writer was then only three years old.



Sister's, that I shall never forget it. I have also purchased my Mother's Watch, and a Locket with my Father's picture, which are precious remembrances to me. . . .

"Your Affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Louisbourg, April 20th, 1819.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . The birth of Adolphus's Son delighted me; and I thank God that both the Infant and the Dutchess of Cambridge are going on well. The Dutchess of Clarence's sad, sad disappointment was deeply felt by me, who am much attached to William; and who know too well what it is to lose one's only Child not to pity those who have the same misfortune. I trust this amiable little Dutchess will soon recover her strength; by all accounts she is the very woman calculated to suit my dear William's taste, and he loves her very much. His letters to me are always full of her; and it does me good to see he is attached to her, and feels himself happy.

"I hope that William will pay me a visit soon, which will give me great pleasure. It gives me also much satisfaction to hear that Mary has begun to regain her looks and spirits since the

Duke's return, and that they appear frequently in public together. The Duke is a great favourite of mine, and I admire very much his steady, good, Religious principles, as well as his most excellent Heart.

"I beg you will do me the favour to accept of a little Ring<sup>o</sup> Augusta will present to you in my name; it is but a trifle, but will at least prove that I ever think of you, dear Lady Harcourt, with sincere friendship.

"I must now take my leave, remaining with Friendship and regard,

"My dear Lady Harcourt's,

"Most affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

*"Monrepoo, October 31st, 1825.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I think Eliza very much improved in her looks since we met two years ago; and instead of her being four years younger than me, I believe she is at least four-and-twenty. God grant she may long continue so; as I never saw a greater blessing than she is to the good Landgrave, his Family, and Subjects. Eliza is quite adored by all; and deserves it, from her noble and amiable Conduct to

<sup>o</sup> Now at Nuneham.

every human being that approaches her. None but those that have already been at Hombourg can have an idea how much she has improved the Castle and Town by Her generosity. . . .

"The enjoying the Society of William was both a comfort and delight to me; his conversation is always so sensible and full of information, that it does me good; and I am charmed with the Dutchess, who is a most amiable woman, and whose only object is to contribute to my dear Brother's happiness. Her Conduct towards the Miss Fitz Clarence's does her the greatest credit; and I must say that both Augusta and Amelia are not only very handsome Girls, but very pleasing, sensible, and modest. I was also much pleased with Colonel George Fitz Clarence; and felt quite unhappy at his not being a legitimate Child. Adolphus I was also most happy to see, I think him in better looks than he was two years ago; his children are quite loves, and his Dutchess good and uncommonly kind to me. . . .

"My dearest Lady Harcourt's,

"Most affectionate Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

The Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg to the Archbishop of York :—

*"Louisbourg, February 27th, 1826.*

"MY LORD,—The friendship I felt for the Dowager Lady Harcourt for near forty years, and which she honoured me by returning, would in some measure have entitled one to express to her nearest and dearest Relations how sincerely I enter into their feelings, and grieve for the loss of a Lady I was sincerely attached to. But to these sentiments are now added those of gratitude for the affectionate and amiable manner in which she has so kindly mentioned my Sisters' names and mine in the Codicil to her will; and it would be doing injustice to my feelings if I did not express to your Lordship how highly I am flattered by this last proof of her Regard.

"I certainly required nothing to recall to my mind a Friend I esteemed so highly, and whose kindness was engraven on my Heart; but feel deeply her thinking of me at such a moment, and leaving me a Box I know she valued as a gift of my ever to be lamented Sister Amelia.

"I cannot venture to offer your Lordship any grounds for consolation on this melancholy event; as I know that you are better versed than most Men in the Scriptures, and it is there alone that



we can meet with Comfort when we are bowed down with afflictions.

"I beg my Compliments to Lady Anne, as well as to M<sup>rs</sup>. Anne Vernon, and remain, with regard and esteem,

"Your Lordship's Sincere Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

### Letters from the Princess Augusta<sup>p</sup>.

From Princess Augusta, aged 17 :—

"*The Journey to Nuneham, Sept., 1785.*

"IT being settled that We were to go to Nuneham, We set out from Windsor the 12 of this month at 7 in the morning. The King and Mamma went first in their Chaise; my two Sisters (Pss. Royal and Elizabeth) Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave and myself in a Coach followed them; and my three youngest Brothers (Ernest, Augustus, and Adolphus), with Col. Manners and M<sup>r</sup>. Hayes, finished our Procession. We changed Horses a little beyond Henley (by the by I must not forget that I eat a Sandwidge a little before eight, however, it was my Sisters' fault, for they order'd that some might be put in the Carriage), and at a little past ten We arriv'd at Nuneham.

<sup>p</sup> Born 1768, died 1840.

"We were met at the House door by Lord and *Dear Lady Harcourt*, and General Harcourt, who attended Papa and Mamma upstairs. We then went to Breakfast; a very good one indeed! and I think I was one of them who relish'd it the most, tho' I had eat a *Sandwidge before with the greatest appetite*. After Breakfast we walked in the Garden, saw the Church and flower Garden; both total perfections in their different ways. At our return we saw M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt, who had been ill of a fever.

"Whilst we were waiting for dinner in the Octagon Room (or my favorite), Lord Harcourt mentioned to the King that he had a Private Key of Christ Church Walk<sup>q</sup>, and that he could

<sup>q</sup> The following is the account given of the Royal Visit to Oxford on this occasion, by a local paper :—

"*Oxford, September 17.*

"On Monday last the King and Queen, with the Princes Ernest, Augustus, and Adolphus, their Majesties fifth, sixth, and seventh sons; the Princess Royal, Princess Augusta, and Princess Elizabeth, (attended by the Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Royal; General Harcourt, and Col. Manners, Aids-de-Camp to his Majesty, and Mr. Hayes, Governor to the young Princes) paid a visit to Lord and Lady Harcourt, at their seat at Nuneham, purposing to return to Windsor the same evening; but the weather being favourable, his Majesty and his Royal Consort resolved to take this opportunity of privately visiting Oxford, and therefore slept that night at Nuneham.

"On Tuesday morning, about a quarter past ten o'clock, their Majesties and the Royal offspring, with the Earl and Countess of

see Oxford without the least trouble; and that if his Majesty would make Nuneham his Inn, it

Harcourt added to their suite, arrived at Oxford in five carriages, and passing through the fields behind Merton College, alighted at Christ Church, and entering the Cathedral at Prayer time, took their seats during divine service; after which, having viewed the windows, &c., they were conducted to the Hall, the Dean's apartments, and the Library, and from thence to Corpus Christi College. Here the Rev. Dr. Dennis, President of St. John's College, as Vice-Chancellor, preceded by the beadles with their staves inverted, did himself the honour of paying his respects to their Majesties, and attended them from thence to Merton College, and to the Radclivian Library.

"Their Majesties from hence entered the public schools at the Eastern Gates, and passing through the Divinity School were ushered into the Theatre, where the Heads of Houses, Doctors in the different Faculties, &c., were assembled. In the area of this magnificent room, chairs being placed for that purpose, their Majesties and the Royal Family were seated for some time, and the Vice-Chancellor with the Heads of Houses, the Honourable Mr. Matthew of Corpus Christi, and the Proctors, had the honour of kissing their Majesties hands.—At their entrance, and during this ceremony, Dr. Hayes, Professor of Music, entertained their Majesties with several overtures on the organ, whilst the ladies, and other company, with which the galleries were crowded, had the happiness of being spectators.

"The Bodleian Library was next visited, where the Librarian had the honour of kissing hands. From thence their Majesties were conducted to the Picture Gallery; and afterwards saw the Pomfret and Arundelian marbles; and in the Music School the Professor had likewise the honour of kissing hands.

"Leaving the public edifices, their Majesties visited the Chapel and Library at New College; and from New College passed through the Gardens of St. John's, where having seen the Library, Chapel, and Hall, they were conducted to the Observatory.

"From this place his Majesty and the Royal Family proceeded to the Council Chamber, where John Treacher, esq., our present Mayor, with the rest of the Aldermen, and Assistants, &c., attended in their formalities to receive the Royal visitors; and his

would make the owners of it very happy. Papa said, 'Why, Lord Harcourt, its very tempting;'

Majesty having been graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon the Mayor, himself with the rest of the Aldermen, Assistants, Bailiffs, Town-Clerk and Solicitor, had the honour of kissing hands.

"Their Majesties from hence visited All-Souls, Queen's, and Magdalen Colleges, where having seen the Chapels, Libraries, and whatever was most worthy of observation, they quitted Oxford on their return to Lord Harcourt's a little past five o'clock, where an elegant cold collation waited their arrival; and they set out for Windsor about seven the same evening.

"At New College, as well as in the Theatre, the Professor of Music saluted their Majesties with a voluntary upon the organ, and changing the stops in order to produce variety, continued playing the whole time spent there in contemplating the painted glass, the Choir, the Altar, and the Crosier.

"The affability and great condescension of their Majesties, during this visit, afforded divers opportunities to the inhabitants of gratifying their earnest wishes of seeing so many branches of the Royal Family. In return we have the happiness to find, that the decency of the populace, and great attention of all other classes of the inhabitants were highly pleasing; whilst the dignity and grandeur of such a display of superb structures had a singular effect.

"His Majesty and the young Princes were in a blue and gold uniform; the Queen in a plain lilac silk; the Princess Royal and Princess Elizabeth in pale blue; and Princess Augusta in light green.

"Bells were incessantly ringing from the arrival of the Royal Family to their departure. At night the city was grandly illuminated, and a general joy appeared in every countenance.

"Their Majesties, on their departure from Nuneham, were graciously pleased to order one hundred pounds to be left with the Earl of Harcourt's house steward, to be divided among his Lordship's servants.

"The band belonging to our militia reached Nuneham in time to perform several pieces of martial music during dinner, and at the departure of their Majesties struck up, 'GOD SAVE THE KING.'—*Oxford Journal*.



Mamma, my Brother, Sister, and myself (not by far the least delighted of the family) kept our wishful Eyes upon the King, who fixed his on Mamma; and upon Her saying, 'I will do as you please,' he said, 'Well, with all my Heart let us stay.'

"During all this Conversation I think our Countenances were so *curiously ridiculous*, and I don't doubt that our Solliliquy's were as much so, that anybody must have laughed if they had looked on us without knowing why we looked 'so strange, so wondrous strange.' For my part, I know I could not refrain from saying, 'And O ye Ministers of Heaven protect me! for I shall be in despair if we do not stay.' However, I was so Completely happy when I found we did not go back till the next day, that My Spirits rose mountains high in half a second.

"'Thanky, my Dr Lady Harcourt, God bless Lord Harcourt, heaven preserve you both; You are the very best people in the Kingdom after Papa and Mamma:' these were the sayings for the rest of the day. 'Dear Augustus,' (said Ernest), 'think how amazing Good of Lord Harcourt; he has promised me that I shall sleep alone. I have seen my Room, it has a Yellow Damask Bed. I have got a toilette too, with fine Japan boxes on it. Beautiful lady Jersey has that Room when she is here. I suppose it is a great favor to let me have it; I fancy

strangers in general are not allowed to sleep in it. . . .'

"'Say what you please,' (says Augustus,) 'Lord Harcourt has given me a much better Room. I have got a fine view out of the window; and what signifies a damask Bed when one has not a fine view. Besides, I am next Room to *Co Co*; and I shall knock against the Wall and keep her awake all night.' (Adolphus), 'I suppose you none of you have seen my Room, I have got a Tent Bed in it; I should have you dare speak against a Tent Bed. It puts me in mind already that when I am an Officer, and that I am incamp'd against an Enemy, I shall have One then.' 'Well,' crys Princess Royal, 'Mine is a Charming Room; The Dear Duchess of Ancaster sleeps in it when she is here; I shall tell her of it when I see her. I am to take Care of Augusta to-night, She sleeps in my dressing Room.'

"'Your dressing Room, Madam! Your nonsense,' said I. 'I think it the best Room; for I can see into Dear Lady Harcourt's passage, and maybe I may see her in it to-morrow morning. Lord, how happy I am to get a little look of her whenever I can.'

"So we went on all day long; and I am sure we never shall hear the last of it, it was the most perfect thing that ever was known."

Prince Ferdinand of Wurtemberg to Lady Harcourt :—

"Jan. 29th, 1791.

"MADAME,—Vos bontés pour moi, m'inspirent autant de reconnoissance que de confiance. Je viens, Madame, vous porter la preuve de cette vérité, en Vous Suppliant de me permettre de Vous demander la faveur de remettre les incluses à Leurs Majestés. Ces lettres, Madame, ne Seau- roient parvenir au Roi et à la Reine, Sous des auspices plus heureuses que les Votres, et j'ose me persuader, qu'en rendant justice aux motifs qui m'ont engagés à Vous les adresser, Vous me pardonnerés une préférence fondée Sur les sen- timens de respect, de vénération, et de confiance, avec les quels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

"Madame,

"Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

"LE PR. FERDINAND DUC DE WURTEMBERG.

"Londres, le 19 de Janvier, 1791."

Note by Lady Harcourt :—

"THE Letters I was desired to give to the King & Queen contained a proposal of Marriage for the Princess Augusta."

Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt :—

"Nov. 3, 1795.

"... INDEED, my Dearest Lady Harcourt, I will not deny to you that Our going to the Play on Friday, tho' a very Wise and Prudent Measure, was a very very hard task to go thro'; and My poor Agitated Mind was more fit for a *Fire side* than for Pomp and *Noise*. . .

"I must tell you how very *Angelically* my *Dearest Brother* behaved. He heard that a very bad looking Mob was assembled in the little Streets near the Mews and St. Martin's Lane; and finding that the King intended going to the Play by the Strand and Southampton Street, He went thro' the Mews and all the horrid places, in order to *split* the *Mob* (as he called it), if he could not entirely disperse them.

"We heard the next morning that He had been very much insulted, and was even stopped in Covent Garden when he returned home. But the Patrole was very alert, and soon prevented the mob from increasing. They threw all sorts of things *doubly*, as Frederick was with him, and called him the Butcher. I have not seen either of them since the Play, & they would not leave the Theatre till we were all gone; and on Satur- day they attended the King, when He received the Houses of Parliament, and were at the Privy



Council. On Thursday we expect a very full *Drawing Room*. . . .

"I trust I shall never have occasion to write you again upon so horrid a Subject; and that the next time it will be about something more pleasant. God bless you, my Dearest Lady Harcourt, & believe me ever,

"Your most truly Affectionate,

"AUGUSTA."

Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt:—

"...I WAS much entertained with your lively description of Sir William Lee in His Snuff coloured Coat. I think He would be startled at all the Royalty in His Dismal<sup>r</sup> Home. I feel the greatest pity for the King<sup>a</sup> and Queen, but I am glad they have escaped being Murdered. I understand the Queen is very infirm, in low spirits, and easily alarmed. When He landed, the Common People touched Her, and then Huzah'd; but She Shrunk back, till Captain Dundas told Her it was a testimony of their joy. Then she came forward and gave them Her Hand, shedding Tears when She was told they *were glad She was safe in Good Old England*. The Populace were quite *affected to see Her cry*.

"The Prince de Condé gave a great Breakfast

<sup>r</sup> Hartwell.

<sup>a</sup> The King of France.

about three weeks ago to my Brothers at Wanstead, where they met the French King; they say He has a very *fine manner*, and is very *Gracious*. He is a well informed man, speaks English very well, and understands it perfectly. He is very large, as large as Stephen Kemble. He converses in a Most agreeable manner; and generally walks up and down the Room in the hope of its keeping down His fat. His countenance is very good; and He makes a very fine Bow without any Affectation. My Brothers were delighted with Him; and He expressed Himself as highly pleased with them. . . .

"And now, Dearest Lady Harcourt, with a thousand kind remembrances to Lord Harcourt, I will take my leave, assuring you how truly I am

"Your very affectionate friend,

"A. S."

From Princess Augusta:—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—...When you have heard a great deal about any person, don't you Generally form some idea of them? For I have of *Mr. Hammilton*. I take him to be a very *Worthy, entertaining Man, Sterling Worth in these qualities*; but rather a *Coquette*: or else why should he object to my having seen *two* of *His letters*. Perhaps it is because I am the

*Daughter of a Great King*; & that he thinks I am used to *garish Scenes*, and the *Language of Courtiers*. He will be too sensible to fancy such things when you tell him that *my Pride is being the Child of Worthy Parents*; & at home (at least) am used to *truth*, of which the *two letters*, or rather pages, I saw were the essence. This is no Compliment, but the *fact*. . .

"Two more Ships of the Fleet in Bantry Bay are *sunk*; 10 years ago I *should* have *shuddered* at the news of it: 'tis now the cause of Humanity to rejoice at it. I must now take my leave of you, my dearest lady Harcourt, and hope very soon to have the happiness of seeing you.

"Y<sup>r</sup> most truly aff<sup>e</sup>,

"A.

"Jan. 6th, 1797."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Kew House, June 21st, 1801.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . You will judge of the Delightfull evening I spent yesterday, when I tell you I was at Strawberry Hill; & I *gave* myself particular pleasure in doing *the Honors of Lord Falkland's Enchanting Picture* to my Sisters and Adolphus. . .

"I saw many things that I confess I wish were

at *Nuneham*. I really think Lord *Orford* ought to have left Lord Harcourt the Picture of *Cowley*. . . I gave a very attentive look to the *Admirable Sevigne*; but I don't think she *looked* clever. . ."

From Princess Augusta:—

"MY LORD,— . . . I told His Majesty all you had to say. I shewed Him M<sup>r</sup>. Kemble's Letter, which pleased Him very much; and He Commands me to say that He wishes to see the *Pannell*, as it is well *performed* by M<sup>rs</sup>. Jordan and Bannister bearing the principal Characters in it. I shewed Him Miss Pope's *note*, which, by the by, I read the greatest part of, and which I return you, being of *sterling worth*. I now conclude by adding that I am ever as truly happy as sincere in *any opportunity* which I can take of assuring you that I am

"My Lord,

"Y<sup>r</sup> friend,

"AUGUSTA.

"May 1st, 1802."

Princess Augusta to Lord Harcourt:—

"MY LORD,— . . . I feel happy that Miss Sidley and M<sup>r</sup>. & M<sup>rs</sup>. Haggitt are with you; they will administer *Comfort*, and not *Officious Friendship*,



which is at all times most *anoying*, but quite *Martyrdom* when in distress. I am still in hopes of a few *lines* from you *to-day*, if the *Rain* has not turned the *Post Bag*, or rather *its contents* into *Pap*; for such a *perpendicular, steady, quiet Rain* puts me in mind of what *I should think* a *Quaker's Grief* must appear to persons of a more lively Description. I am very happy in being able to give you a much better account of the Queen, though I cannot say she is free from *some Complaint*; but really what *it is* I have not the discernment to find out. . . .

"Every body is in expectation of news from Paris; and I confess I wish some thing was decided. *William* had a Letter yesterday from *Edward*, of the 11th of October, mentioning that on the 9th, Sir Richard Bickerton had sent to the Fleet at Gibraltar to join Him *immediately*, as there was a very considerable Fleet getting ready at *Toulon*; 5 Ships of the Line quitted Gibraltar on the 10th, so we may expect news from that quarter; & in the *Levant* it is expected that the *Toulon Fleet* is destined to *attack Algiers*: this is all the news I have heard; but so far *it is true*. *I should think* it had an *Eye* to *Malta*; but *I have two Eyes* that way. . . .

"Windsor, Nov. 5, 1802."

From Princess Augusta :—

"Nov. 7, 1802.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I cannot sufficiently say how rejoiced I am at the great change in your state of Health, and really hope that you will take care of yourself *now*; & recollect that though 'the *Vernons* and *Ostriches*' are both *very* strong in their different ways, they may build too much upon their strength, and at last it must give way. I don't think you are *strong enough* yet to *bear* a *scold*; but I have a *very severe one* in store for you. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . Mrs. Harcourt, who I saw on Wednesday, was one among a *thousand* who came to tell me how well she heard the King had spoken on Tuesday; of course from Her you would hear that everything went off well. . . .

"I attended the Royal Family to the Play. Nothing could exceed the Loyalty and Joy expressed upon His Majesty's entering the Theatre; and the whole of the Evening it continued the same when there was the smallest opportunity of testifying the love of *His* people. . . .

"I hear Lord Grenville's speech was fine and

*Eloquent*; but injudiciously Personal. And Lord Hobart's reply, very *neat*, very *determined*, but perfectly *cool*, & what a Minister *ought to say*: that *Every Body* is astonished at Lord *Carlisle*, who went down with the *language* and appearance of an *Oppositionist*, & changed all of a *sudden*, *no one knows why*, to a *Supporter*. I can add no more to-day, but that the Royal family are in *Perfect Health*. My Mother was a little anxious on Tuesday; but is now quite well, & very happy.

"Remember me most affly to Lord Harcourt, & believe me ever,

"Yr very Sincere friend,

"AUGUSTA.

"Nov. 26th, 1802."

From Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt:—

"... I AM happy to tell you that, notwithstanding the extraordinary and disagreeable tenor of the times, the blessed King is *perfectly well*; and bears all *His* trials with that calmness, meekness & Resignation that proceed from trust in God, and the *Purity* and *Innocence* of His most unparalleled mind. Yesterday morning we received a Messenger with a most *shocking* account from Dublin, of which I will tell you the facts. Some very ill-looking people had been observed in the streets,

Great attention was paid to keep the Troops in their Barracks, that they might be in readiness in case of any disturbance. All was perfectly quiet during the *Day*; but at ten at Night, as the Lord *Chief Justice*, Lord *Kilwarden*, with His Nephew and Daughter were returning from the Country, the Coach was stopped in Thomas Street, Lord *Kilwarden* & Mr. Wolfe were dragged out and stabbed with *Pikes*; the poor unfortunate Daughter, God knows how, made Her escape to the Castle. Yesterday evening, very late, we had another Messenger, mentioning that there were double Guards at the Castle, that two men of the 16th L<sup>t</sup> Dragoons were Killed in the Streets, and that L<sup>t</sup> Col. Brown, of the 21st Infantry, was also Killed going to His Barracks.

"The Yeomanry, though but *just Enrolled*, has behaved *so well*, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Fox has recommended they should be kept under arms. To-day we have had still later accounts, saying that all is *quiet*; and a proclamation has been issued, offering a *thousand pounds* for the Person who *Committed* the *Murder*. I hope to God it is all over now; but indeed the times are so very annoying, and every thing is so horrid, that I make it a rule not to be *idle* one minute, to occupy my mind with all the variety of good I am able. . . .

"Mama is wonderfully well considering all things, and so are *we all*; but though our *situa-*



tion is considered *elevated*, yet we feel like human creatures, and suffer and enjoy like human creatures, and sometimes must appear with a gay face when *under a very heavy heart*, & that is a *hard case*. . . .

"My dearest Lady Harcourt,

"Your most truly aff<sup>te</sup>,

"AUGUSTA.

"July 28th, 1803."

From Princess Augusta :—

"Frogmore, August 2nd, 1803.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—We have had accounts from Ireland to-day; every thing was perfectly quiet in Dublin. Several people were taken up; but no names specified, except *one* in a letter to *Lady Ely*: that man's name is *Holmes*, and He is Brother in Law to the famous *bad Emmett*. It is very clear, by the last accounts, that the French are at the bottom of this sad business: so far I am glad it is discovered; as I hope it will not only *open*, but *keep open* the Eyes of those who did not imagine things were so bad. In Scotland, very strong measures are taken to stop every person who comes over to any *Sea port*; for in the last Rebellion, many reached there from the North of Ireland. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I have seen two very interesting, though very distressing, private letters from poor *Ireland*, which make me very *unhappy*. It is cruel when the Public suffers in consequence of private *piques* and *Jealousies*. Lord Hardwicke and Gen<sup>l</sup> Fox are at Daggers drawn; the latter is to return home immediately. He says that He informed Lord Hardwicke, as it was His duty to do, five days *before* the *first Rebellion* broke out, that the appearances were very unpleasant; that vigilant measures should be taken, and the whole plan laid down without delay, to strike a decisive *blow* when the Rebels made the smallest *stir*.

"Lord Hardwicke treated it with the utmost contempt; assured the *General* that He was much pleased with His zeal, but that there *was nothing to fear* of any sort or kind. In short, it is *lamentable* and *blameable* in the *extreme* that such a man as a *Mr. Marsden*, an insolent, *self sufficient*, conceited *Puppy*, should have such power on the *L<sup>d</sup> Lieut.*, as to *blind* Him to that degree, that He neither sees nor hears but what *Mr. Marsden* thinks proper *He should*.

"Every body is crowding to Dublin; and I am sorry and ashamed to say, that though there are repeated Alarms every Night, and sometimes even

in the Day, there are *Balls, Assemblys*, and parties without end. How very thoughtless and light; it really *makes me sick*, and perfectly furious. I am also mad, because I cannot think who they *can send* as Commander in Chief; for when *all this story* is known (which I believe it is *pretty well* by this time) I should suppose, unless the *person* who may be sent shall have full power given him to act on his own responsibility, it will be difficult to find any one to accept of the command under the present unfortunate circumstances. Lord Courtown was at a meeting at Enniscorthy, when every thing *appeared to go* off perfectly well; but *Mr. Hoare*, who is the Col. of the Yeomanry, and Agent to Lord Courtown's *Estates*, assures *Him* that the Roman Catholicks would undoubtedly rise, or rather join the Enemy were they to land, or even attempt to make a *descent in Ireland*. This is not consoling to a man of Lord Courtown's feeling, who has done all in His power to make His Tenants happy & comfortable. . . .

"August 25th, 1803."

From Princess Augusta:—

"July 3rd, 1804.

"... I THINK I may now say that in many things there is *great amendment* in the King's State, and in *as many more not the smallest*. *There is*

a vast idea of Dress, so very unlike what is natural, that certainly I cannot in truth say *all is well yet*; but we must not expect to *run before we can walk*. The quiet of this place has been of infinite Service; and since the very great heat, the rides and drives are put off till the Evening. All this is good; but my fear is how it will be when all controul is at an End. I think then we shall have much to fear, unless very strict provisions are made; which, take my word, *will* not be *attended to* when the Controul is over. I think my Father has a *bad opinion of Himself* at times; that is to say, when He gives Himself time to reflect: at others He is thoughtless, and talks of *His youth & Vigour*, and that He shall no doubt *live to ninety years old*. He certainly has a *frightfull appetite*; and that is *not* a good *sign*. The ideas of building continue as *extravagant as ever*, altering *every House*, unroofing without end, to add *stories*; in short, had He his own way *at present*, this, nor *all* the Countries in the World could stand the expense; and the most distressing circumstance is, His *fancying* that people have told Him things which they never thought of: and these ideas take such *deep root*, that there is no such thing as getting the better of them.

"From all this, My Dearest Lady Harcourt, you may suppose that *our life is very anxious*; but we must submit to it: and the Confidence of



its being *decreed by a higher power* enables us to bear *up with it*. My Mother is really tolerably well considering all things, and so are we all. . . .

"Have you read a book lately come out called '*Buonaparte & the French People*.' I have read about 40 *Pages in it*; it gives a very accurate account of the '*Monster*' from *His Chidhood*. I must tell you what happened to me. I was reading to *myself*, and my Maid was in the *room*; and being very eager, I called out *à propos* of one of His very malicious acts as a *boy*, '*O! you Devil*.' To which She said, '*I know what you are reading, for I read some of it this morning, and a more horrid Creature never existed*.' I was then shocked at having called Him D—l, it was an injustice to *Beelzebub*, who was a *fallen Angel*; for I believe *Buonaparte* to be an *Indigenous Devil*. Ask Lord Harcourt what He thinks. . . .

"Believe me, My Dearest Lady Harcourt,

"Your very truly aff<sup>te</sup>,

"AUGUSTA. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I am commanded by the King to inform you that when we go to Nuneham, He *begs* He may have a very small single Bed in the Dressing room where He used to dress when He was last there, that the

Queen may keep the State Rooms, with the addition of a small Bed in the room with Her for Madame Bukedorf. I am really serious about the King's bed being small, particularly as I should fear that a large one would give Him Cold. . . .

"What a sad and melancholy reverse in poor Lord Melville's situation; from having been the leading man in the House of Commons to appear as a culprit there. Indeed, I felt sadly for Him; but I never saw such injustice in my Life. The Dear King said, 'Good God, it is not like the English Character to Murder a man that is *down*;' but I fear the mischief will not end here. He is the present stepping stone; but the whole of the Government must receive a check. I only trust it will not be too severe a one.

"God bless you, my Dearest Lady Harcourt. I am very happy Lord Harcourt has received some benefit from the Bath Waters.

"Believe me ever,

"Your most truly aff<sup>te</sup>,

"AUGUSTA.

"June 17th, 1805."

From Princess Augusta :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—Everybody is delighted with the very Comfortable manner in which you have settled everything for us. The

King will certainly inhabit your room ; but He still begs He may have His small bed : and I will let you know about His sheets.

"With respect to Mary and myself, we are very much obliged to you ; and as there is a dressing room to the Bed Chamber, we would prefer there being a bed in the dressing room for one of us. But this is only for your *private ear*, for where it would be inconvenient to have us separate, we are perfectly contented to be together ; and as for our Maids we are not used to have them near us, therefore they will be quite as well in the Atticks.

"The King is still in hopes that we shall set off on Thursday sennight, the Parliament being up on the Tuesday ; but I understand the Clerks of the House of Lords do not think it possible. We are to be three Weeks on our Tour, which is a good thing ; and the King is determined to be very carefull not to hurt Himself, particularly on account of His Eyes, which have been very bad of late. He has seen Phipps, who has ordered Him Spectacles of black crape, and a large Shade, which He finds soothing to His Eyes.

"We passed a very pleasant Day yesterday at Cashibury, notwithstanding that it rained the whole time we were there ; but, on the King's account, I am glad it rained, for He could not have seen anything had we gone out ; but He was perfectly contented, and His Sweet, Amiable

heart said that He should have enjoyment enough if He knew we were amused. Indeed, I have been wretched about Him ; but I must hope His Eyes really are some little better. He was certainly in very good Spirits about Himself yesterday. Our party at Cashibury was very pleasant. The Dowager Lady Essex, Mr. & Mrs. Damer, Mr. & Mrs. Stanhope, and Lord St. Helen's. We took Lady Bath, Lady Radnor, and Lady Crawley with us. There was much to see in the House, which is a very Excellent one indeed.

"Wyatt has shewn His power, His skill, and His Judgement, by making a very old, awkward, inconvenient House into a very handsome and Comfortable Habitation. Some of the Rooms are Magnificent ; but the whole is not kept up in style. All is Elegant and Good ; but there is a mixture of taste, and it is rather *Gaudy*. There are some very fine Pictures, and some Capital Old China. It was indeed a very pleasant party. We staid *six* hours together, and nothing flagged ; the whole of the time being spent in seeing the House, and in a variety of pleasant and General Conversation. . . .

"*Windsor Castle, June 29, 1805.*"



From Princess Augusta :—

"Sept. 7th, 1807.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... The King asked many questions about you all separately; and was quite happy at the good account we gave Him. He has not forgot any thing in the House nor the flower Garden; and I told Him what a loss you had met with in the three fine *Elm Trees*. He ended a long Series of interesting questions and kind remarks upon Nuneham by saying, '*it is the most enjoyable place I know.*' He is delighted with the good news; and not a little pleased that *our invaluable* friend, *General Spencer*, took possession of the Dock Yard and Citadel of Copenhagen. Nothing could have given me so much real pleasure. I was also quite glad for Sir Home Popham and Sir David Baird (neither of which I know), that they served on this occasion; for they have in truth many Enemies....

"Your very truly affectionate,

"A. S...."

From Princess Augusta :—

"Oct. 4th, 1807.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I am Com-manded by the Queen to tell you (*but it is under*

*the Rose*) that on Thursday next you are likely to receive a Visit from two of *Her Sons*, Viz., the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Sussex. These Princes being both known to you, you will be glad to see them; but as a *hurry* and a *flurry* are bad things to experience, the Queen thinks it is *kind, friendly, good natured, Considerate, and Neighbourly*, (for as we have flown to Nuneham for a few hours, just as if it was in the *next Street*, we must call you Neighbours,) to make known to you and Lord Harcourt that you may expect them *on that day*. But as *Court Secrets* are only *Secrets at Court* known to all the World and His Wife, *you are not to tell that I had orders to give you this hint.*

"If the *Royal Brothers* keep exactly to what they have informed *their Sisters* is their present intention, their Stay at Nuneham will be till Saturday; but as I can only answer for the *perfection of their Hearts*, and by no means can even for one half second answer for their Motions or determinations of any sort and kind; they may pass by *Nuneham* as quickly as the Comet that every one has talked of since last Wednesday evening; or they may sleep there one Night, and may be two: which (should the last be the case) will then be an *Exactness* so *Wonderfull & so strange*, that I shall begin to hope I may live on to a good old age, and *not die* till I have

heard that the Prince of Wales has *occasionally kept His intentions*, & fulfilled His Plans according to His first arrangement. . . ."

From Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I cannot hear of your Nephew<sup>t</sup>, Mr. Vernon, having distinguished himself in a very uncommon manner in a Committee of the House of Commons, without writing to acquaint you with it immediately. I know the affection you feel for all your family, nor am I ignorant that 'my Brother Edward'<sup>u</sup> is quite your favorite. The King was told that Mr. Vernon's speech would have *always been very good*; but that in a young Man it was quite astonishing. I have made Acquaintance with my Aunt; and nothing can exceed her Good humour, unless it be *Her imprudence*. . . .

"She is a very handsome old Woman, not a *bit older* than I think any Person of Seventy might be; but *uncommonly old* if you compare Her to my Father, and consider that there is but one year between them. She is the image of my Uncle, who died ten years ago; and so very like,

<sup>t</sup> Eldest son of the Archbishop of York.

<sup>u</sup> The Archbishop of York.

that it almost threw my Cousin into fits when *they first met*.

"I have seen my Sister in Law twice with Her; and it would be most unjust if I did not tell you that it was impossible for any body to behave better, and more prudently than She did. I really believe the *Miseries* and *frights of last year* have been of Spiritual Service to Her. Her attentions to Her Mother are quite Exemplary; but I think they are mutual incumbrances to each other living in the same House. In a short time they will part; for they both think it more Prudent. My Aunt wants to settle in London, for She must have quiet; but She must have Company, and She *cannot keep late hours*.

From Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt :—

"... I CAN assure you my two Brothers were very much delighted with the kind reception you gave them; and they were Enchanted with Nuneham, and talked particularly of the Elm grove near the House. . . . They thought Lord Harcourt in remarkable good looks and Spirits.

"We went last Wednesday to Blackheath, to see my Aunt, who is comfortably settled in an admirable House, bought (and paid for) of a



Mr. Simmons; ready furnished, with beautifull Linnens, and a large Collection of Pictures, Coach House and Stabling, for 9000 pounds. There are so many Pictures, that, of course, there must be some trash; but several are very good: and there are some pretty pieces of Sculpture. In short, it is a handsome House; & if She was to live in the Country, She could not have found one more perfectly suitable to Her Rank, Her Age, and Her infirmities. She means just to add a Bed-Chamber for Herself, and a room for Her maid on the Ground-floor; which I am afraid will be very necessary, as She has been threatened for many years with the Dropsy; and She is unwell now, being grown thin in the face, and very large in the Body.

"She was excessively happy to see us, and at times is in high Spirits; but a little matter makes Her cry now. She is on a most Comfortable footing with the Princess of Wales, who is all attention to Her; *really true attention, quite from Her Heart*. The Duchess found Her bedroom so conveniently furnished at the Princesse's House when she was staying there, and all the little tables and reading Desk & writing box so very Comfortable, that when She went into Her new Habitation, the Princess sent all the *furniture* to Her Mother's Apartment; and She found it all ready, without the smallest hint having been given

Her of it. You may imagine how delighted the Duchess was; & so was I beyond measure.

"I beg you will tell this to Lord Harcourt; for I think it a beautifull Story, & a *true one too*, as the Children say. Among the Portraits in the Dining room, there is one of the Chancellor Harcourt, the same as the one General Harcourt has. . . .

"Your very truly Affectionate and Gratefull,  
"A. S.

"October 27th, 1807."

". . . I ASSURE you I am under the greatest anxiety for poor dear Amelia, who has had a long and dreadfull illness. She is a Sweet, amiable, Pious, good *little Soul*, Patient beyond all description; and has the greatest Resolution and Fortitude. She is a perfect Example; I really am benefitted by Her goodness. I never saw so good a disposition, so thoughtfull and considerate to those about Her, so afraid to fatigue them by their sitting up with Her. I never saw any body more carefull to disguise Her sufferings for fear of vexing others; and truly it is most vexing to see Her so long in such a sad state of Health. . . .

"Believe me ever,

"Your most truly affectionate friend,  
"AUGUSTA."

From Princess Augusta:—

"March 7th, 1809.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . When I reflect upon the Acts of *Justice* and of *Generosity* of my Brother Frederick, since he has been at the head of the Army; that formerly *merit* never succeeded in that profession when *Money* could prevail; and that many a respectable Officer has died a *Subaltern* of many years standing, and serving under Colonels of four or five months *Commissions* only, (*bought* at very high prices); and that since my Brother's Regulations, every man has His equal chance of getting forward if He merits it; I own I think it a cruel and ungratefull act of malicious men to try to ruin Him who has so thoroughly done His Duty. . . .

"I have seen many Military men; and live chiefly in intimacy with men of that Profession. All agree that the Army owes every thing to the Duke of York. . . . I really believe He is adored in the Army; and it certainly is His due. It goes to my soul to see Him so cruelly treated, whose Heart is the kindest and best in the World. I am also miserable to think that the *Methodists* are doing all the harm to Him they can; & there are many in this Country: they are *Vile canters*, cheating the d—l, praying with their mouths,

but denying in their hearts; & they think it will command Popularity to condemn and abuse the Duke of York for what, I daresay, they do themselves. However, as His public Conduct has been proved so very clear and Honourable, I trust those who are not malignant nor spitefull will yet support Him. . . . This distressing and unprovoked ill treatment of Frederick is almost worse than any other worry I have ever had to contend with. . . .

"Adieu, my Dearest Lady Harcourt; believe me

"Your very truly affectionate & Gratefull,

"A. S. . . ."

From Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt:—

"Oct. 3rd, 1809.

" . . . WE have such an Example of good humour and of Patience in the beloved King, who bears up against His Infirmary\* with such Resignation, that we can never be sufficiently thankfull for His present chearfulness under such a heavy Affliction. It can only proceed from the Piety and Goodness of His most perfect mind. To think that yesterday He went up to London, and did

\* Blindness.



not return till twenty minutes before nine, and at 71 years of age was the life and joy of our Common party, quite *alive* and *gay* from *pure goodness* of Heart; it was a delight to see Him and hear Him. . . .

"Your *old* and *faithfull* friend,  
"AUGUSTA."

From Princess Augusta :—

"*Sunday, March 28th, 1813.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... I think the poor Duchess of Brunswick's Death a great mercy to Herself; and I hope the very respectfull and proper attentions which my Brother has paid to Her memory, will be fully known and *appreciated* even by the *malign Spirit*, which, God knows, has prevailed *too long*. He has attended to every wish of the Dear King, that all of His Family should be buried *here*; and all *possible* respect will be shown, as far as *can be*, to the *D<sup>ss</sup>' own* desire that Her Funeral should be Private.

"I am very happy that my Brother sent Charlotte to see Her Mother; as, also, that both the *D<sup>ss</sup>* of Leeds & Miss Knight make so *good* a *report* of Her Conduct whilst there. She took an *opportunity* of expressing how kind Her Father was to Her; and did it with *Prudence* and *deli-*

*cacy*, not dwelling too long on the Subject. I hope in God that the horrible Subjects which have *Influenced* the minds of People may at *least* be kept quiet for a time. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"*April 2nd, 1813.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT, — Though I have very little news to write, yet, as *for once*, I have a very curious and interesting anecdote, which I can *relate correctly* from the details made to me yesterday. I take the greatest pleasure in sending it to you. Yesterday, at the Cathedral of Windsor, the Prince Regent, the Duke of Cumberland, Count *Munster*, the Dean of Windsor, Mr. *Stevenson*, and Sir *Henry Halford*, met together to open a Coffin which was *supposed* to contain the body of King Charles the 1<sup>st</sup>. A very simple, but strong made Coffin, was laying *under* ground in the centre aisle of the Cathedral, opposite the eleventh stall, with an engraved plate (Charles Rex, Jan<sup>y</sup> 30, 1649), and the Antiquarians had long heard of it; but so many doubts had arisen as to the real place of our Murdered King's interment, that it was an anxious point to get well ascertained.

"Accordingly, the above mentioned party met

for *that sole purpose*. They had the assistance of the Clerk of the Board of *Works*, and the *Castle Plumber*. They cut open the lid of the Coffin, so as by no means to touch the *Head or face*. The Countenance was *almost perfect*; the lock of *Hair* on the *Chin* just like the Picture of King Charles, the form of the forehead *the same*, and the face of a *small long Oval*, *precisely like all His Portraits*. They then uncovered His Shoulders, and just above the *breast*, when the *Head moved*; which proved to *all present* that it was loose. Then the Dean ordered them to *lift up the Head*; and it came *clean off* from the body.

"There is the Evident mark of *two* blows or cuts of a hatchet or Axe; and *one bone*, from being cut *Edgeways*, (probably, Sir Henry Halford says, the *first*, and not the *Mortal* blow) came off in the man's hand. The Prince Regent has ordered the Dean, Sir Henry, and Mr. Stevenson, to testify the fact, which is of such Consequence, and must give so much satisfaction to the Country. There is not the least doubt of any one part of it.

"The Sacred bone is to be sent, and some of *His Hair*, with the detailed account, to the British Museum; and the paper drawn up will be signed by all those who were present. I have recited this to you exactly as Sir Henry Halford told it *me* this morning. I can assure you it is a matter

of great *joy to me* that so *good* and so *ill* used a man should lay close to *my family*. I was also greatly struck to-day at *Chapel*, that (*with* the sight of this Excellent *man's earthly part*, for I *saw the bone*, which was fresh in my memory) the Psalms for *this Day*, the 2<sup>nd</sup>, were the 9, 10, 11, the very Psalms which were selected for His Martyrdom; it certainly made a great impression upon me, and I am quite happy that *the only creditable Stuart* is *near us*. In the *same Vault* was found the Coffins of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>, Jane Seymour, and an Infant Son of Queen Anne; and to prove the hurry in which King Charles's Coffin was thrust into the Vault, it had broke in the lid of King Henry's Coffin. And the Wall of the Vault was *not regularly built* up towards *that side*; but the rubbish was thrown in of *bricks and stone*, just to close it up as quick as possible. It is now all closed in the most perfect manner; and Mr. Stevenson, who was as I told you present at the opening of the Coffin, told me He never saw so interesting a scene, and so much *Respect* and decency shown as by all those who Witnessed it. . . .

"God bless you, my Dearest Lady Harcourt; believe me ever

"Your most truly affectionate friend,

"AUGUSTA. . . ."



From Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt :—

"... AS I send this by a *safe hand*, I venture to name names. Charlotte has not been near Her Mother since the sad, disgraceful trial of the 24th of last month. It was a settled thing that She was to have gone to Her either on the Sunday or Monday (this is only *entre nous*); and She had informed my Brother that it was Her intention *to do so* some days *previous* to the trial; which was very right, as *He* gave Her leave to go there now and *then*. But on the Saturday, when the *whole* of the trial appeared in the Paper, He ordered Sir Henry Halford to Go to Her, and to try and put off the Visit. . . .

"Luckily, Charlotte was passing the *Window* when Sir Henry came into the Court; so She sent up for Him directly, and She saw *Him alone*. He said He came to tell Her that the Prince had said how happy the Queen's Visit had made Him, and how much pleased He had been with a *comfortable Conversation* He had had with His daughter; to which She immediately replied, 'I am very happy He thought so, I *always wish to please Him*.' And then She said, '*That horrid trial of "you know who" made me quite sick; What do you hear about it?*' Sir Henry then said, 'Indeed, it is shocking, and I should not have named

it if Y. R. H. had not spoken of it; but as you have, I think it my Duty to state that it has left an impression upon the Minds of people very *bad to all parties concerned*, and even of those named in it.' She said, 'I *dread my* Visit to the Princess.' Upon which, Sir Henry said, 'Don't think me *impertinent*; but if it is not quite a *settled* thing, I really think it would be advisable to pretend a Cold, or Head-ache, or any thing to put it off;' to which She *agreed immediately*. . . ."

From Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt :—

"... WE had a very pleasant party at Cranbourne last Monday. Charlotte was very properly attentive to the Queen; but perfectly easy in Her manner. She took an opportunity of telling Mrs. Egerton that She had the greatest *respect* for the Queen; that She was convinced She was Her friend, and that Her Aunts were *one and all* most kind to Her. She said the same many times.

"... She told Miss Mercer, in Mrs. Campbell's hearing, when they did not know Mrs. Campbell was in the *next room*, that She had *not the smallest* Confidence in *anybody*. Miss Mercer replied, 'You will Kill yourself if you lock up all your feelings; I wish you would confide in Mrs. Campbell, She

seems much attached to you, *and a safe person*;' and Charlotte's answer was, 'My dear *Margaret*, till *I choose for myself* the people that are to be about me, *I never* will speak but of matters of fact; for *I cannot*, nor *will not submit* to have people chosen for me: not even Angels from Heaven.'

"Now, My Dearest Lady Harcourt, you must allow it shows a *sad*, obstinate Spirit; and how totally *unfit* *She* is to judge *who* it is proper for Her to *confide in*. Mrs. Campbell says that Charlotte is in a constant state of alarm; that if two people are speaking at the other end of the Room, & not so loud as for Her to hear every word they say, *She* turns quite pale, and looks quite scared; at the same time, *She* is in very good Spirits, and laughs and jokes all day. . . .

"Ever your unalterably affectionate,  
"AUGUSTA."

From Princess Augusta:—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I am sure you will rejoice in hearing what a satisfactory visit we had from *Dear Charlotte* last week. Her confirmation past off with the greatest propriety on Her part; full *conviction* of what an awfull Ceremony and Event it was; *She* took the Sacre-

ment with *profound Attention*, and a most proper *impression*; & poor Angel, *She* has confessed how *wrong* *She* was in having given *Credit* to those *Wicked Persons* who had *set Her* against Her family. This is *only* for *Yourself*; for we have all begged Her *never* to *name* such a thing to anybody. You would have been quite pleased with Her whole Deportment. . . .

"Ever your very truly affectionate,  
"AUGUSTA."

"Dec. 29th, 1813."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Sept. 19th, 1817."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I have a very good account to give you of all your friends in the Castle. Thank God, the King is quite well; and He is *perfectly happy*. He is our Amulet; and his life keeps all right and Comfortable. It is a blessing we can never thank God too often for, *now* and *hereafter*, that He has been spared to us. . . ."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Nov. 8th, 1817."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I am heart-broken as you may suppose; all my hopes *cast*



*off in one short moment.* I had *loved, pitied,* and been all anxiety about Dearest Charlotte from the hour of Her birth; and flattered my self that I might say I was easy and *happy* about Her *now.* But why do I say *now, when She is no more!* It is so sad a change to the happiness I had dared to expect. . . . It is so fearful a calamity, that I am still quite stunned. . . .

"Lord Sidmouth wrote the most kind and feeling letter to Sir B. Spencer, to announce the sad tidings to us. He had *witnessed* and *shared,* as well as the *Excellent* Lord *Winchelsea,* in all our trouble and suspense the preceding day; so that besides really loving poor Charlotte very sincerely, you may suppose what it was to *Him* to come to put an end to all our hopes. He came to my door; and His step was so heavy, & His Knock *so short,* it was really like the Knell of Death. But when I saw His face, I called out, 'Oh! that look kills me.' We could neither of us speak a Word; but after a little while He put Lord Sidmouth's most distressing, but humane letter into my trembling hand: & God Knows what my feelings were *and are.* Dearest Lady Harcourt, the poor Angel was ill 52 hours, all *Patience,* all *Obedience;* and Her *Resignation,* when they foretold Her the child would be born dead, was quite Exemplary.

"The Decrees of Heaven are wise, just, and un-

revokable; but to us poor Mortals we can only humbly *submit* when we don't understand them, *still* being certain they are meant for our ultimate good. . . . Doctor Baillie came and sat an hour with us last night; He assured me there was nothing to *alarm* but the *length of the labour:* and as that was prolengthened, *so His fears increased.* He said *the last* two hours were like a *hurricane;* all was *so frightfull even to Him* as a Medical man. His good *Heart and Pity* I never shall forget; and His tenderness and delicacy in talking all over with us. He is perfectly *overwhelmed* with Grief. Crofts thought *Her safe* for ten hours after she was brought to bed. . . .

"Ever your most truly affectionate friend,

"AUGUSTA. . . ."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Windsor Castle, November 13th, 1817.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . We have had very trying Scenes to go through since last fatal Thursday; but the affection and tenderness of Dearest Frederick and William has supported us all beyond measure. . . . We had broke the sad Event to the *Prince;* and Frederick had, at His request, seen *poor Leopold.* . . . The Prince

sent me word that He meant to come to Windsor on the Sunday to see us all.

"... Now, my Dearest lady Harcourt, I come to the Sunday, which was a most dreadfull day. We waited from *ten* till half past *two*, expecting the Prince every moment. William's kindness I never can forget; His feelings were so *natural*, so unaffected, and yet so Keen: speaking of what His Brother must *suffer as a Parent*. His then trying to talk to the Queen upon various subjects, without fussing or worrying Her; really, His sweet attentions to Her were more like those of a woman. I will say *this*, for I can with truth, that I never knew such hearts *as those of my Brothers*. Well then, after talking together till we did not know what we said, for we were all stunned, at last the poor Prince arrived; He was quite *Green & Yellow*. He said a good deal when He first came in; and then He begged Sir Henry Halford might stay, that He might tell all His sad Story before *Him*. He put us all so much in mind *of the Darling*, stopping His Tears to *tell us all*; not omitting to say often and often how thankful He was that poor Charlotte had told Him repeatedly how perfectly happy she was: and had thanked Him for making Her so. After this, *He* had many sad arrangements to make about the Funeral; which is to take place *here*, in the family Vault. Poor Leopold has begged to have room left, that *His*

*Coffin* may be placed near Charlotte's. I think it very natural, and very right. He was obliged to see Col. Stephenson, who was to settle every thing here; for He wished to get all this worry over, and then never to hear any thing more about it.

"The Queen most kindly said it was quite impossible for Her to send for you, which the Prince understood perfectly; but it is so settled, that all those of the attendants of the different branches of the family who can attend, are to be summoned. He staid with us till Eight, and then went back to London, where He had left Mary, and the Duke of Gloucester.

"... It is indeed the will of God that we shall be so afflicted; but what grieves me to my Heart is, that Doctor Crofts made that poor Child change Her whole system, by taking Her off from Wine and Meat: and just at the time when she ought to have taken nourishment for *two*, she was deprived of every sort of food which would have supported Her in the hour of *labour*. The poor thing was managed *solely by Him*, without His asking the *state* of Her Constitution, or consulting any one person what were Her habits. It is true there was *nothing wrong* as to the *birth* of Her Baby; but the Infant could not have strength to assist *Her*, nor *she the Child*, to bring it forth with a few *strong pains*. All therefore was so lingering, that She was ill for *Fifty three hours*; and



though the child was born without *any assistance*, both were lost from total Exhaustion. Its a cruel, sad reflection! Doctor Crofts, I am certain, did all *for the best*, and with the best intentions; but He must be sadly *Neglectfull*, and dreadfully obstinate, not to have allowed Charlotte to consult any of Her old Medical attendants as to what was right for Her constitution, *to do* or to avoid during Her Pregnancy. It is said to be His constant Practice where He attends, to make people promise implicit *Obedience* to *Himself*, without consulting any other Physician. This, my Dearest lady Harcourt, is the *real sad truth*. It is not my wish to hurt Doctor Crofts; but you will hear enough of it in the *world* . . .

"The Prince has behaved most nobly; for he is silent on this sad subject. . . ."

Princess Augusta to Lady Harcourt:—

"1817.

"... THE poor Prince of Coburg, from ignorance of what has really happened, says, 'He is sure all *has been done* that *could be done*;' and as *He* has already expressed *thanks* and *approbation* as far as *He knows* and *understands*, my Brother thinks it more *delicate* towards Him not to say anything upon the unfortunate Subject. Prince

Leopold intends to follow the Corpse from Claremont, and to be chief mourner at the Funeral. I own I think it a most dreadfull undertaking for His broken Heart; but at present nobody can prevent him from doing so.

"I hope you will pardon all these details; but you are so thoroughly interested about us all, that I thought you would be glad to hear what you might rely on for the truth. God bless you, my Dearest Lady Harcourt. Believe me ever

"Your most truly affectionate friend,

"AUGUSTA.

"Poor dear Charlotte took the Sacrament a very little while (I mean a few days) before Her Death; and She told Doctor Short that She was so thoroughly happy, She dreaded any change: it could *not* be for the *better*, and might be for the worse."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Wednesday, Nov. 19th, 1817.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—This is a most dreadful day. It is *true* that we *see* nothing of the last, sad Ceremony; but we hear carriages in numbers coming up the Hill, and every one

brings some attendant : so that its a dreary, heavy sound, which is sad & melancholy to the Ear, and most painfull to the Heart. . . .

"I have just seen the poor Prince of Cobourg. He begged to see Eliza and me together. Frederick went to the Lower lodge to fetch Him to the Queen ; and then He said He should be glad to see us. He appears very Calm ; but deeply and sincerely affected. He said to us, 'I am glad to see you ; but what *a sad change*.' I answered, 'Sad indeed ; but you made *her very happy*.' He *smiled*, and said, 'That is a great Comfort to my Mind.' Then He very soon turned to a sort of general conversation about Windsor Castle, and about all our different apartments ; and then, what was nearly oversetting me, He sighed deeply, and pointing to the fine, clear Sunshine, said, '*This puts me in mind of my happy Visit here in 1816 : my happy days lasted but a short time*.'

"Poor Man, it's really enough to move a stone to see what His real feelings are ; and yet what a wonderfull Command he has over himself. I hope in God His health will not suffer ; but I should fear He makes too great Exertions. He said He had never left Charlotte whilst alive, and therefore had followed the Corpse to the lower lodge, and to the *Grave* : and *thus* He felt She had *never been neglected by Him*. He spoke of Her Mind being very sincere & steady upon Re-

ligious Subjects ; and of its being a very great comfort *to reflect upon now and for ever*. I was pleased with the expression ; and am only very fearfull how He will stand the dreadfull ceremony of to Night : and the first going back to Claremont, where He will not even find Her remains. . . .

"Thursday Morning. — Thus far I wrote yesterday, my Dearest Lady Harcourt ; almost by scraps, as I was interrupted so continually, and really I was not alone for five Minutes. I saw good *Doctor Short*, who had expressed a particular wish to see *me* ; it was a visit most interesting and comforting to my Heart. He spoke of poor Charlotte like a tender Parent ; and said that Lady Ilchester's description of Her Character was the *real true and just one* ; that there was a *fund* of good seeds, which lay dormant because they were not called into action. Every day She was improving Her *faith very strong* and very *sincere*. . . .

"The rest of yesterday was horrible. We had a most dreadfull Evening ; but I contrived to get out of the Queen's room just to hear the *last Bell* for poor dear Charlotte, that I might have the comfort of repeating, whilst it was sounding, '*God rest Her Soul in Peace*.' It really was a relief to me to do so. My Brothers and the Duke of Gloucester, who were the only company we saw that



whole day, came to us after the Funeral was over. They were all excessively affected, and told us how feelingly, but manfully, poor Leopold had behaved throughout the whole sad ceremony. He asked permission of the Dean, through Doctor Short, that He might go down into the Vault after the Funeral was over. He did so when the Church was cleared: during which time He retired to the Dean's House; then He was accompanied by the Dean and Doctor Short, and they all three went down. After He had been there five minutes, He begged the Gentlemen to withdraw; & He staid near ten minutes alone. And when He came out of the Vault He was much *calmer*; and then proceeded to the *Lower lodge*, when He got into His Coach, and drove back to Claremont with Doctor Short. Poor man, He is Sadly grieved; but I trust that the Religious turn of His mind will in time soften His present woe. He very wisely intends going on with all the improvements at Claremont which He had planned with Charlotte. It will be an occupation, and a healthful employment.

"I understand after a little while He means to borrow our House at Weymouth, to be near *the Sea*. It will be a total change of Scene, and a very quiet place, where He can get a great deal of Exercise; but He has not yet named it to the Queen. Nothing can be more thoroughly amiable

than *He is*; and it must be a constant Comfort to Him, that though His happiness was of short duration, it was perfect; and that Charlotte was daily improving by His good Precepts and good Advice. She could *not be better* prepared to die than when she said, upon hearing Her Child was dead, '*It is the will of God, and I Submit.*' No prayers could convey more Devotion and Resignation; and these words will ever be a very great comfort to my mind. . . ."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Windsor Castle, Feb. 4th, 1819.

"INDEED, my Dearest Lady Harcourt, . . . whatever Sensations may be created by recent sorrow, they never can obliterate the deep gratitude that I feel to the best of Mothers for Her constant affection, and very marked kindness *to me*; particularly in Her remembrance of me in making me the Possessor of Sweet Frogmore, where *I have passed so many happy hours*, and where I hope to live to pass many more. Our business has got on tolerably well; Gen<sup>l</sup> Taylor means to propose to the Prince to have a public auction of the Queen's Jewells, *Books*, and other Effects. Lord Arden wishes it *also*; and the King having or-

dered it to be done so when His Mother died, they seem to think it a proper measure. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"*Windsor Castle, Feb. 16th, 1819.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—My Sisters, Mary and Sophia, and also Eliza, have desired me to Select some Remembrance for you from our beloved Mother's trinkets; and we all think nothing can be more valuable to yourself than the Snuff box<sup>y</sup> left to Her by the late Lord Harcourt. We know what your affection was for *Her*; and that Her friendship for you never altered from the moment that She once had professed it for you. And we are certain you will love it for Her sake, for She really loved you.

"Ever, my Dearest lady Harcourt,

"Your very truly affectionate,

"AUGUSTA."

From Princess Augusta :—

"*Jan. 25th, 1820.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—You will believe me when I say that, rent as my Heart is

<sup>y</sup> Now at Nuneham.

by the melancholy Event which has taken place in our afflicted family, it is a consolation to my feelings to write to you. You have ever been so very kind to me, that I feel *quite* at *ease* when either conversing with, or writing to you. Then I must tell you all I have gone through for the last Week; it will help to make me shed Tears, and it will do me good.

"On 16th of January, I received a message from Sir David Dundas, to tell me He was come on purpose from London to speak to me upon particular business. He then came to my room, and related that the Dutchess of Kent was greatly alarmed about Dear Edward; and that She had sent an express to desire Dundas would go down immediately to Sidmouth. I said that I grieved at my Brother's illness; but it struck me, as a matter of Duty, to state that as Sir David was called upon to take His usual routine of Attendance upon the King, We ought to *send* some other Person of whose Skill He was confident; and that I would answer for the measure being approved of. He immediately said He would write to Dr. Maton, who was a very first rate Man as a Physician, very discreet, and at the same time very *bold*; both of which qualities were very necessary with such sort of Colds as poor Edward's always were. On Tuesday I received a letter, telling me that Edward was not



aware that the Dutchess had sent for other advice; *but that Her opinion* was He was *very ill*.

"She wrote to me again on Thursday, and said, 'Nous sommes bien aise d'avoir le Docteur Maton il approuve de toutes que le bon Wilson a fait, mais, chere Princesse, croyez moi, que Votre frere est bien malade, et il ne peut pas supporter le moindre bruit sans *delire*.' I had no letter from Dr. Maton till Friday; when He wrote, I thought, a sad account, saying, 'That notwithstanding repeated blisters, bleedings, Cuppings, and Leeches, the fever and Inflammation returned every night at the same hour. I named it to the Doctors here, who said it was a very bad account; but what made me give up all hopes, was that Dr. Maton wrote to Dr. Baillie, and said He had continued Hicups, and that it was decidedly an Inflammation of the Diaphragm; which is the complaint Lady Mary Markham died off. . . .

"Saturday and Sunday's reports considerably worse; and yesterday we received the fatal conclusive letter to this sad Tragedy. Think, my Dearest Lady Harcourt, that yesterday *five* weeks he was here on His way to Sidmouth; so happy, with His excellent, good little Wife, and his lovely child; and within so short a time was perfectly *well—ill—and no more!* It's an awfull lesson, even to those who did not know Him; but it's a severe blow to those who loved Him *as I did*.

Thank God he was in some degree aware of His danger; for He said to General Moore, 'If I should not survive, if it should please the Almighty to take me, go *and give my love to all my Brothers and Sisters separately.*' This is a great consolation to us all: and must be so, particularly under some very distressing circumstances, which you know occurred a little while ago; but happy am I to say, all my Brothers went to inquire after Him, and He was delighted at it. I cannot be too thankfull that this was the case; knowing all their hearts to be so good, it will be a comfort to them as long as they live.

"... We are both better to-day, from having over General Moore, who was with poor Edward to the last, and who says everything was done that could be done; but that from the first moment Dr. Maton saw Him, He said it was as bad a case as ever He met with. And that *what we all built* upon, His Wonderfull *Natural Strength*, was the *greatest* Enemy, next to the disease, they had to contend with, as it made it the more difficult for their remedies to succeed. God knows what is for the best, and I hope I bow with Submission to this very severe trial; but when I think of His poor Miserable Wife, and His innocent, Fatherless Child, it really breaks my Heart.

"She has conducted Herself like an angel; and I am thankfull Dearest Leopold was with Her.

I long to hear of Her; but I fear we shall not for these ten days: it will be a sad meeting *to us both*. But She will be doubly Dear to me now; and indeed I loved Her sincerely before. She quite adored poor Edward; and they were truly blessed in each other. But what an irreparable loss He must be to Her!...

"Ever, my Dearest lady Harcourt,

"Your very truly affectionate,

"AUGUSTA."

From Princess Augusta:—

"Windsor Castle, Feb. 4th, 1820.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... We have been heavily laden with affliction; but we are very gratefull for the ease with which my beloved Father quitted this World for a better and a happier. In the midst of my sorrow (which you may suppose is both very great and very sincere) I cannot be too thankful for the blessing we have had as a *Private family*, in having had so good & *Excellent a Parent*....

"We have gone through very very great sorrows in *ten days*.... I have cried a great deal to-day, and feel relieved by it.... We have seen Frederick twice, and to-morrow William and the Dutchess of Clarence come for one night;

but *He* has been so very wretched with the loss of poor Edward, that He has not been able to bring Himself to come here. Augustus also has made us a most kind visit; in short, my Dearest lady Harcourt, nothing can exceed the affection and goodness of all our Dear Brothers to us. Thank God, the King<sup>z</sup> is better; but we have had a great flurry about His health, which I own to you I am by *no means easy* about. Nothing can be *beyond* His kindness; He has sent us the most affectionate messages; and all His proceedings, both *Private* and *Public*, do His *Head* and *Heart* such honour, that I am quite happy about Him. Indeed, indeed, I have so much to be *gratefull* for, that I *am ashamed when I feel selfish about those that are gone*....

"In all my own sorrow I cannot yet bear to think of that good, excellent Woman, the Dutchess of Kent, and all Her trials; they really are most grievous. She is the most pious, good, resigned little Creature it is possible to describe. She has Written to me once; and I received the letter from Her, and one from Adelaide, *Written together* from Kensington. Dearest William is so good hearted, that He has desired Adelaide to go to Kensington every day, as she is a comfort to the poor Widow; and Her sweet, gentle mind, is of great use to the Dutchess of Kent. It is

<sup>z</sup> George the Fourth.



a great delight to me to think that they can read the same *Prayers*, and *talk the same Mother tongue* together; it makes them such real friends and Comforts to each other. . . .

"I fear we cannot expect to be *any better* till after the sad Ceremonies, which I believe will all be *over* by the 16th of this *month*. I fancy poor Edward will be buried on the 12th; and the *beloved King* on the Tuesday after. It will be necessary for my Brother to go to the House of Lords as soon as possible; and, therefore, if *it can be* on *Thursday week*, it is what they wish. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"Feb. 8th, 1820.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I am going to ask you a favour, which I hope you will be able to comply with; it is that you will be so kind as to come to Frogmore *the day that I leave this Dear Old Castle*. I feel that I really *could not admit anybody* but *your Excellent self*, who *will bear with my Sorrow*. I promise that *I will not give way to unnecessary Grief*; but your Company and Affection will do me more good than anything else. I have a *great deal to do*, which will fully occupy my Mind, and *that* I shall certainly *attend to*; therefore, when I can sit Com-

fortably with *you in your Room* (which I will make as *warm* and convenient as I possibly can) I am sure in a few days I shall be myself again. I believe *Thursday*, the 18th, *will be the day*; but should it be the 17th, I will let you know it immediately.

"We think it *right* to *prove* that we have remained with pleasure at the Castle as long as it was our Dearest Duty to be there; but that Object *being gone*, we leave it as soon as the Sacred remains of our beloved Father are consigned to the grave. . . .

"God bless you, my Dearest Lady Harcourt.

"Ever your most truly affectionate,

"AUGUSTA."

"Hombourg, Sept. 10, 1821.

"... AT Wilhelmsbad the people were very curious to see *Eliza* and *me*; as they are so attached to the memory of the Landgravine Mary, a Princess of England. You may have heard that after Her youngest Son was born, Her Husband left Her for a long time. Nobody knew where He was gone to; when at last He wrote to His Wife, to say that, previous to His having married Her, He was attached to a Catholic Lady of very great family. That He had wanted to marry Her; but that She could not agree to it,

as He was a Protestant. She entreated Him to espouse the Catholick faith. He, being fearfull of His Country being offended, held out for a long time. Then He was sent for by King George the 2nd to Hanover, who settled the marriage with His Daughter. As soon as He left Hanover, He went to the lady, having previously written to inform Her of the King of England's intention that He should become His Son-in-law in a few weeks. This Lady shut the door upon Him, and forbad Him the House; but He then wrote to entreat that if He was ill, and really given over, She would come and *Shut His Eyes*; and that *He* would promise to do the same by Her, if She would permit it.

"Accordingly *one letter* passed to Seal this promise. From that hour they had no more interviews; but just after the Landgravine's Confinement, He was sent for by this Lady, who was dying. And on Her Death bed She asked Him whether He would become a Catholick, that their *Souls might be united* in Heaven; He *gave Consent* at that moment, and became a very violent *Bigot*. He then wrote to His Wife, who shortly after received a peremptory Command from King George the 2nd to return to England, and never to live with Her Husband again. She replied that it was Her Duty to remain in the situation in which it had pleased God to place Her; but that she would

make Her *own terms* for the sake of Her Sons, as they were brought up Protestants.

"She then applied for a Palace in the Country, to which she added greatly. It is now a very handsome House, in which there are apartments for any of the Princes, when they like to spend a few days there; it is near Wilhelmsbad; and we went to walk in the Gardens, which are Superb. We drank Tea in a beautifull grove on the Banks of the river; and the kind Landgrave, and His Wife and Sister, came and dined with us, which added much to our pleasure.

"... My happy days here, for the *present*, I am sorry to say, are drawing to a conclusion. I really have been so very Comfortable here, and so delighted to see Dear Eliza so perfectly and reasonably happy; but I shall leave Her with *less regret on that account*. I set off on the 14th; & in the course of Saturday Evening I shall be with my Sister<sup>a</sup>, who I long to see after an absence of 24 years.

"God bless you, my Dearest Lady Harcourt.

"Ever your most truly affectionate,

"AUGUSTA."

<sup>a</sup> The Princess Royal, Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg.



"Sept. 27, 1821.

"... I HAVE passed a very happy time at Louisbourg, which is a very fine Palace. My Sister's apartments are very beautifully situated in a fine Garden, and overlooking a fine country; they are prettily furnished, and are very comfortable. She leads a very pleasant, happy, rational life. She rises early, either goes up to Her Grand daughters at ten, or they come to Her with their masters, and stay together till twelve. Then, if any body wants particularly to see Her, or speak to Her, She admits them till near *one*, when She dines. She has a very delightfull Society, both of Ladies and Gentlemen. She occasionally invites the King's Ministers and the English Bureau to dinner. At half-past ten She retires to Her own room; if any body wishes to see Her upon business, they are admitted then. Eight months in the year She drives out after dinner, and generally alone. At Seven o'Clock She goes into the Drawing room, where she has three or four Tables for the different amusements of the Company, Work, Cards, and Music. Here we have had little dancing Parties, impromptu, for the little Princesses; very interesting, from the excessive innocence and happiness of all the young party, and the *extasies* of the Parents and Elderly people, and of the *adopted Aunt*; for I was quite the

*Aunt* of the two little darling Girls. The last dances were two quadrilles, and an English country dance; and I hope that my Sister will give one *regular ball* to the Dear Children before I leave Her. We are very comfortable, and very happy here; and I shall ever look back to this week with very great pleasure. . . .

"I found my Sister very much altered at first; and had I not had Her picture previous to seeing Her, I should not have guessed it was Her. But she was at the Window of the *Inn* where I was *last* to change Horses. I flew up stairs to Her directly; and by degrees I have quite *retraced* Her features and Countenance. She is very large & bulky. Her face is very broad and fat, which makes Her features appear quite small and distended. But what strikes the most is, that from not wearing the least bit of Corset, Her Stomach and Her Hips are something quite extraordinary. Her face is *not at all old*; and though she commonly has to drive a foot's pace, she is very active in the House. She goes out every day, the whole winter through, in Her open Carriage; and generally by Herself, reading all the while. She is uncommonly chearfull; and I may say has every reason to be as perfectly happy as she appears to be. She is universally respected by the whole Country; and the good she does is incalculable. She walks sometimes; but as she

can only go a very slow pace, it chills Her in cold weather. She can always wrap up in the open carriage; therefore she never catches cold. Her little Grand daughters are a great subject of delight and interest to Her; and She does Her duty most thoroughly by them. . . ."

From Princess Augusta :—

"*Frogmore House, Dec. 9th, 1825.*

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . Adolphus I had a letter from yesterday. He is very much pleased with Mr. Harvey, the Preceptor the Bishop of London recommended for George; and the Dear Child has taken very much to Him. Adolphus says, 'The more I see of Mr. Harvey, the more I like Him;' which I am certain, my Dear lady Harcourt, will give you as much pleasure to hear as it does me. . . ."

From Princess Augusta to the Archbishop of York :—

"*Frogmore House, January 27th, 1826.*

"MY LORD,—I cannot express how truly Sensible I am of your very great kindness in thinking of me at the first moment of your severe affliction.

As to my sorrow with respect to the loss of my *Oldest*, and most *intimate* friend and kind *Admonisher*, you will best judge what it must be. Such a loss is irreparable! I shall ever look back with thankfulness and pride at having been one She singled out in the affectionate manner She did from my fifteenth year; and that I have possessed Her steady friendship for *two* and *Forty* years. It's a long and *faithfull* tie.

"It was a matter of great consolation to my mind, my Lord, when I heard of your being with Dearest lady Harcourt. I know that the seeing you, and Her conversing with you, would be the greatest happiness to Her; and, thank God, Her Dear dear understanding, & Patience, and Piety never forsook Her!

"I have, my lord, written to the King & my family in your name; and I am very certain there is *not one individual* who will *not lament Her*, and most Sincerely too.

"I trust that you will not suffer by all you have gone through since you arrived in London; and that Miss *Vernon's* health is not the worse for the sad scene she has witnessed. What a blessing that you are together at this moment.

"Believe me, my lord,

"Your most faithfull friend,

"AUGUSTA."



From Princess Augusta to the Archbishop of York :—

*"Bagshot Park, February 12th, 1826.*

"MY LORD,—You will perceive by the date of this letter that I was not at home when your most kind *letter* reached Frogmore; it arrived here to-day.

"It is impossible to say what my Heart felt, and does feel, for the contents of the enclosure,—The truly kind and affectionate remembrance of Dearest Lady Harcourt expressed to my Sisters and myself! We *all loved and respected* Her; nor can we ever expect *to see Her like again!* It is gratifying to our feelings that She names the *number of years* our uninterrupted friendship existed; and indeed it was as *Sincere* as it was *long* in years.

"You are so good as to ask in what manner you should deliver the valuable legacies of your Dear *Sister* to my Sisters and myself. I should esteem it a favour if you would bring it to me at St. James's Palace, when I am in London. And as Mary will be there sooner than myself, would you be so kind as to deliver those articles destined for the Queen of Wurtemberg, and the Landgravine of Hesse, to Her at Gloucester House; as she will send them by the Messenger probably before I reach London.

"I am very Sensible, my lord, of the manner in which you express yourself with regard to my first letter to you upon the melancholy occasion. It was written when I was so very much stunned with the suddenness of the blow, that I hardly knew the extent of my own loss. Every day brings Dear lady Harcourt to my mind, as it *ever* did; but formerly it was with the *anticipated* pleasure of seeing Her, or the *hope* of having that blessing. All is over! but the *Memory* of *Her*, and of Her Dear affection, kindness, and good advice, are Engraven on my Heart; and I thank God that I had such a friend spared to me for so many years.

"I hope Lady Anne and all your family are quite well.

"Believe me, my lord,

"Your very sincere friend,

"AUGUSTA."

From Princess Augusta to the Archbishop of York :—

*"Frogmore House, March 17th, 1826.*

"MY LORD,—I have this moment received the enclosed letter from the Queen Dowager<sup>b</sup> of Wurtemberg, who desires me to send it immediately. I am sure you would be pleased to see the very

<sup>b</sup> Princess Royal of England.

feeling manner in which she speaks of our beloved Lady Harcourt's kindness to Herself and Her Sisters.

"Her Expression is,—'Dearest Augusta, lady Harcourt's recollection of me is engraven on my Heart. She was *kind to me* when I was young; and though *nine and twenty* years have separated us, she has ever been the same. I loved and respected Her always. I feel for you, Dearest Augusta; for I know how much attached She was in particular to *you*, and your *best friend*.'

"Indeed, my Lord, my Sister may *well say* that I have lost my best friend, whose Memory will ever live in my Heart.

"I beg you will remember me to Lady Anne; and believe me,

"My lord,

"Your very Sincere friend,

"AUGUSTA."

### Letters from Princess Elizabeth<sup>c</sup>.

The following is Lady Harcourt's note appended to a bundle of Letters from the Princess Elizabeth :—

<sup>c</sup> Born 1770; married 1818 Frederick Landgrave of Hesse Homburg; died 1840.

"THESE letters, which were written between August, 1791, & Jan<sup>y</sup>, 1819, may many of them not appear to any other person to be worth preserving; but to me they are valuable, from revealing past Events that were interesting, & still more from the proofs they contain of the Princess's affection. Her kindness to me was invariable. Once when I was ill, & confined to my House for 6 weeks, I received from her in that time 143 Letters; for she often wrote twice, & sometimes thrice in the day, if an opportunity of sending a Letter occur'd. She said her Letters might not be amusing, but they would serve to break the tediousness of a sick room, at a time when none of my family or friends were in town. Most of these Letters were immediately destroy'd; and so also were many others that it would have been imprudent to keep, as soon as I had read them. I find that I have now, upon looking over the remainder, 328 letters left."

A selection from the 328 Letters preserved by Lady Harcourt is now given.

To Lady Harcourt :—

"Windsor, 3 October, 1792.

"... ANYTHING so disgusting as the breakfast at Woodgate's inn, on the way from Weymouth,



I thank God I never saw before, and never wish to see again,—bad butter, Tea, Coffee, bread, &c.; nothing to touch but boil'd eggs, which were so hard that I could not eat them. So I returned to the carriage just as I got out, starved. However, having wisely followed Sir Francis Wronghead's ways, & had a large Plumb Cake put up as *Stowage for the Stomach*, I rejoiced much at the thought of seizing this when I got back to the Coach; but the moment I had prepared myself in Battle array, with a knife in my hand to begin the massacre, they told me it was for Mama, so my knife returned innocent to my Pocket.

"As I was not allow'd to eat, I determined, like a true woman, to talk. Lord Harcourt & you served as our constant topick; & we all agreed how sorry we were to have quitted you. When the conversation runs on the subject of those one truly loves, all unpleasant remembrances are at an end; so I forgot my hunger, & you served me as a Breakfast. I was then, you perceive, satisfied, & got through Salisbury, Andover, & Overton vastly well, & very much contented to get to Hartford Bridge, where our diner quite made up for our Breakfast; for I never eat a better anywhere. The Bottle went round as on board our dear Juno; & the first toast was to all our friends we had quitted, and then to the Juno; so that none were forgot: in short, our journey went off

as well as possible, & we arrived here at a quarter after six. But you may tell my good friend, Lord Harcourt, that we have not left the noise of Wind at Weymouth, for it has been louder here than I can express. However, I rely upon your Dutiful Affection as a Wife, to tell his Lordship this with all proper precaution, for fear that it might hurt him to think that I did not find Windsor *Paradise*.

"The evening of our arrival a good Dish of Coffee set us up; and we were able to have the Cardigans, Harringtons, & Lord Cathcart, and set down, *comme à l'ordinaire*, to Cards. P<sup>ss</sup> Royal (God bless her) went to Bed, though She slept the best part of the time in the Coach, so did my younger Sisters; but Augusta and me, the two *Irons* of the Family, had each our party. . . .

"Mama has ordered my younger Sisters to stay at home to-day, they cough so; but otherwise every body is well. We began going to Chaple this morning; it must be wholesome, it is so disagreeable. However, this is a life of trials, God knows it is, so I hope to be rewarded in the next. By the bye, I forgot to tell you that I had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing Her Grace of B——n, The Grace that invited you to visit her when you began your journey. She was driving her sisters in the open chaise; & made me one of those bewitching Curtsis that have so often

attracted the notice of your Lord. Her leg we saw at the back of her Phaeton; & I immediately rejoiced at having met Her, knowing what pleasure it would give L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt, who I am always happy to please. . . .

"Your Affectionate,  
"ELIZA."

"I inclose you a new Vocabulary, which has just come out."

"VOCABULARY OF FASHION."

<i>Vernacular Terms.</i>	<i>Fashionable Sense.</i>
Age . . . .	An infirmity nobody knows.
Conscience . . . .	Something to swear by.
Country . . . .	A place for Pigs and Poultry.
Day . . . .	Night.
Night . . . .	Day.
Debt . . . .	A necessary evil.
Dining . . . .	Keeping up appearances.
Dinner . . . .	Supper.
Dressed . . . .	Half naked.
London . . . .	The most delightful Place!
Lounging . . . .	Daily occupation.
Modest . . . .	Sheepish.
New . . . .	Delightful.
Pay . . . .	Only applied to Visits.
Prayers . . . .	The cant of Silly people.
Christianity . . . .	Having a pew at Church.
Time . . . .	Only applied to Music.

<i>Vernacular Terms.</i>	<i>Fashionable Sense.</i>
Protection . . . .	Keeping a Mistress.
Vice . . . .	Only applied to horses.
Undress . . . .	Complete clothing.
Scandal . . . .	Amusing conversation.
Work . . . .	A Vulgarism."

"July 8th, 1793.

"... I HEAR to-night that my Brothers are within Sixty yards of Valenciennes; & the nearer the advance, the more the danger. It makes one sick; but we must ever remember that there is a merciful & just Providence that watches over them: that is a great consolation; but, even so, I am in a terrible state of anxiety both of longing for & dreading news. Mama has such an uncommon share of fortitude, that she never allows herself to say a word. . . . We make it a rule never to talk about it. . . ."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"... WE have had two very pleasant parties besides Portsmouth, which were to the Great Lodge, & Clifdon; the last was really perfection; and I never was more truly thankful for amusement than that day. L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt would say that it



quite suited me; for there never was a moment in which we felt more thoroughly the comfort of private life than that day. We set out from home at a little before nine, without breakfast, to breakfast at Clifdon; but the King taking us a round about way, we never got there till twelve. When we reached it, we were most anxious for the good fare we expected, which (*entre nous*), owing to a mistake, we did not get till some time after our arrival. I began to think that we should have nothing; but Fortune proved kind, for the door opening, we all scrambled in as fast as possible; and the table, which was very well stored, was soon in a very naked condition. My eldest Brother was of the party; but to tell you the truth, not in *Spirits at all*; though mum's the word. . . .

"It is a mistake *my* living at court; it was certainly intended that I should have lived in the Country, & been a younger brother's Wife, for I do not understand *Court* quarrels; Kiss & make friends, should be one of the mottos for a Palace. . . .

"Your most aff<sup>te</sup>,

"CINDERELLA E.

"25th July, 1794."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"I WRITE this *quite* for yourself; for I should be very very much blamed, scolded, abused, &c. &c., if it was known that I had given you a hint of an intended scheme, which, if it happens at all, will happen within this fortnight, of setting out very early, & Surprizing you & your Caro Sposo. Had it been to any one but yourself, I would not have written a line; but my inside tells me that your Lord & Master would be too much fussed with this sudden journey & arrival without a line. Nothing prepared, he would cough, flurry, & make himself so nervous, that when your flight of birds had left you, he would not bear to hear of the foregoing morning. But, for God sake, do not appear prepared in the least; act your part *as you ought* to do; & don't get your affectionate friend into a *scrape*, for *Scrapes* will not do at present. . . .

". . . The horrid plot against the King's life came to my Ears; it has so harrassed my spirits & mind, that I never suffered more in my life than since that hour. How wonderfull, however, are the ways of Providence; & how truly thankfull should we be for its having brought this shocking scheme to light. God bless you again & again; name nothing of the first part of my Epistle, rather write to me on the latter Subject

as from yourself, without an appearance of having heard at all from me. Direct your letter this time to Miss Planta.

"Yrs affly,

"ELIZA.

"Sunday, Oct. 12th, 1794."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"I AM sure you will be anxious to know how we all are, my dear L<sup>y</sup> H., after yesterday's horrors. It is impossible to paint to you in any degree what we have gone through since our arrival in Town; but I trust in that all merciful Providence, who has saved our dear King in so wonderful a manner, that the great Crisis is now over.

"In going to the House, a bullet was shot throw the K<sup>s</sup> coach; which undoubtedly was intended to have penetrated else where. This is a most Shocking thought; however, thank God, it went harmlessly throw the Glass opposite, & shot out a round piece the size of a small bullet. Some of the Servants saw it fall. That not answering their wicked ends, they threw Stones several times at him; but he came home well, & perfectly composed. The Mob followed the Coach in an insolent manner, moaning and screaming,

'peace, no War,' 'give us bread,' 'Down with Pitt,' 'off with your Guards,' (which he was attended with to the house, I mean home).

"Every body is well to-day, though much agitated with thoughts of the Play; but I trust great care will be taken. More you shall hear from me when my mind is easier. God bless you; & believe me

"Yrs affly,

"E."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"... I AM much more comfortable about Mama, as she cried much yesterday, which she had never done while we remained in Town; for she always said, that did She let herself *once go*, She could never conduct herself as she ought. . . . My Sisters as well as myself are surprisingly well; but it has had so extraordinary an effect on *me*, that I, who naturally cry a great deal, have scarcely shed a tear. You may conceive what we all went through in going to the Play. A firm reliance on the goodness of that Providence which had so wonderfully watched over our beloved & good King's life, carried us throw it; but, now it is over, I trust in God never to be again in the agonies I felt during the whole of that day. It was indeed very horrid; & my poor ears I believe



will never get the better of the groans I heard on the Thursday in the Park, & my eyes of the sight of that Mob. However, we are told 'the ways of Providence are intricate & Wise,' so I do hope that out of evil comes good, & that from the severe & horrid alarm we have had, the King's life will now be in greater security in regard to Men's wicked attempts than ever.

"The King has shewn Fortitude, Resignation, Piety, & confidence in a Supreme Being, in the strongest manner possible; and has exhibited a Composure which has been quite awful, with an innocence of mind which has ever marked his Character. At night, when Mama wished him a good night, he said, 'I doubt not I shall sleep; & only wish the man to sleep as well who made the attack on me.' . . .

*"Windsor, Monday Evening,  
Nov. 2, 1795."*

Princess Elizabeth to Lord Harcourt:—

"... I CAN never thank you enough for having persuaded Mama to go to Strawberry Hill; it was a morning passed after my own heart. . . . Portraits, Miniatures, Japans, enamels, china, & a thousand other beautiful things start up to claim one's attention; but of all the things I ever

saw, what struck me the most, was that which I have heard you rave about, the famous Bell; which is really, in *my humble* opinion, the most wonderful piece of workmanship I ever saw. If my time would allow me, I could run on in raptures about everything; but I will not leave the subject without a few words concerning the owner of this curious & interesting mansion, whose pleasing manners thoroughly gained the whole company. We hope that he will not have suffered from his great civility to us; it pained me to think that we were the cause of his exerting himself as he did; but if he could know how much his attentions were felt, I am certain he would be pleased.

"... Mrs. Damer, whose engaging & enchanting manners must please everybody, did the honors. . . . She shines there greatly, from the number of beautiful things which are of her own performances; the Eagle done in Terra Cotta is charming, I could have stood hours to have studied it; in short, What is there not there? . . .

"I wish I could be housekeeper there for a Fortnight. In case of your hearing that Lord O. is in want of one, send to such a No., in such a place, near such a street, by such a Castle, in such a Lodge, you will find a discreet, steady young woman, who bears a tolerable good character, with the advantage of speaking a little

french, who will be willing to enter into such a Capacity; She is a single woman. I beg I may be most kindly remembered to dear Lady Harcourt; & beg you to believe me

"Y<sup>r</sup> Sincere friend,

"ELIZA.

"Wednesday, 5 July, 1795."

"Windsor, Friday, 29th July, 1796.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—I have promised the P. & Princess of Orange to inform you of their intention of visiting Oxford, in a Tour they are going to make of about ten days; & their wish is to begin with a visit to the amiable inhabitants of Nuneham, which (from knowing your constant goodness to us, & to every body) we all, K., Q., & Pss's. advised; for we were certain you would be happy to put them in a comfortable method of continuing their proposed journey.

"They desire me to say, that if it would not be inconvenient to *you & L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt*, they intend themselves the pleasure of Dining with you on Monday, & remaining that night with you; but they have such a dread of being troublesome, that they talk of quitting you the next morning for Oxford. We all assured them that we would answer for your hospitality; & that we were sure

you would wish them to remain the next night, after the fatigue of seeing quietly the antiquities & beautys of that magnificent City.

"The Prince of Orange entreats you will neither of you put yourselves the least out of your way; & if you will only order some servant to go about with them, it is all they desire, that they may not wander like Strangers about Oxford. These are actually his Words; & he begs that L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt will *promise* not to worry himself about him in any way what ever. . . . & believe me

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affly,

"ELIZA."

To Lord Harcourt :—

"... YOU may believe with what joy I seized my letter, & how grateful I felt to find my wishes granted, & that you had not forgot *one* who you must have long known is most thoroughly attached to you. This friendship or attachment, call it what you please, began at ten years old, & has increased with my years; & Sixteen years is a good growth,—'Widened with the bark.' You will laugh at this; but what will dear L<sup>y</sup> Harcourt say? will she not say I am very impudent to speak so openly? She can't be jealous; for I am not a dangerous object, when she considers I am a *Noli-me-tangere*. Alas, it is hard that



there is not a little more sincerity in the World; for what is the harm of unaffected & sincere friendship. But I must stop, & remember that though it is Sunday, I must not write a Sermon.

"... Putting all joke aside; let me tell you, that though you say it is a liberty you are taking, it is one that I wish you would take often, as your letters are particularly agreeable; & nobody possesses the 'Pen of a ready Writer' more than yourself. . . .

"Dinner is called; so I can only add my love to L<sup>y</sup> H., & flatter myself that you will ever believe me to be,

"My Lord,

"Yo<sup>r</sup> sincere & very attached Friend,

"ELIZA.

"*Sunday, 4th Dec., 1796.*"

To Lord Harcourt:—

"*Queen's Lodge, Nov. 12, 1797.*

"I HAVE just got some naughty lines upon the new peers; very good. In my next you shall have them; but remember, as King's Daughters are among the Honorable Women, I must not be named as the person who gave them. . . ."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"*20 Nov., 1802.*

"... WE have indeed reason, my dearest Lady Harcourt, to thank God for the fresh proof of his goodness in this horrible & abominable Conspiracy being found out. The K. has never named it to any body; but every body else talks of it. . . . The affair was discovered thus. A man was guilty of Felony; & in searching for that man, they entered a house, where they found Col. D—— & 29 other men. The moment the Bow Street runner appeared, one of the men dropped a *list*; which, thank God, was taken, as well as all their Papers. This atrocious deed was to have taken place on next Tuesday, when it is intended my Father should go to the House; & when they had dispatched Him, the intention was to enter the Queen's House, & make *mince meat* of us all. To attack the Tower, arm themselves; & then march to the Bank, open the Prisons, & turn all into anarchy & confusion."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"... MY Father is wonderfully well; quite astonishingly, considering *all* the various unpleasant things he has had upon his mind; but only such a pure mind as his could bear up in the manner

he does. God grant this anxious time may soon end, is my earnest prayer. I have had a good account of my Sister, which will make you happy. My Mother is well; & I remain, with kind compliments to Lord H.,

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affly,

"ELIZA. . . .

"26th Dec., 1803."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"... I FEAR the dear King's eyes are very little better, tho' He flatters Himself they are; & his anxiety to see, poor man, makes him try, I fear, many experiments which are not right. . . . You may believe what it is to us to see one who was so active, literally grope about; for too much light perfectly blinds him. He wears a shade over his eyes, which at times he throws back, & does not always attend to; but his resignation is really wonderful. At times it makes him low; but for the sake of his family he keeps up his spirits wonderfully, in the hope that when the operation is over, He may get perfectly well again. . . .

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affly,

"ELIZA.

"14th July, 1805."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"... The old Dss. of Weimar has acted with great courage. She remained in Her own country, & in her own Palace; & when the wretch, Bonaparte, arrived, she received Him there. Supposing who she was, he said, 'Ah, Madame Weimar,'—that is the way He has spoke to all people of birth in Germany,—& added, 'I chuse to dine alone.'

"After dinner He sent for her, & abused the K. & Q. of Prussia with the most horrid oaths, & the most dreadful language for a woman's ears; & then told her he intended to destroy the town of Weimar by fire. She let him have his whole *say out*, & then most nobly said, 'If you chuse to punish the Duke of Weimar's family for his belonging to the K. of Prussia, we must submit; but to punish his innocent subjects, who have had nothing to do with it, will only injure yourself;' & after representing it in this manner, She nearly fainted away; when she recovered, He promised her he would not burn the town, & would give counter orders.

"He then sent her away; & about two hours after, when his fury & rage were Subdued, he sent her word he would come & drink tea with her.



"He then talked of Vertu, Pictures, &c., & was very agreeable. . . .

"I ever am y<sup>r</sup> & L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt's very sincere  
& aff<sup>te</sup>,

"E.

"December 1st, 1806."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"I SHOULD have written to you yesterday had I had a moment; & to-day I am hardly myself from the horrors of the story of poor Ernest. . . . So premeditated a thing was never known; the wretch was an Italien. My Brother, by all accounts, has been mercifully preserved by the interference of a wise & good Providence, but sadly wounded: tho' Sir H. Halford & Mr. Home assure the King in their letters that there is no Danger as to his life; still we must feel very wretched till we hear another account. We live in such a state of constant anxiety, that upon my word, when I rise in the morning, I feel, 'what will happen before night?'

"The dear King bears up beyond anything I ever witnessed. The Queen is trying to get off the birthday; you love Her too well not to feel she is often unjustly blamed. Believe me, that tho' she does not shew Her feelings to

the world, . . . this history of to-day has frightened Her to a degree that is *not to be believed*; & She says she has a degree of horror upon her She never had before, which I am not at all surprized at; for after a servant has lived with one fourteen years, how would one suppose Him such a premeditated villain. . . .

"God bless you.

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affly,

"ELIZA. . . .

"May 31st, 1810."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"... WE have been, & are severely tried; yet I trust that God, who never has forsaken my beloved Father, will still stand by Him; yet the occasion of this sad illness is so different from every other, that I trust all who really love him will but give us time. Aggravating subjects have been the causes of his former illnesses; this one is owing to the overflowing of his heart for his youngest & dearest Child; a child who had never caused him a pang, & who he literally doated upon.

"All this is natural; & I fairly own to you, had it pleased the Almighty in his wisdom to have released our sweet Angel three weeks back,

I firmly believe this would never have happened.  
If I am presumptuous, *God forgive me.* . . .

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affy,

"ELIZA.

"Nov. 9th, 1810."

To Lady Harcourt:—

"... THE Doctors think that there is no amendment; which is wretchedness to us, tho' they are right in telling the truth. The day, however, has been quieter; . . . but the mind is a blank to surrounding objects; the only nourishment, jellies; all other eatables refused. We none of us dare think or look forwards, for every thing is so black; we do what we can to support ourselves; but, believe me, I see everything as I ought to see it, in fear & trembling, yet thoroughly trusting in God. . . .

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affy,

"ELIZA.

"July 18th, 1811."

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . The doctors think very very ill of the case, & give it a term which is a dagger in our hearts; yet we ought to be grateful that every thing has been *done that could*, & that he does not Suffer. They

say arguing is folly, he must not be teased; so what medicine is to be given, must be given by stealth, for it would be running hazard to force it. The going to Bed is dreadful; the day otherwise is quiet, always thinking the room full, & amused the whole day; they all say such a case was never seen or known before, for it is not the *common* kind of complaint; don't think me a fool, I cannot say the word, it is horror to me.

"Believe me y<sup>rs</sup> affy,

"ELIZA.

"You know not the comfort your Brother's letter was to my Mother.

"Oct. 11th, 1811."

"Oct. 24, 1811.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . The first Question the Council put to Sir Henry Halford and Dr. Robert Willis was, 'Do you think that by throwing buckets of water upon your patient's head he would be cured?'

"You may easily believe that they both answered these strange questions & proposals the same; that no regular bred Physician would venture such an expedient, particularly my Father being blind; & at his time of life they could not answer for the consequences. R. Willis quite



Shuddered at it when he told it us; which He would not have done, had not my Mother forced it out of him. . . ."

To Lady Harcourt :—

" . . . WE have had a pretty tolerable night, which is a great comfort; for indeed I live in agony, & always think & dread its ending suddenly with my Father; tho' his, I believe, is the only instance that would not cause me horror; for when well, no man's life was ever more perfect than his, & therefore constantly prepared to meet His God; otherwise, you well know my extreme wretchedness at the thought of such an end. . . .

"I fear you will find me very tiresome in my epistles, I so often go over the same ground; but really my head is so full, & my whole thoughts absorbed in this one subject, that it quite kills me. . . .

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affy,

"ELIZA.

"Nov. 16th, 1811."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"YOUR kind letter I have just received. All is going on quiet, thank God, here. My Mother

sees our beloved Invalid constantly when it is right; & all within doors is as comfortable as things can be under the present calamity, which of course must ever be a source of anxiety to us; but we must humbly submit, thank God for the good, & bear the bad with that humility & patience which Religion inspires.

"Without, I dread much noise & cabal from the folly of a certain female Relation, who has favoured my Mother with one of the most insolent epistles I ever read. I think, if she does not take care, She will get into an abominable scrape; that is Her own business, & not mine; but I own, as things are now, I wish peace & quiet; & am sorry that the imprudence of the Lady will occasion Her becoming a political Tool. . . .

"Y<sup>r</sup> affly,

"ELIZA.

"Nov. 22nd, 1812."

To Lady Harcourt :—

" . . . I AM ashamed to own that seeing a bit of the *Vertibre* of poor Charles the first, whose body was discovered yesterday, made me so sick that it did me up; one look was sufficient; the rest had it all explained, but I could not; The P. R., Ernest,

the Dean of course, Sir H. Halford, Mr. Stephenson, were at the opening of this valued relic. . . It was wonderful how much of it was perfect ; the form of the face, the back of the head, the hair clotted with blood, and the head laid down on to the throat in the Coffin. We are now reading, and looking into, every book that can give us insight into the matter. The delight of all ranks that the body is found is striking ; many particulars I have not time to give you now. . . .

"Y<sup>rs</sup> affly,

"E.

"April 20th, 1813."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"Oct. 14, 1814.

"... THO' we say little, my Father keeps our hearts & minds in a fever. True, He is well in bodily health, but that once perfect mind is just in the same unwell state ; not unhappy, thank God, but very wrong ; & the longer that lasts, the more improbable it is that he should recover, *impossible* no one dare say, for nothing is so with God ; but the conversation before the Council was very very indifferent, & has certainly left a nervousness, & an inclination to talk, that we have not had of late ; but Dr. Robert Willis assures me, as well as John Willis, it is of no consequence, & that He is

perfectly happy in himself, most likely never so happy, for he has no cares, enjoys his music, his company, the army, &c.

"Yesterday evening Sophy and I went to Charlotte's, where we had music, which is always an amusement to me ; but much as I love it, I every day think myself fortunate in not having made myself a performer, for I see that it leads people to be so enthusiastic, that it is quite unpleasant, & tho' a great accomplishment, it draws you into such very unpleasant Society, that I am of opinion that it may become a dangerous passion, particularly so in high rank. . . ."

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—... Yesterday was my day for going to Chapel. You may believe I was happy to be alone there, for it was a day of trial to one's feelings, & whilst my heart was full, & uplifted to God for every blessing for my Father, I recalled four years ago, when the day Shone bright, & the whole Country rejoicing in the Jubilee, with the finest weather that ever was seen. Yesterday the weather accorded with the day, very *grey* ; but while the prayer was reading, the Sun shone so finely, that I could not help thinking of God's peculiar goodness in supporting us as He has mercifully done through this dreadful trial, giving us the blessing of knowing, that, tho' in a most melancholy State for *us*,



yet a happy one for himself; for they all say he is without a care when He is not approaching a paroxysm, & that, thank God, is so seldom, that it is astonishing. . . .

"Most sincerely do I rejoice both at the Archbishop's seeing one of his Sons<sup>d</sup> settled, & besides that, the young man's choice is so excellent a one, for I firmly believe that there cannot possibly be better or more highly principled young people than those Daughters<sup>e</sup> of Mr. Eyre, & that I must own is far more preferable than talents, which is the fashionable mania, tho' none admires the latter more than I do. . . .

"Now God bless you.

"Believe me aff<sup>ly</sup> y<sup>rs</sup>,

"E. R. .

"Oct. 20th, 1814."

TO LADY HARCOURT :—

"... YOU will be pleased to hear that we have had an addition of two young *beaux* to our society this evening; & for fear you should tremble for the consequences, as one is a near relation of yours, & who is very handsome, I let you into the secret, that the Madre invited from L<sup>y</sup> Har-

<sup>d</sup> Granville, seventh son of Archbishop Harcourt.

<sup>e</sup> One daughter married Lord Manvers, the other married Granville Vernon.

ington's room, your nephew Vernon<sup>f</sup>, & young Steward. Vernon is the most lovely creature I ever beheld, & delighted me by his sweet, modest, diffident manner; the other, the most extraordinary Boy I ever saw, a perfect, finished Gentleman. Conceive of his walking up the room, making a bow as perfectly as if he were an old courtier, & kissing the Queen's hand; the other approached, bowed, put out his hand, but his courage failed him. I never saw any thing more striking than the difference of the two; but with me your Nephew earned it hollow, & for beauty not to be compared, he really is lovely. . . .

"Aff<sup>y</sup> yours,

"YOU GUESS WHO.

"Nov. 20th, 1814."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"Saturday night, going to Bed.

"... THINK, my beloved Lady H., how things are changed, that I now pray to the Almighty to leave this country; turn which way we will all appears gloom, & melancholy stares one full in the face. The prospect we have to look forward to in the Wife of him who should be our protector in future times, is so dreadful, that I had

<sup>f</sup> George Granville Vernon, eldest son of Archbishop Harcourt.

rather far chuse the Deserts of Arabia than all the amusements of London, or the delights of the Country in England. Do pray for me, & wish for us all to be gone. My much beloved Mother knows a little how sincerely we all wish to be gone, but a daughter who loves her as truly as I do, must feel the indelicacy of speaking too openly on a subject which separates one from her; but indeed, indeed it is most necessary. . . .

"... I fear every thing, nearly my own thought; but I trust in the mercy of God, who will with his mercy guard my conscience, & what I love almost best in the world, my Brother. If the world could know his perfections I should still be happy, but do get him to wish us all away. . . ."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"How little, my dearest Lady Harcourt, can one ever look forward to the morrow, after what has happened; what an awfull visitation, what a blow to the whole family, & to the nation! The hopes of all built upon this marriage, & the joy that all were expressing in the hopes of a Boy! to see that in the first instance frustrated by its being a still born child. At the moment, one blessed God for the safety of the Mother, & naturally felt that so young we might look forward to that disaster being repaired next year.

"We received this intelligence about one o'clock, & just after we had set down to dinner, at six, Gen. Taylor was asked *out*; our hearts misgave us, he sent out for Lady Ilchester, which gave us a moment for to be sure that something dreadful had happened; the moment he came in, my mother said, *I am sure it is over*, & he desired her to go upstairs.

"You may conceive that the horror, sorrow, & misery was far beyond *shew*, for it struck *the heart*, & no tear would fall after such a dreadful shock.

"You will agree with me it is one of the most melancholy & shocking lessons for all ages. So young, so happy, so sure that she was to be a mother, & so thoroughly contented with her lot, & not a little enjoying the thoughts of the high situation she was one day to fill; all at one solemn moment knocked of the head. It is indeed most tremendous, but it is the Lord's doing! & we must with great humility bow, & kiss the rod, & remember that the Lord giveth & the Lord Taketh away, & that all that proceeds from that Hand *is right*; & that He does all things for the best.

"Therefore, tho' at this moment we are bent down with sorrow, a time will come when we may see all this in a way which will prove more than ever the justness, goodness and mercy of God.



"Happy I am sure poor Charlotte is, & it must be a great source of consolation both to her Father & Husband, that the one can look back to his granting her to the man of her choice, & that the other can feel that the real happiness she has enjoyed on earth has been from the hour of her union to him; & that by his mild, gentle, amiable and affectionate conduct he was bringing her round, & that she certainly was improved. Her labour she bore with uncommon fortitude & firmness; and when she was told of the Death of the Child, she said it was the will of God, therefore she was in a pure state of mind to appear before her Maker, which was a great mercy; but I will add in confidence to you (tho' all I dare say well know it), that she had symptoms which the Surgeons perceived on opening her (as she was embalmed), and which proved that she would not have been long lived or healthy. It is a consoling thought that she is out of all suffering. . . .

"Yrs Affly.

"Nov. 11th, 1817."

To Lady Harcourt :—

"WITH a broken heart I write to you, my very dearest Lady Harcourt, by the advice of my excellent Husband, to entreat you, & those that

are near my dearest & beloved Sisters, to let me know every thing concerning them; and if my adored Mother is still in existence. What a loss! what a blow to us all, & to the Nation! You have often heard me say, 'no one will thoroughly know the value of my Mother till they have lost her.'

"I am very unfit to write, but I have no one to assist me; & all my exertion will be necessary to bear up under my present trial. You, who know how I ever loved my Mother, may well conceive how very much I am afflicted. The blow *is deep*, & the sorrow rankles at my heart; I shall keep much to myself, & will do all I can to support myself, yet you must recollect that tho' the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak. Excuse this hasty note; the Prince is so kind as to take it to Frankfort to go by the post. He says he is sure you will be charitable, & forgive me. We both know that no one will feel more than yourself. My husband desires his kind compliments to you.

"Yrs affly,

"ELIZA.

"Sept. 9th, 1818, Hombourg."

"Hombourg, January 21st, 1821.

"YOU will be glad to hear, my dear Lady Harcourt, that I am got safe home to that dear & blessed home, which, if possible, becomes more valuable to me every hour. You may suppose that I enjoyed my five weeks with my Sister beyond words, & that my beloved Husband's absence was softened to me by her kindness; for no words can do justice to the friendship, affection, & attention of every sort that she shewed me. We literally were never asunder. I arrived the 12th of December, & staid with her till the 18th of this month. It was a great comfort to us both, as we had much to talk over. You would be enchanted to see my Sister so thoroughly alive to all that is passing of your side the water, quite as if she had left it yesterday. . . .

"I have so very many things to be thankful for, that I ever feel I cannot do too much to prove my feelings both towards God, & my excellent Husband. Tho' I lived in a degree of magnificence & splendour whilst with my Sister, I can with truth say that I was thoroughly happy to see my own dear little Hombourg again. . . .

"You would have enjoyed the Christmas eve, when my Sister gave all her presents. It was done quite *en Reine*, for there is not an inch about her which is not a Queen; & Mr. Cockburn,

the English Minister, calls her Charlotte the Magnificent. You would be in perfect extasies to see the Grandeur, Magnificence, Splendour, comfort, space, & perfect ease which reigns in that Court. There is no fuss; but that evening I was quite struck, thirteen tables filled, absolutely loaded, with gifts for us all. It would take up Volumes to state every thing; but the useful, ornamental, beautiful, elegant, all combined for each person. I literally was quite overcome by it. . . .

"Two eyes were not sufficient to see every thing one wished, there was so much to see; & the best idea I can give you of it is the Bazaar in the largest room in Soho Square. . . .

"We saw an extraordinary sight in the Drawing room; & being fearfull of fire, I said, 'Lord, what is that?' My Sister got up, & when she came to the room, there she found a Tree illuminated; which was prepared by her Grand Daughters for her, with a foot stool of Charlotte's work, who is the eldest; & a Cap of Pauline's work for Her; it really is very pretty to see the affection which reigns of all sides. . . .

"Yrs Affly,

"ELIZA."



To the Archbishop of York :—

*"Hombourg, Feb. 22nd, 1826.*

"MY LORD,— . . . It would grieve me to the heart could you suppose me so altered to *one* who must ever live in my heart & mind, not to try, however imperfectly, to express to you how severely I feel not only Yours, but our loss. We have all been so used to look up to Her, & to ask her excellent & unprejudiced advice, that I cannot say how I feel that the kind & friendly counsel of such a mind is gone. I loved Her very very sincerely from the time I was ten years old; & such an old friend is one of the strong links of the chain. Alas, as we lose our friends & find new ones, how very thin is the new link; one sees the join too strongly. Yet I am aware it is our duty to try & make friends, for without them one should be soon alone in the World; & I am convinced it never was God's will that we should thus stand alone.

"I feel all this doubly on behalf of my dear & excellent Sister, Augusta, who has really lost in dear Lady Harcourt what I am sensible She will never replace; & I feel it quite to my heart's *core*; for she writes broken hearted, tho' always with thorough submission to the will of God. That dear Lady Harcourt should have remembered us is most flattering; but what enhances

the value, is the kind, affectionate, warm hearted manner in which she has named us; that is beyond every thing.

"The copy you have sent of her codicil will ever be kept by me with gratitude; for believe me, however high I shall prize & value her *gift*, her *words have gone much deeper*; such a friend was of *all seasons*. She shared with us many an agonizing hour, & supported us under great trials & afflictions; & was ever the first to come forward to assist us when we most wanted a friend. You, my lord, cannot be ignorant of the kindness of your invaluable Sister to us; She was honest at the *core*. She is gone; but not dead to me, for in my mind & heart she will ever live.

"I am aware that many would express themselves much better; but I am really so flurried in writing through my tears, that I trust you will forgive me if I have omitted any thing which could prove my regard for one I so truly loved. With my best regards to Lady Ann & your Sister, who I fear will be sadly shook by this loss,

"I remain, My Lord,

"Your friend,

"ELIZA. . ."

### Letters from the Princess Mary.

Princess Mary<sup>s</sup>, to Lady Harcourt :—

"... LAST night the King had letters from Lord Elgin, & Brussels was all but taken, & the Court was flown. Our poor Queen is frightened to death, & I often think the King would say more, but will not, for fear of frightening her more.

"Some days ago the King & Queen had some thoughts of giving a Ball, to celebrate Augusta's birthday, but I do not think it will take place at present; indeed, I hope not, for I cannot bear to think that when we are happy, & enjoying ourselves as much as possible, at that very moment so many poor people are so unhappy, & in a dreadful situation, very likely in the warmest & strongest Engagement. In short, I am sure I should not enjoy it with half the pleasure I should some other time, therefore I trust it will be put off. . . .

"Give my love to Lord Harcourt, and believe me,

"Your affectionate

"MARY."

Princess Mary to Lady Harcourt :—

"Dec. the 2, 1810.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I have had no heart or spirits to write since Dr. John

<sup>s</sup> Born 1776, married the Duke of Gloucester 1816, died 1857.

Willis came, which I look upon as our last *resource*. My heart has been quite broke, for he is *decided he can* be of *no use*, as he finds no *mind* to work upon. The Prince, thank God, is much better, (notwithstanding the horrid reports the D. of Cumberland has been so kind to put about). He is recovering the use of the foot, and I hope will soon be able to move to Carlton House. The Queen has been twice over to see him on business, & both the *conversations* have gone off well. . . .

"Upon what grounds they go on, or how these arrangements are to be, I don't know; but I feel sure the Prince has no *will* but to make us all comfortable. I was surprised, *Entre nous*, to hear the Queen had expressed a wish to be put at once on the footing of Queen Dow<sup>r</sup>, at least so I understood the Prince, as she has *tried* to have an independent *income* from whatever is allowed the King. Upon that the Prince asked her if her object was to be Dow<sup>r</sup>, and her answer was, Yes. Of course this is quite for yourself, for the Q. has never named it to me. I suppose you will have heard that the Prince and D. of Cumberland are no longer such great friends, which every body that loves the Prince must rejoice at. . . .

"My dearest Lady Harcourt, I do *love* you *dearly*, and feel I want your advice upon Five hundred things. The poor King has been in



a dreadful state of irritation for some days passed, & nothing John Willis has said has the smallest effect. . . . He has determined to receive no nourishment, or take any food but from one particular Nurse, an indulgence that cannot be granted; and this has caused a constant irritation & violence for the last ten days, which the Doctors *must get the better of*, however painful to my feelings to say so; but it is *clear*, if they are not *masters* it never will do. . . ."

From Princess Mary to Lady Harcourt, on her intended marriage to the Duke of Gloucester, 1816 :—

"MY VERY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I found your most kind and aff<sup>te</sup> note on my table last night on my return from Windsor. I never could *doubt* all your kind feelings on hearing of my intended marriage; and I am unhappy I did not write myself to you, as I look upon you quite as a 2<sup>nd</sup> mother, & *respect* you as *such*; but the real truth is, that, though the Q. and Prince gave their consent on Saturday, & felt satisfied all was settled, I was not quite so myself untill last night. However, I *started* a subject to the D. of Gloucester that required a *very decided answer*, before I could make

my mind up to change *my intention*. I got a satisfactory answer last night through the D. of York, therefore I can *now* say we *completely understand each other*. When I see you I will explain this.

"I don't know what other people feel when going to be married, but as yet I have done nothing but cry. I have been half killed with the kindness of the Queen and all my Brothers & Sisters, and such a day as I passed at Windsor yesterday is more than I can describe. That dear Castle, that contains all I value in this world; that dear place, in which I have passed so many happy days; that spot in which my most *valuable* & respectable Father is *incircled*. That, Alass, I am not to receive his Blessing and approbation, with those of all the rest of my family, half kills me; and the idea of leaving that *House* at Moments half breaks my heart. But the D. of Gloucester has so kindly entered into all my feelings, so faithfully *promised* that I shall be as much with my family as possible, and is so convinced how it is in my power to do my duty as his wife, as well as to do my duty at Windsor (to a certain degree), that it makes me thank God.

"His house is so near, only 3 miles, as to admit of all this. . . .

"Yours aff<sup>t</sup>,

"MARY."

From Princess Mary to Lady Harcourt:—

"Jan. the 4, Windsor, 1819.

"MY beloved and kind Lady Harcourt cannot suppose, after all her kindness to me (I may say all my life), but more *particularly* for the last six months, that I could see her leave Windsor without real *sorrow & regret*. . . .

"The Friendship my beloved Mother ever had for you, *must & will* make me *cling* to you; and I hope, therefore, if I am in any distress, I may still be allowed to look for your *kind, aff<sup>te</sup> protection & advice* as a 2<sup>d</sup> Mother, now, alas, She is gone; but I will not make you or myself more melancholy than necessary. We got over the trial of the Church better than I expected; poor Augusta was really overwhelmed *at first*, but a walk afterwards calmed and composed her. . . .

"I trust your little companion *amused* you. How very kind it was of you to take her with you; but, if she was not shy, I am sure her questions and remarks must have amused you. Her delight at going in your chaise drove all tears away at parting with us, which was most fortunate. God bless you, dear Lady Harcourt.

"Y<sup>r</sup> aff<sup>te</sup>,

"MARY."

"... THE P. in his language is as violent as any *body* about the changes proposed at Windsor in Parliament. Being no politician, I don't understand any part of it; but in *good old times*, I well *remember* if the King held one language, & his Cabinet an other, His Majesty & his Ministers *separated*; & in my humble opinion, the King's *interest* & the Regent's are *one* & the *same*, & *never ought* to be *separated*. And all I can say is, if the Regent *feels* at *all* so *deeply* as he told me he *did*, I lament he cannot find people who will *come forward* & support the *Crown* better. . . .

"Munday.—My Sisters are wonderfully *supported*; of course very anxious & miserable at the number of old servants that must be *sufferers* (should all be carried that is proposed). Augusta is rather less *irritable* to-day & yesterday. Frederick wishes her to try & take it all as *cheerfully* as *she can*, and say as little about it all as possible. . . .

"The selling all the poor Q.'s things by Public Auction has been another sad pill to swallow. I really passed a very agreeable fortnight at Brighton. The P. all kindness, & the Dining room and music were both beautifull; but I was very happy to get back to my beloved Sisters, as I feel they want all the comfort I can give them, poor dears. . . ."



Princess Mary to Lady Harcourt, on the death of the King, Jan. 29, 1820; and the Duke of Kent, Jan. 23, 1820:—

“Feb. 5, 1820.

“MY BELOVED & KIND LADY HARCOURT,— I know all you have felt for us, & I have heard of all your aff<sup>n</sup> & kind inquiries after my sisters & self. The events of the last 10 days have so pressed upon us, that I still feel as if it was all a dream. I hope I am perfectly resigned to the Will of God, & patient to bear the heavy affliction it has pleased Him to inflict *us* with. My Sisters are all you could wish them; resigned, *reasonable*, & *sensible* in all their plans.

“Our first affliction was so very *unexpected*, that the blow was very great. All the circumstances belonging to it, in every point of view, made it a deep & *trying* tragedy; it is a warning never to rely on the *strength* of *Constitution*. The Duchess of Kent is to be pitied indeed; I saw her on her way up to Town, the picture of resignation & Piety. As to the loss of our venerable King, we ought all to have been prepared for that event; but one never *is* prepared for the loss of any one one *loves*, & the *Blow* was as great I am sure to all of us as if it had been an unexpected *Calamity*. The loss of such a father & such a King will long be felt.

“Thank God, he did not suffer; & for himself it is a *blessed change*, as his most *pure & virtuous* life (without presumption) we may venture to hope is meeting with its everlasting reward. We ever look back to every action of his most *precious* life *with comfort & admiration*.

“The present King's illness has given us all great anxiety; but I hope in God *now* all alarm *is over*, & that he will soon be restored to us. That he may follow the bright example before him, & keep up Morality & Religion as his good father did, is my constant prayer night & day. Pray excuse this horrid scrawl. I know how you feel for us all, & I write as fast as I can; as I am hardly out of either of my Sisters' rooms, trying to be of as much use as I can to them both.

“Augusta is much more composed than after the poor Q.'s death. Sophy's health, as far as things go, *has stood* it wonderfully; my doubts are how her delicate constitution will stand against all she has still to go through, & all the arrangements she has to make, & *lastly* the leaving the Castle.

“God Bless you; & believe me

“Ever y<sup>r</sup> aff<sup>te</sup>,

“MARY.”

Princess Mary to the Archbishop of York :—

*"Bagshot Park, Feb. 12th, 1826.*

"MY LORD,—I trust you have not looked upon my Silence as any want of feeling on the recent melancholy event that has taken place in your family, & that you have attributed my not writing to the *real cause*, fear of troubling you at a moment when I felt sure you must be overwhelmed with business. . . . Believe me, my Lord, I have sincerely & deeply deplored, and *felt* the loss you have sustained in your valuable, & ever to be lamented Sister, Lady Harcourt; & I am most anxious to hear that you have been mercifully supported under this trial. I am very sensible I *have* lost (& indeed may add all our family) the best & kindest friend I ever had, & *one* that cannot be replaced. I looked upon her quite as a second mother, as she ever showed me the warmest attachment, & proved it upon all & every occasion. . . .

Princess Mary to the Archbishop of York :—

*"Bagshot Park, Feb. 15th, 1826.*

"MY LORD,—I have to return you thanks for two most kind letters, and for the valuable copy

of the *Codicil*, which is worded in so flattering & gratifying a manner towards my sisters & myself. I can only repeat what I said in the letter I addressed to your Lordship on Sunday last, that I did not require any legacy to recall your dear departed Sister to my recollection. Her friendship, of so many years standing, began before I can remember anything, & strengthened with my youth, and ripened as years have rolled on.

"The full *value* of such a friend was not thrown away upon an ungrateful heart. Allow me to say that I should be most happy to see you, & look forward with pleasure to receiving you, any day after I come to Town that is convenient to your Lordship.

"The Duke desires his very kind regards, & I beg mine to lady Anne, & pray believe me very sincerely,

"Your Friend,

"MARY."

### Letters from the Princess Sophia.

Princess Sophia to Lady Harcourt :—

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I am sure what interests you most is, to hear how well the dear King is. He said but yesterday, how much better he felt now than he had for



months. These you will allow are joyful sounds to our Ears, for such a King, such a Man, and such a Father, I believe, there is not in the whole world. . . . I am quite for a quiet life, therefore shall make use of the little power I have to try to keep things right. Lady Charlotte Bruce & me are very civil, but very distant.

"Believe me, my Dearest Lady Harcourt, I shall ever remember with pleasure the last conversation we had together, & I shall do all I can to follow the good advice you gave me. We have already made acquaintance with Lady Buckingham; I think her very pleasant and good humoured, but I know as yet very little of her. Remember me most kindly to dear Lord Harcourt, & if you are not shocked, give him my best love. . . .

"Dear Prince of Wales arrived yesterday, & leaves us again on Tuesday; he is as charming as usual, and a great comfort to us. Dear Ernest is as kind to me as it is possible, rather a little imprudent at times, but when told of it never takes it ill.

"God bless you, My Dearest Lady Harcourt. Think of me sometimes, & remember you have not a better friend than

"Your affectionate Friend,

"SOPHIA.

"Weymouth, August 24, 1794."

Princess Sophia to Lady Harcourt:—

"MY VERY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . You will easily believe that our *private conversation* has often occurred to my mind; how happy I now am that I had courage to begin it, for the excessive kindness of y<sup>r</sup> manner has, I assure you, greatly soothed my distressed and unhappy days & hours. Be assured, dearest L<sup>y</sup> H., that I will do all in my power to prove I am not ungrateful for all your kind concern about me, by the prudence of my conduct; but you will allow, I am sure, that I require time to recover my Spirits, which have met with so severe a blow.

"I have no doubt that I was originally to blame, therefore I must hear patiently the *reports*, however unjust they are, as I have partially myself to thank for them; but, dearest L<sup>y</sup> H., when I reflect of the difference of y<sup>r</sup> behaviour & that of others, it shows me how *insincere* the generality of this world are, & how one ought to *value* & revere a *true friend*, which is most justly stiled, '*the most precious Jewel in life.*' It is grievous to think what a little trifle will *slur a young woman's character for ever.* I do not complain, I submit patiently, & promise to strive to regain mine, which, however imprudent I have been, has I assure you been injured unjustly.

"Forgive, dearest Ly H., my having kept you so long on this subject; but you are all goodness, & y<sup>r</sup> indulgence induces me to open my heart. We all go to Town to-morrow till Friday, as the dear King must go to the *house* of Lords, & on Thursday must have his Council; only think how kind of them, they take us *all*, as they do not like to pass the 1<sup>st</sup> day of the New Year without having us *all* together. . . .

"God bless you, dearest Ly Harcourt, continue your kindness towards, & love me a little, for I assure you no one feels your goodness more deeply than her who will ever be,

"Y<sup>r</sup> affectionate friend,

"SOPHIA.

"Dec. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1800."

From Princess Sophia :—

"Saturday, July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1801.

"MY DEAREST LADY HARCOURT,—You will have great reason to say that your friend, *neatest, sweetest, & completest*, is not as good as her word; having promised long ere this to write to you, but having heard from Mary that she had troubled you with a letter last week, I thought it better to defer mine a few days, in hopes of having something new to communicate.

"Thank God I can continue to give most fa-

vourable accounts of the best of Fathers; I find a daily improvement both in health & strength; he seems comfortable and happy here, & enjoys the Sea air and bathing amazingly. You may depend upon my accounts, for I watch him, dear Angel, very closely; & on this subject I am all alive, & frightened at every thing he does, lest it should hurt him; indeed, one may say that we never know the value of what we have, till we are upon the point of losing it. God knows this saying has been verified this year; for though I always adored my dear dear Father, yet his sore illness has endeared him to us beyond the power of expression; his health is *our only object*; life, indeed, would be a burthen to us poor Girls without him. A thousand kind loves to Lord Harcourt.

"Your affectionate friend,

"SOPHIA."

From Princess Sophia to the Archbishop of York :—

"February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1826, K. P.

"MY LORD,—I cannot refrain from troubling you with these few lines, expressive of the gratification I have received in the kind and affectionate recollection of your dear Sister, so feelingly transmitted to paper by her hand. I trust I need



not assure you that the remembrance of our dearest Lady Harcourt could never be effaced from my heart; yet I do confess that her *wish* of my sisters & myself receiving some marks of her regard . . . has pleased and gratified us beyond words.

"I have only to regret my absence from home at the time your Lordship was so obliging as to call here; as it would have afforded me sincere pleasure to have personally assured you of the affection I had borne dearest L<sup>y</sup> Harcourt, & that the recollection of her kindness will never be obliterated from the heart of one towards whom she was invariably the same.

"Allow me to assure you of these sentiments; & I beg you will believe me

"Your Lordship's Sincere friend,

"SOPHY."

### Letters from the Princess Amelia.

Princess Amelia<sup>b</sup> to Lady Harcourt:—

"*New year's Day, 1 Jan., 1804.*  
*Queen's House, Windsor.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—You will rejoice to hear dear Papa & Mama are well. . . .

<sup>b</sup> Born 1783; died 1810.

As to myself I certainly proceed towards my recovery slowly & surely; w<sup>ch</sup> is, I hope, more likely to be lasting than if it took place rapidly. The kindness I experience is very very great; *deeply* felt, but not easily expressed. Indeed, my dear L<sup>y</sup> Harcourt, volumes would not contain all I *feel*; & when I had *used* all the words that the English Language contains, to express Gratitude & affection, it would neither do justice to my *feelings*, nor satisfy them. God knows my heart is gratefully devoted to my family. I possess the greatest of blessings, kind Parents & Sisters. But where one feels most, it makes one silent; & the generality of mankind will think me a *brute*, I know.

"Allow me to wish you & Lord Harcourt the usual compliments of the season, a happy return of the New year; & I must add, I hope this time next year we shall find this country has happily weathered the storm which still threatens it. I am a little superstitious. The Sun *Shone* this morning: a good omen; & particularly as it now seldom happens.

"Our dear King, who is our Sheet Anchor, & whom we look up to next to heaven, is well. If he is preserved to us, I think we must do well. Providence has never forsaken him; & I hope I don't presume too much in putting my firm trust in *Him*, & relying on Him not to withdraw,

in the hour of apparent *need*, that protection our dear Good father has so wonderfully experienced on many occasions.

"Adieu. Believe me ever, my dear L<sup>y</sup> H., with kind remembrance to L<sup>d</sup> H.,

"Yours very sincerely,

"AMELIA."

From Princess Amelia :—

"MY DEAR L<sup>y</sup> HARCOURT,—You & I have had so many conversations upon the subject of a *little Girl*<sup>1</sup>, that I should feel myself to blame did I not communicate to *you* the enclosed letter; which will explain better than I can *all* I had to say upon the subject. You must not own to Augustus I *now write*, or that you have received this letter; but I thought it would prepare you for what you *are* to *expect*.

"I have written to Augustus to advise his now writing to you. The idea he had concerning M<sup>rs</sup>. Walker will not do in any way; as, besides living here, her health would not admit of her paying that attention to the child she must require. If you propose M<sup>rs</sup>. Williams, don't you think for two years she had better keep the child with her entirely, away from *all* her connections;

<sup>1</sup> Augusta d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Sussex, and Lady Augusta Murray (d'Ameland).

& when Masters are required, If the allowance is sufficient, she might bring them up, & have a Lodging with them at *Kensington*?

"I shall inform Mama I have done this; but you will have the goodness to take no notice of it.

"Since writing the above, I have seen the Queen, who approves of what I have *done*.

"I have desired Augustus to write to you himself, & to inform you of his plans & ideas; as every thing in such a case must be thoroughly settled, that nothing unpleasant may occur.

"Whoever has the child must be thoroughly *au fait* of every circumstance; & payment, &c. must be regular. The boy<sup>k</sup> will be sent elsewhere.

"God bless you, my dear L<sup>y</sup> H.

"Ever your aff<sup>te</sup> friend,

"AMELIA.

"*Sunday*.—The little L<sup>y</sup> was only seven *years* old *yes*<sup>l</sup>; therefore Masters are not necessary yet. You may be sure she has been educated with very *high ideas*."

<sup>k</sup> Afterwards Sir Augustus d'Este.



### Letters from William Henry, Duke of Gloucester.

From William Henry, Duke of Gloucester,  
to Lady Harcourt :—

*"June 16th, 1789.*

"MADAM,—I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Anson receives his commission as Ensign in my regiment this day. I am very happy to have had it so soon in my power to have obeyed your commands. I saw the King a few days since; and, thank God, found him in most excellent health and Spirits. He goes to Lyndhurst the end of the next week. I hope he will pass some time there before he goes on to Weymouth. He talks of seeing Mount Edgecumbe. I hope he will not confine his Tour to the west, as I am convinced travelling and dissipation by Society is all he wants to secure his health, and the comfort of all his subjects and attached friends.

"I desire my compliments to Lord Harcourt.

"Remaining, Madam,

"Yours, &c.,

"WILLIAM HENRY!"

<sup>1</sup> Brother to George the Third.

From William Henry, Duke of Gloucester,  
to Lord Harcourt :—

*"April 7th.*

"MY LORD,—I think it fair to inform you that I received, yesterday evening, a message of thanks through my daughter, for having consented to Mr. W.'s returning to the Society of Gloucester House. My answer was, I was very sure Lord Harcourt understood me quite differently, as I had very explicitly said I would not object to Mr. W.'s coming to the Dss. when she was alone, but that I insisted upon his not appearing before my Children. As my reasons are fully known to you, my Lord, I will not trouble you any more upon this subject.

"I remain, my Lord, yours,

"WILLIAM HENRY."

### Letters from Maria, Duchess of Gloucester.

THE letters that follow are from Maria, Duchess of Gloucester, an account of whom is to be found on page 234 of the third volume of these papers.

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Nuneham :—

“*Rome, October 5, 1776.*

“DEAR LADY NUNEHAM,—Your letter of July 17 is of so old a date, that I should not pretend to answer any thing in it, were it not to lament your being so much out of Spirits; but as that letter was wrote three months ago, I will hope that you are better; that your Summer has been more agreeable than your Winter was; and that the approaching winter may be quite *the thing*. Our Summer pass'd off much better than I expected; the immoderate heats were not of long continuance, the nights were always cool; nevertheless, I should be very sorry to pass another Summer in Italy; there is something so oppressive in the kind of heat, that it makes me miserable, & it is a most misbecoming climate; I should never advise young women to travel to Italy for their looks, the air is so relaxing that old age comes on very quickly, & the young women do not look well in the Summer. The Miss Gores were in our neighbourhood, & although very pretty Girls in cool weather, I cannot say the warmth improved 'em. Lord Cowper marry'd the youngest, who was quite a Child, & by all that I hear she remains a Child. She is very anxious to go to England. Perhaps, if he carries her there, she may become a great acquisition to the bon-

ton; but, as that noble Society want no addition, I think he had best keep her at Florence.

“Yesterday morning a woman hanged herself; she was jealous of her husband. It would have been more Italian to have stab'd the rival. Travellers tell us that Suicide is only practised in England, but since I commenced traveller, I have found more things than that to be travelling Puffs.

“*The* Mr. James is now at Rome. He says he is ill; he should know, but I doubt if he has any malady but ennui. How much he is to be pity'd! he finds nothing at Rome to assist him, so he is going to Naples. I hope he will Succeed there, for I have no joy in the company of people who are tired of themselves.

“The King of Sweden's brother comes next Wednesday; he is well spoken of in the places he has been. The *Countess of Bristol* promises her appearance at Rome the middle of next month, & also promises to end her days here. She must change her religion if she means to be received; I rather think she will finish her wonderful Story by becoming Saint Elizabeth.

“I presume this winter in London will begin early! I am glad I am not there, since, if this is *not* a turbulent winter, all spirit must be departed from England,—*mais nous verrons*.

“The Duke is now very well, so are the Children. My Boy is the Surprise of all Rome, for



he is not nine months old till tuesday sennight, & he looks and *acts* like a Child of two years; I say *acts*, because, you may believe *me*, that his understanding is already Prodigious, & shews itself in every action. As I am *im-partial* I may be credited; I think that his being born at Rome will be of singular service to the rising generation, as several Ladies have follow'd his fashion in dress, & some new born babes are now stretching and enjoying their limbs at Liberty, who, but for William, would be bound up like mummies.

"I hear that Lady Warwick is very handsome, & that her Lord admires her much; therefore Lady Gower may moderate her wrath for being accused of Match Making. She loves to make matches of *some sort or other*, as well as her Sister of Bedford. The exalted rank does not lessen the Sin in Lady Gower, the greater because *She* pretends to be religious. Hypocrisy is not in the catalogue of the Duchess of Bedford's Vices.

"Operas are against all Ideas of religion, excepting in the time of the Carnival; therefore, to cheat the Devil, they exhibit puppet Shows Sung by the Opera Singers; the Operas, the Musick, & the Singers, the same as at the theatres, but upon the Stage you only see puppets now. Can you conceive anything more absurd?

"The Duke orders me to give his compliments

to you & Lord Nuneham. My compliments to him is unnecessary, for he knows how much I love him. Adieu, my dear Madam.

"Believe me I am ever most truly yours,

"MARIA."

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Harcourt :—

"July 18th, 1784.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I have not heard any thing of a long time which has given me so much pleasure, as the news you were so good as to write me the 5<sup>th</sup> instant; being a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen is a situation you will very much like, & for which you are by much the properest person I know. The Queen will soon find the comfort of having a woman of real fashion in her Family, a woman who is so different from any she has about her now; that I hope, for the Queen's sake, they will *all* take lessons of behaviour from you. She must particularly feel the difference between you & the Saucy Duchess whose place you supply.

"I fear my dear Girls will have been out of Town when you went up for your presentation. They were to go at that time to the Pavillions, were only to return for their Nephew's Christening, and then go to Hackwood. I hope they

will be able to pay their respects to you in September; I suppose you did not wish me joy of my new nephew, because the Match was not made according to the strict rules of delicacy. I do not love running away, particularly when there is so little provocation, for I suppose a few months waiting would have brought all parties to the same mind; but, when a Girl has that sort of genius, I think it a great blessing for the family when she falls desperately in love with a man of her own rank.

"The King of Sweden did not please at Paris at all; they found out that his taste is very different from what was imagined: *à propos* of that, have you read Voltaire's Memoirs? he treats the King of Prussia so cruelly in them, that he has been sick with vexation; if one could pity him, it would be upon this occasion, as he certainly did not deserve to be abused by Voltaire.

"We are languishing for rain; the drought is dreadful, for we are choked with dust, altho' close to the Lake.

"The Duke orders me to tell you how much he approves of the Queen's choice, & how much he rejoices in it as a thing that will give you pleasure.

"I am, my dear Lady Harcourt,

"Affectionately yours,

"MARIA."

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Harcourt:—

"Geneva, Sept. 5th, 1786.

"'AND from that day, Herod and Pontius Pilate were made friends,' so I suppose it is with you & the Marlboroughs. The cause somewhat better than the cause of the reconciliation between the Governor of Judea & the Tetrach of Galilee.

"I very much approved of the time that was taken for the Honor done to you, my dear Lady Harcourt; nothing could be better than a Publick Tour to such a place as Oxford, just after the frightful attempt, for frightful it is, when one considers that it all turn'd upon the mad woman taking up a blunt knife instead of a pointed one; as it has ended, it is not an unlucky event, as it has proved how very much the king is beloved, and has done him immortal honor from his Conduct thro' the whole transaction. One thing I think has been omitted; there should have been a day of thanksgiving, a prayer was not enough, that is added to the Service after the birth of every Child, which, altho' a blessing, is not to be looked upon as an uncommon favour. The Jews held a Synagogue in particular from their sense of the blessing, & in so doing, set an example worth following.



"Old as the marriage of Lord Corke is, I must touch upon it, as I differ with you as to the virtue of the Lady being proved by the event. Men are easily flatter'd; & when a woman of Quality *condescends* to interrupt the happiness of a man and his wife, she lays a great stress upon her disinterested conduct; and he is easily persuaded that her Love must be all for himself, as she gives up every hope of future settlement, & has no prospect but a blasée character at last; of course, *he* is most happy when the *Impertinent Wife* is removed, to give him an opportunity of rewarding such unbounded Love; as soon as the marriage ceremony is past, the disinterested Mistress becomes the interested Wife, and of course all Illusion vanishes.

"Did you bear the death of the King of Prussia with becoming fortitude? A Winding Sheet is now all that remains 'to the great Saladin;' I refer to Saladin of the East, not Saladin of Geneva, who is not *quite* so great a man as either of the two I have mentioned; but to the full as fortunate, for he has marry'd an Egerton.

"I prophesied that Lord Cowper would be disappointed with England, & so he is, for he is now posting back to Florence. I wish he had not accepted of that trumpery Bavarian Order, for he is really a very good sort of man, & I believe never was out of humour in his life. Sr Abraham & Ly

Home are here; how I do wonder that people who seem so sensible of all their Home bred comforts, can forsake them, for they appear too happy to have any latent reason; I am sure they have no *hidden* griefs to make publick, by travelling from one dirty Inn to another.

"Give my love to Lord Harcourt, & tell him that my Sophia is deep in Madame de Sevigny's letters, and I think *he* would be satisfy'd with her upon the subject.

"Adieu, my dear Countess. I hope you will do me the Justice to believe me unalterably & affectionately yours,

"MARIA."

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Harcourt :—

"Geneva, July 28th, 1778.

"... GENEVA has been very agreeable the last fortnight, for the D<sup>ss</sup> de Bourbon came here in her way to the Glaciers, but liked us so well, that she staid as long as she could with us, which, Alas! was but one fortnight. She is a delightful woman, & is *really* as much accomplished as all Princesses are *said* to be; for she sings & dances as if both were her profession, & I hear the same of her painting. You must forgive me if I rave about her, for the affection she took for

Sophia would be enough to make me see all she does thro' the brightest medium.

"... Lady Anne Lindsey's luck, has indeed been prodigious! I do not wish for her fortune, but I would not be sorry if some rich man would take it into his head that I had treated him cruelly enough to merit £50,000 in his Will. The ignorant part of the World gave the Duke more than that sum, because Mr. Pitt has put his Stipend from Parliament upon the same Fund the Duke of Cumberland's always was; who of course has constantly received his income quarterly, whilst the Duke only got his when there was money in that fund to pay it.

"The Wilberforce Family dine with us to-day, and as I am rather fond of Mr. Wilberforce, I must go & make my Toilette with more than usual care.

"I remain, my dear Lady Harcourt,

"Ever most Sincerely & affectionately yours,

"MARIA."

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Harcourt:—

"*Naples, February 27th, 1787.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— Altho' you have not answer'd my letter of September 5,

I must write to you again to tell you how very happy I am at *the visit* my daughter made the first of this month, and how very much she expresses herself obliged to you for your attention to her in proposing to accompany her there the first time; as such a friend as you was very necessary on such an occasion.

"She was agreeably surprised at the ease she found there; which must always be the case where good sense and good nature, and the highest style of good breeding are united, which is Thoroughly so at our Queen's House! I have now been out of my own Country very near *Five Years*; & have in that time seen and heard enough to be quite certain that ours is the *only* Court now existing. I am also of opinion that ours is the only Climate fit to live in; for this Divine Climate of Naples, where Chimneys are not built because they are supposed never to be wanted, has been so cold these last five days that I cannot sit a yard from the fire; & now my fingers are so cold, that I can scarcely hold my pen.

"If we ever do return to England, I think you will reckon Sophia much grown; I am now not without hopes that she will be tall. William, they flatter me, is very like his Cousin, the Duke of York.

"... If you wish to know what amusements I have had here, I refer you to Lord Harcourt,



who had a Large Pacquet full of my pleasures by the last Post.

"My dear Lady Harcourt, I remain,

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"MARIA."

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Harcourt :—

*"Rome, April 16th, 1787.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—... The satisfaction you express in seeing your friend at the Queen's House, added to what you say of having contributed to it by your taking all occasions to praise her, increases and confirms my obligations to you. My daughter deserves all that can be said of her; but she is fortunate to have found a friend who is willing to do her Justice where it is so very desireable.

"She is truly grateful for the kindness of the reception from both the K. & Q., and all the Princesses; and feels most happy in partaking of a Society so perfectly estimable, with people who, as she says, are so totally untainted with any of the vices of the fashionable world.

"As you have forwarded one of my Children with the best of Women, I hope you will continue the good work; and whenever you can, talk to her of my Sophia. How happy I should

be; & if that dear Child was known to the Queen & her Cousins. If she had that Society, she would want few others; but I wish the Q. to hear what an angel of a girl she is before she sees her.

"I too well know that, young as she is, she has enemies who describe her very differently from what she deserves; for was Justice done her, she would have a character of uncommon goodness, as well as cleverness. As a child she was passionate; but who is perfect? Those who should have concealed her childish faults, published them, *I suppose*, from a Love of Truth; but the same passion for truth has not drove them to tell that with her Childish dress, she put off her Childish faults.

"... I know I am troublesome about my Children to those who will listen to me; but it is of such consequence to young people to be received by the world with proper impressions, that I am anxious to have those impressions given by the good and Virtuous; but I will bore you no more. God knows when I shall be so happy as to see you in England.

"... I wish that my other daughters were more in the way of seeing you; they are indeed very happy women. I believe few mothers can boast of five such Children of her own, & three such sons in Law.

"They and my grand children make almost Niobe's number; & I am afraid I am as vain as she was. I am very glad that Lady Pembroke has any thing to make her happy; it has been long coming. The old boy, her husband, is exposing himself at Paris; it is pity when 55 *will* shew itself in the *person* so contrary to the Inclination.

"I am, my dear lady Harcourt,  
 "Most affectionately and unalterably yours,  
 "M."

The Duchess of Gloucester to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Pavillions, August 11th, 1802.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I was very certain that Lord Harcourt and you would enter into my affliction with that sympathy wherewith you have ever joined with me in my Joys & sorrows. I am grateful to Heaven for suffering my dear Child<sup>m</sup> to return to her own Country, and die amongst her friends. When she left Jamaica, I did not flatter myself that she would reach England alive; therefore, to have folded her once more to my Heart was a blessing as unexpected as pleasing. I then, as we all do, thought one favor promised *more*, and directly laid plans for

<sup>m</sup> Lady Horatia Seymour.

her recovery; that is, for her languishing upon a bed of sickness for *our* gratification. But that Redeemer in whom she trusted was kinder to her, and took her from a state of misery to everlasting Bliss. She had her senses perfect to the last moment; and to the last breath called upon Jesus Christ to plead for her to the Almighty, & to relieve her from her misery. Her prayers were heard; and she is now rejoicing that she 'Remembered her Creator from the days of her youth.'

"God's goodness to my daughter was always great, & so continued to the last; for it was a merciful dispensation of Providence, that her dear little Boy only fell sick the day his angel Mother died; so that she had that anxiety spared her; and now she has him with her. And I have the satisfaction of knowing that every thing was done for him that could have been done by herself; which she is sensible of—

'If saints for Pilgrims here  
 Concerned can be.'

"My Sophia left me yesterday to return to Weymouth, which I am very glad of; for her dear, tender heart has felt *so* much, that I feared for her, and wished her again to enter the world; and T.T. M.M., and those dear Princesses are all so very good to her, that I am happy to have her once more with them. As I mean this letter



for you both, to both of you will I subscribe myself the

"Much obliged and affectionate friend,  
"MARIA."

Written by the Duchess of Gloucester, and copied with her permission by Lord Harcourt :—

"As according to Mr. W——'s definition of Christianity, I am only a *nominal* Christian myself, I do not pretend to the right of prying into the conduct of others, in order to censure & condemn it; I find the care of my own Salvation sufficient employment for all my Sundays. I was taught from my Infancy to respect the Sabbath-day; but I was not taught to look upon it as a day of 'lamentation & woe.' Yet I neither give or receive entertainments upon the Lord's day; nor do I pass the time between morning & evening Church in idle visiting.

"In the winter I never go out on Sundays, except to Church; but, in the Summer, I always drive out when the Evening is fine, that I may enjoy the heart-felt satisfaction of seeing those happy, who have no other day on which to glorify their Maker, by rejoicing in the works of His Creation. I never Sup; but, as I am not a Jew, I breakfast and dine upon the Sabbath as on

common days; for, as there are Prayers four times a day in all the Churches in London, I am confident that no servant, who really wishes to go to Church, will be kept away by his daily services at home; & compulsion will never promote Religion.

"My servants see by my conduct, & hear by my conversation what I think is proper; & if example does not avail, remonstrance never will.

"*Since added.*

"I am afraid I wrote this in rather a peevish humour. It was written in the year 1798, at a time when very many pious persons were so anxious to send all the lower class of People to Heaven, that they determined not to leave them any cause to wish to remain upon Earth,—no, not even upon the Lord's Day."

### Letters from William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester.

William Frederick", Duke of Gloucester, to Lord Harcourt :—

"*Ashford, July 29th, 1799.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—... We are preparing to receive the King in this County on the 1st of

" Son of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and Maria Walpole; born 1776, died 1834.

August, when he is to be at Lord Romney's to review the Volunteers & Yeomanry of Kent; upon which occasion the Lord Lieutenant intends giving a Dinner to every person assembled: of which the Volunteers alone amount to 5,000.

"The sight will be a very fine one if the day is propitious; but I fear we shall have some confusion. Immediately after the Review I propose quitting this place & going to Town, to make my arrangements for Foreign Service; & I hope to pass a fortnight with my Family before I leave England, as I am appointed to a Command in that part of the Expedition that the Duke of York takes with him. . . ."

William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Paris, January 20, 1819.*

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—Unless the Duchess has happened to mention in conversation that all my letters that left London on the 1st of last month miscarried, you must think me the most extraordinary person in the World, in not having sooner offered to you my warmest acknowledgements for your most kind letter of the 9th, which has been following me from place to place, & did not reach me till very late last night.

"I now seize the first moment in my power, to express how obliged I feel to you, for the very comfortable account you are so good as to send me of the Duchess's<sup>o</sup> Health, which, thank God, has not suffered from all she has gone thro', and for the very affectionate and truly Friendly manner in which you have the goodness to speak of us both; I need not, I trust, say how gratifying it is to me, to receive such proofs of Interest and assurances of Regard from the intimate Friend of my beloved Mother, and who from my Infancy has been all kindness to me; & I hope you are well persuaded that both the Duchess & myself feel sensibly your kindness, & highly value it. If a sincere attachment to you gives us a claim, I think we may fairly say we are entitled to your Friendship.

"It will always be a great satisfaction to me, to have enabled my dearest Wife to perform her last duties by her mother<sup>p</sup>, (which she did in such an exemplary way,) & to have attended her during her long Illness; and it is particularly gratifying to me to think that by coming abroad, & leaving the Duchess with the poor Queen, I in any way contributed to her comfort. *Most deeply do I feel* for dear Princess Augusta & Princess Sophia, to whom the change will be great indeed. . . .

<sup>o</sup> Princess Mary, daughter of George III.

<sup>p</sup> Queen Charlotte.



### Letter from the Princess Sophia Matilda.

Princess Sophia Matilda to Lord Harcourt :—

" *Cowes, Sept. 29.*

"MY LORD,—You have, I am well assured, most sincerely sympathized with me in this my unlooked for Affliction, and the certainty that you revere the memory of my beloved, but alas! departed Mother, leads me to seek for consolation in conversing with one who did Justice to her *many* virtues during so many years. Believe me however, my dear Lord Harcourt, that I do not repine. I am certain that *whenever* the awful moment of our death happens, that it is at the *best* time for us. I reflect with Gratitude to the Almighty on the blessed End of her *well spent* & exemplary Life, and on the religious principles which she cultivated with such unabated fervour to the last instant of her Existence. Her *Piety* was so unaffected, so humble, so sincere. It was to this that she was indebted for the *heavenly composure* with which she received the communication of her extreme danger.

"How merciful was the Supreme disposer of all Events in this dispensation, to have taken her from this Earth without lengthened sufferings! those she endured lasted but Four Hours. The separ-

ation from my last surviving Parent, to me is *most bitter*: you know how tenderly we were cherished by both our Parents. Dr. Vaughan told me that the Two most Christian Deathbeds he had *Ever* witnessed, were those of my dearest Father & Mother.

"Both LY Harcourt & yourself will be happy to learn that my *dear* Brother & myself have already reaped Benefit from our stay in this retired spot; frequent Sails, & a total change of scene are of infinite Service, when the mind requires to be turned from the constant contemplation of melancholy subjects. You will have paid the Tax which Friendship levies by receiving *these* lines. They have *indeed* affected me much, but I know they will not be unwelcome at *Nuneham*.

"My Brother joins in every kind expression of Regard towards your Lordship & Lady Harcourt; &

"I am, most *faithfully* yours,

"SOPHIA MATILDA."

The following Correspondence reveals an unhappy state of relationship in the Duke of Gloucester's family. The Duchess appears to have been a high-tempered woman; she had much to try her, and her letters shew that she had a tender heart. It is evident

from the letters of the Princess Sophia Matilda, that the Duchesses failings by no means alienated her daughter's affections. A remark made in one of Queen Charlotte's letters is not less applicable to this case than to many others, namely, that those outside a family are unable to judge of what is best fitted to promote its happiness and concord. The way of the world is to magnify the evil, and to forget the good.

Mr. Vincent was gentleman in waiting on the Duke of Gloucester.

Mr. H. D. Vincent to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Gloucester House, July 15th, 1787.*

MADAM,—As your Ladyship is already informed of the business which brought me to England, & as I know you have a great regard for T.T. R.R. H.H. The Duke & Dutchess of Gloucester, your Ladyship cannot but be anxious to know what farther notice his Majesty has taken of the application made to him. I have the Honor of informing your Ladyship, therefore, that I attended at Windsor yesterday by his Majesty's order, & had the honour of an audience.

"The King began by telling me that he had

turned the affair in his mind ever since he had seen me, & that the more he thought of it, the more he found it difficult to make choice of a proper person. He then told me that he had heard of one person, spoken of as a Lady of great merit, well informed, well behaved, good tempered, & prudent.

"He then mentioned Miss Dee, Sister to Mr<sup>s</sup>. Johnstone, wife to the Commodore, a Lady brought up entirely in Portugal it seems. His Majesty said that he did not know her himself, but that those he had asked had thus spoken of her; he ordered me to make further enquiries about her, for he said he only mentioned her, but decided nothing.

"As I have not the Honor of knowing the Lady, I shall forbear making any observations; but if ever she should have fallen in your Ladyship's way, I flatter myself you will do me the favor of informing me what you know. By the name, I should imagine that her family originates on the other side the Tweed. I need not tell you that with *some people* this would be a considerable objection.

"I write to your Ladyship with freedom & confidence, & I trust what I write will rest with your Ladyship & Lord Harcourt. You see how disagreeably I am circumstanced, from the undecided manner in which the King has spoken.



"Your Ladyship's assistance & advice would be esteemed a singular favor by,

"Your Ladyship's most obed<sup>t</sup>, Hum<sup>ble</sup> Sert,  
"H. D. VINCENT.

"N.B.—The Lady, whoever she is, must be *presentable* in every fashionable Society, & at Court. I have heard nothing of Lord Waldegrave, so I conclude there was nothing improper in the letter. I beg my Comp<sup>ts</sup> to Lord Harcourt."

Lady Harcourt to Mr. Vincent :—

"*Nuneham, July the 18th, 1787.*

"SIR,—I received the favour of your letter yesterday, & shall be very happy if I can in any degree relieve the anxiety of mind your present embarrassing situation must naturally occasion, by the favourable account I can give you of Miss Dee.

"As far as I am capable of judging, I know no person who would be more likely to fill so difficult and important a charge as that of Governess to Princess Sophia, to the satisfaction of the Duke & Dutchess, & with credit to herself. I have nam'd the Dutchess, for I have so high an opinion of the Duke of Gloucester's principles, that I am very sure, notwithstanding the unfortunate coolness that at present subsists between his Royal Highness & the Dutchess, & though he may think it proper to take the education of the Princess out of her Hands,

& chuse to have his own orders implicitly obey'd, yet he would disapprove the conduct of any person, who, from a mistaken idea of paying Court to him, should instruct his Daughter to be deficient in the respect she ought to pay to her Mother.

"The situation of a Child between two Parents who do not live happily together, must be difficult & painfull, & a Woman who has some knowledge of the World, with good sense, & a good disposition, may not only be the means of assisting the Princess in guiding herself properly, but may in the end promote more general harmony in the family.

"To the qualities I have mentioned, Miss Dee joins a natural Cheerfulness, & a mind capable of strong attachment. She is a mistress of Musick, & speaks French, Italian, and Portuguese, as well as she does English. She had liv'd almost entirely in Portugal till about five years ago, when She accompany'd her Sister to England; at that period my acquaintance with her commenc'd, & I liked her so much, that I saw her as often as I could till General Johnstone's illness, & the more than sisterly attention she show'd him, oblig'd her to give up the World. While she lived in it she was in good Company, & generally liked, & her manners (though they may not have the highest finish of a very polish'd Court) are such as would make her presentable any where. With regard to

her Birth, I know nothing further, than that her Father was a Gentleman, & that her family kept the best Company in Portugal.

"I have mention'd every circumstance that I think capable of assisting you in forming a judgment of Miss Dee; but if you can find any means of being personally acquainted with her, you will better know how far she will answer his Majesty's wish of nominating a Lady who may meet with the Duke's approbation. I can only say, that no one will rejoice more than myself, if any plan can be found to promote (if not the happiness) at least the ease & comfort of the Duke & Dutchess of Gloucester, for I have that sincere attachment to them both, which their constant kindness gives them a right to expect from me.

"You may make yourself perfectly easy about the Dss's Letter to Lady Waldegrave, for I have reason to believe it contains nothing that would displease the Duke if he was to see it.

"I have written to you without reserve, but I have no objection to your making any use you may think proper of this Letter. The subject has made it necessary that it should be a long one, but I will now only add, that Lord Harcourt desires his Com<sup>ts</sup> to you, and that I have the honour to be, with great esteem

"Your faithfull, humble servant,

"E. HARCOURT."

Mr. H. D. Vincent to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Friday, July 20, 1787.*

"MADAM,—I am infinitely obliged to your Ladyship for the favor of your letter received yesterday; so perfect & satisfactory an account cannot but be very agreeable to His Royal Highness, & will certainly make him very anxious to have so proper a person put about the Princess Sophia.

"Another difficulty now remains, & I fear I must again trespass on your Ladyship's goodness to extricate me from it; this is, how to proceed in order to find out the Lady's mind,—whether she would be willing to receive such an office or not. I have not the least acquaintance with her, but I know she is very intimate with M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt; & as I know I shall see the Gen<sup>l</sup> to-day at the Levée, I have some thoughts of speaking to him upon the subject, & desire to be made acquainted with her through them. I am well aware that the proposition would come with more propriety, & more to the Duke's satisfaction, through the King; at the same time, I see no impropriety in sounding her upon the subject first.

"If your Ladyship thought proper to write to her, stating to her the honorable situation, & the



advantages she would derive from it, however frightened she might be at the difficulties she would encounter in such an office, it would certainly have great weight with her; & the proposition, if thought necessary, might afterwards come from his Majesty. If your Ladyship will let me know your opinion upon this, or inform me of any other plan you may think more eligible to adopt, you will confer a great obligation upon, Madam,

"Your Ladyship's Obed. Hum<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"H. D. VINCENT."

Copy of the King's note to Mr. Vincent:—

"UPON enquiry, Miss Dee is at Taplow with Mr. Johnston; but I have not been able to find out how Mr. Vincent can get acquainted with her. She is much known by M<sup>rs</sup>. Harcourt, therefore it is natural to suppose that Lady Harcourt must be acquainted with her. Mr. Vincent had best apply for information to Lady Harcourt, who may perhaps be able to put him in a method of making proper enquiries, & also assist him in finding out other persons for that delicate & difficult situation, should the person named either not suit, or not chuse the task."

Extract of a Letter from Miss Dee:—

"Aug. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1787.

"THE more I consider a certain business, the more I think myself right in what I did, in refusing to mix myself up in it. Nobody can think higher of the honor & glory of the thing than I do; but the fall from such a situation would consequently be as great; and as circumstances are, I do not imagine I could have held it long.

"I at first thought *the young person* was to be separated from the parents, by its being said that I was *to fetch* her; and to this moment I cannot make out what that could mean; if she were separated from them, one might very well give her the same ideas of love, duty, and respect, with regard to both parents; but to be all together, & positively to obey but one, I know not how it is to be done, unless they were of one mind. If their orders or opinions clashed, what could be done then? and for the universe I would not be the person to insinuate to the daughter that we were only to submit to the authority of the father.

"The mother would certainly look upon me with an evil eye; and the most profound respect and attention that I could shew to her, would never do away the idea that I came there to have

my opinions set up against hers; and I should be for ever on the fidget (as every one knows how they live together), for fear she should interpret any look of mine into disrespect to her, or to my presuming on the not being under her command; in short, I had no reason on earth, but the fear of not being able to do my duty by them all; and her being out of the question, must necessarily make the measure disagreeable to her, and, of course, too difficult for me to undertake; for as to taking part with one side against the other, I never would do it.

"A young person should be made to consider father and mother equally, untill they are able to judge for themselves; 'till then there is no medium, nor ought they even to suspect any variance or difference in opinion.

"You will say I am very tiresome; but I really wished to make you understand the principle on which I acted."

From Lord Harcourt to Lady Harcourt:—

"Aug. 25th, 1787.

"THE paragraph in one of the D. of G.'s letters, communicated by Mr. V., in which I was authorized, jointly with yourself, in case of his Ma-

jesty's declining to appoint a governess for Princess Sophia, to assist in finding out a proper person for that arduous and important office, induced me, in your absence, to speak to Miss Dee; for however averse I am to interfere in any business that does not very intimately concern me, there are cases and occasions in which it is the duty of an honest man not to remain in a state of indifference or inactivity; and surely this is one of them: for not only peace may be restored to a jarring family, but the future conduct & figure in life of the King's niece may, nay, must depend, as things are circumstanced, on the choice of a proper person capable of correcting wrong impressions, and of inspiring just ones.

"I have therefore had a long and unreserved conversation with Miss Dee, in which I have certainly 'nothing extenuated, nor set down aught in malice' respecting the peculiarities and the defects of one of the parties; & the result of this conversation has been, that Miss Dee is not *positively* determined to decline the offer that has been made to her, though she justly trembles at the difficulties that will unavoidably surround whoever may undertake this honourable task; nay, could she flatter herself with the hope of His Majesty's protection, I am persuaded that every objection on her part would quickly vanish.



"And I do not believe that she would so immediately have taken the alarm, had she not been told that a principal condition required, was the most absolute secrecy with respect to His Majesty's taking any share in the nomination of a governess; under which condition she thinks, & so do I likewise, that she could have no authority over the Princess, no respect from any body, nor the proper treatment it is required for her to receive from the D<sup>s</sup>, to enable her to fulfill the duties of the trust reposed in her.

"She willingly consents to receive all orders from the Duke, and from him alone; but she observes, with her usual conscientiousness & good sense, that the Princess, so far from being informed of this circumstance, ought to be made to believe that she acts with the mutual concurrence of both her parents, or she would be taught the fatal lesson of despising one or hating the other, when both have an equal claim on her dutiful deference and respect. Adieu.

"If the Eve<sup>s</sup> had not been so indifferent, I should have paid my duty on the Terrass to those to whom it is always my pleasure to pay it."

From Miss Dee:—

"Friday, 29th August, 1787, Taplow.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I was really happy to hear from you again, & return you a thousand thanks for your letter, and the very kind part you have taken in this affair; and whether it succeeds or not, I must ever say that both you & Lord Harcourt have done every thing in your power to make the situation as hon<sup>ble</sup>, respectable, & flattering to me as it could be made; I only fear that your partiality to me may raise expectations, & give a higher opinion of me than I deserve. . . .

"As to the young Lady forming her mind, I find is out of the question, *that is already done*; it is as much formed as most peoples at 18 or 20, & her person also, & her *dress*. That she should keep her mind to *herself* is, I fancy, what I am to aim at; & I really believe what the D—— wants, is a quiet, prudent person, that will *try* to do good; & so far I hope to succeed: for if good is not to be done, I certainly shall not do harm. . . ."

Miss Dee to Lady Harcourt:—

"1787.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . I shall certainly do all that you recommend when I begin

my career, & am infinitely obliged to you for telling me, & hope you will continue to do so; for my great embarrass is really that I know not what I am to do. As to being set against the D<sup>ss</sup>, I will not; very much the contrary. . . .

"The pity and compassion that is showed for me wou<sup>d</sup> make you die; & the hardships that I am to endure from the D<sup>ss</sup> & the P<sup>ss</sup> are to kill me; & I am to be confined most terribly, & ruined into the bargain; as the D<sup>ss</sup> will insist upon my always being dressed *en grande tenu*, tho' nobody is to see me, for I am never to appear. This is a specimen of the style of conversation held upon the occasion. . . .

"Nobody, however, will persuade me that the D<sup>ss</sup> is to cut off my head, or the P<sup>ss</sup> pull my Cap, till such time as I see them so disposed. . . ."

From Miss Dee:—

"1787.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I have the pleasure to tell you that I think I went thro' all my *evolutions* at the drawing room well; I was not frightened at all from being really ill at the moment I was spoken to, for I had stood near three hours, & I was quite overcome, so that all my ideas were to hold out till they had spoke to me; & when they came I felt it a relief, & that

I might then faint if I pleased at my *ease*. However, I did not faint, & I do not recollect that I did any thing wrong; each said five or six different things to me, so that it was a *little* conversation: & I therefore reckon it a good reception, for they spoke to me a *great deal* more than to some other Ladies that were presented before me; Madame Pinto said it was very good indeed.

"The Q. waited at least *half an hour* for me; & I heard her say that I cou'd not pass, & that she w<sup>d</sup> wait for me. I pretended neither to see or hear, but stood like a post with my back to her; for it was impossible for me to turn without jostling the K. I had been kicked from the place by the Fire, to the window in the corner at the side of the Throne where the K. was, & where I cou'd not stir; with my L<sup>d</sup> Stormont by my side, who observed that we were in a delicate situation.

"I might as well have gone alone, for I was cuffed away from Mad<sup>e</sup> P——; not being used to the place, & to run about like a rabbit as the others do, it was easier to push me about; & the more so, as by not being used to the hoop & its ballance, the least touch made me spin like a top directly. The whole surprised me; & as to a *Circle* as they call it, it is the only thing it bears no resemblance to; every one seems to have one



of their own, in which they may dance & twirl as they please. They said there were few people, & I thought it a perfect squeeze; but this might be from the confusion which Del Campo<sup>9</sup> told me was extraordinary that day.

"Every body wished me *joy*, to which I curtsied & received it; & then I had a torrent of pity & histories, to which I listened with great surprise, & said I knew less than any body, as I did not know the parties, & cou'd not till I saw them. It was comical to couple the joy with the compassion. I do hope they may be all out in their stories, just to vex their hearts out, which is certainly a very *pious* motive.

"The French Mad<sup>lle</sup> is arrived; very pretty indeed, & French smartness about her. I went to her this morn<sup>g</sup>, & saw L<sup>dy</sup> Granard & L<sup>dy</sup> Anne Rawdon; L<sup>dy</sup> Shaftsbury is not in Town, & Mad<sup>lle</sup> stays with L<sup>dy</sup> Granard till she comes; Lord Granard is very handsome. The talk now is all Peace; but at the Drawing room it was like an Army of red & blue Coats; the Q. was dazlingly fine in Diamonds, she was cover'd with them; I never saw any thing so gracious as her manner, & a sort of kindness & benevolence in her way that is remarkably peculiar. . . ."

<sup>9</sup> The Spanish Ambassador.

Mr. Vincent to Lady Harcourt:—

*"Geneva, September 10th, 1787.*

"MADAM,—I now think it proper to acquaint your Ladyship with what has passed since my arrival here on the 5th inst. The morning after, the Duke informed the Dutchess of the arrangements which had taken place in consequence of my journey to England; which Her R. H. has heard with great calmness & temper, & has hitherto shown no disposition to oppose the Duke in his plans for his children's education. Her R. H. did me the Honor likewise to receive me very graciously on my arrival; I hope in God this tranquillity may last, as I think it for the interest of all parts of the family that it should.

"As your Ladyship left it to the Duke to determine whether your name or Lord Harcourt's should appear in this business or not, His R. H., upon consideration, thinks it better that the Dutchess should not know that either you or his Lordship have been consulted upon the occasion; as it may have more weight with Her R. H. the idea of the appointment coming wholly & solely through the King.

"... The Duke is very sensible of your Ladyship's & Lord Harcourt's regard & attachment to him, & of your kindness to him in this affair. . . ."

From Miss Dee :—

“*Gloucester House, Nov. 12, 1787.*

“MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—I have the pleasure to inform you, that their R. H—ss's are all arrived safe & in perfect health; the Duke would really surprise you, for he has not the least appearance of ever having been an invalid, & I think never looked so well. Prince William is, I think, the picture of the Duke of York, & my Princess like the Princesses, something of P—Eliz—, very fine eyes, good complexion, & very lively; the Dutchess is very beautiful indeed, & as fine a figure. The Duke arrived at 11 last night, the Dutchess not till near three this morn<sup>g</sup>; & you may judge how completely we were all tired & worn out with waiting. We did not get to Bed till 4 this morn<sup>g</sup>, & I declare I have not yet recovered *my* fatigue.

“I came here to Dinner yesterday; most of the Ladies of the Dutchess's family came about 8 o'clock; but I did not go down to them till the Duke arrived, & had spoke to me; he came to my apartment immediately, & staid about half-an-hour or more, & then I went down with him. I thought I had no business down stairs till I saw the Duke or Dutchess; & I believe I was right, as he had not been a moment below before he came to me.

“I am so muzzy that I can say no more than that I beg my Compt<sup>s</sup> to my Lord.

“My Dr L<sup>dy</sup> Harcourt,

“Y<sup>rs</sup> truly,

“L. D.”

From Miss Dee :—

“*17th Nov. 1787.*

“MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,—You said you should long to hear from me again. . . . The Duke has been *exceedingly* gracious & kind to me, & so has the D—ss; & the Princess is very lively, & seems good humour'd; her education (in point of learning) has been extremely attended to, & I believe there are few of twenty that in these matters can be compared with her at 15; but I also see exactly what is wrong & what is wanting; but more of this when we meet.

“With respect to all the *Histories* we heard, all I can say is that hitherto I see *nothing* to make a story of *any where*. But I still continue of opinion that it is impossible for me to be of any use whatever; not but I think that for what is wanting (according to my opinion) I might do as well as any body; but as this is *in presence* of higher powers than mine, assuredly it is not my business to make my observations or to interfere. . . .”



From Miss Dee:—

"1st Dec. 1787.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . It is extremely good of you to tell me what you do, & I am very much flatter'd by the account you give me of how I stand here. As to the Ladies, I do believe it may be so; nor is it surprising, for I do not suppose it possible for a person to use another ill without a shadow of reason; & the D—ss can never have cause to frown upon me, nor can I clash with any of their ways or views, unless I was very *officious* indeed.

"There are things which ought to be alter'd, & which, tho' trifles, are of *great consequence*, in my opinion, to a young person of her rank; but then these very things appear much stronger before the father & mother than when she is alone with me. . . . She is very clever indeed, but she is fifteen; if she was 20, these little defects w<sup>d</sup> not appear so much. . . .

"As to the Duke, nothing can go beyond his attention & politeness; but whether I am in his good graces or not is much more difficult to know; he formed great hopes & expectations, in which he must be disappointed. . . .

"One thing, however, makes me easy, which is that he is always upon the spot, so that he sees and knows every thing; but he is that kind of well bred man, that I am certain if he did *dislike*

*me*, it would not alter his behaviour as long as I was under his roof, unless there was some great reason for it.

"The Duke went in state to the Drawing room last Thursday; & on Sunday he gave audience to all the foreign Ministers. Our first Assembly was last Wednesday; I believe I sh<sup>d</sup> call it public day, it was like any other assembly; & on Thursday was the first day at Cumberland House, & we went. It was like ours, only more people; but (*entre nous*) I know that *ma Princesse* & I are not to be jogging to these assemblies every time, which certainly w<sup>d</sup> be very wrong at her age, & I did venture to say so; but remember not to say a word of this to any soul.

"The Duke's Birth day we were dressed out, & Company came; the *Dutchess* among the rest, & Mrs. Fitz, & L<sup>dy</sup> Eliz. Foster. Last Sunday there was a Fête at Carlton House, I *believe* in Honor of this House; it was a concert & supper, & we were there till near three in the morning. *Every body* comes here except the D. of York, who goes to neither of the Houses. . . ."

From Miss Dee:—

"1787.

"MY DEAR LADY HARCOURT,— . . . The Ball on Monday was *finissimo*; the Dss. of Cum. brilliant in Jewels. The Prince, Duke & Dss. of

York, & Dukes of Clarence & Gloucester, were the Royalties. The Dss. looked so much better than that first day at Court, I cou'd scarce believe it the same person; she did not even look very little, nor so squeezey & puny; in short, she was almost pretty, & looked *elegant* in a gauze petticoat & blue body, & no Jewels, or feathers, or flowers.

"She danced with the P—— & duke of Cla——, but did not dance much; she dances very well & prettily. Her civility is most wonderful; in gestures & expressions she quite puts herself under your feet, a manner that seems most thankful even for being looked at. I enquired, & find it is the Berlin Ton to be so; it was not the affectation of being gracious, she did it well. People in general were not presented to her; but several were by the P., Duke of Y., &c.; & the Dss. of Cum—— presented Mrs. Fitz; both squeezed their fans, & talked for a few minutes, & that was all; so this was the *first* meeting. I did not stay supper; but heard she sat between the P. & the Duke of Bedford; it is curious that the first exhibition in the world sh<sup>d</sup> have been at the Dss. of Cums.; & N.B., *entre nous*, my two Ladies' visit has not *yet* been returned.

"The Margrave of Anspach was to see the King yesterday. Madame la Margrave\* has not

\* Lately Lady Craven.

yet come forth; but they are looking for some very grand House, when I hear they mean to make a grand crash *en Prince*; & many talk of whether she will or will not be received at Court. By the sort of talk I sh<sup>d</sup> conjecture they either have, or will make a push for it, to be received as *Margravine*; but I do not think it will do, for the Dss. of Wirtemberg is a case in point. The Duke even announced his marriage in form to the different Courts, & was not *answer'd*. She is not acknowledged in Germany as Dss. of W——g; & I sh<sup>d</sup> think the Margravine is in the same predicament. A good joke is that Lord Craven is not yet buried, the Body is not arrived yet. . . .

"I hear Lord Harcourt gets stout. My Love I must entrust you to give him; & even to tell him I prize him much, & accept it. I know this is hard upon you; but upon this occasion *il faut passer par la*; & you must nevertheless believe me

"Y<sup>rs</sup> ever,

"L. D.

"My P<sup>ss</sup> desires her Compt<sup>s</sup> to you & Lord H., & that she is extremely glad to hear he is so much better. I hear the K. & Q. &c. are to be at York House to-morrow morn<sup>g</sup>, to see the Parade."



## Hand Bill.

"WHEREAS his Majesty the King and Queen is expected to honour this ancient Corporation with their presents in this town to the Camp at Cocks Heath. In order to prevent them from meeting no impediments in his journey, the worshipful the Mayor and Bailiffs have thought proper that the following regulations shall be prohibited as follows:—

"Nobody must not have no dust, nor nothing in that shape before their doors nor Shops; and all wheel barrows, cabbage stalks, and other wheel carriages must be swept out of the streets.

"Any one who shall fail offending in any of these articles, shall be dealt with according to Law.

"J. JACOBS, *Mayor*.

"*Maidstone in Kent.*

"God save the King."

### Scarcity of Ideas, and a Plan for putting them in Requisition.

"AT a meeting in Downing Street yesterday, Mr. Pitt declared to several of his friends, that he found himself entirely destitute of any ideas to meet Parliament with,—for the purpose of finance, or peace, or war. It was held advisable to send to the Duke of Portland's office, and inquire if any were to be had there. The clerks returned for answer, that they were totally unprovided. The last two ideas left in the treasury had been sent by Mr. Cox to the Emperor on Saturday; which, it was confessed, should not have been done without the consent of Parliament, but that it was thought the safety of Germany depended upon it. Mr. Pitt then enquired if the right honourable Sylvester Douglas had brought any ideas with him when he so lately took his seat at the board; and was informed that the few he had were by accident packed up for the Cape of Good Hope, and had sailed with Lord Macartney. Lord Mornington declared upon his honour he had put his whole stock into a pamphlet three years ago; and Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning said they had lost all theirs, with a variety of speeches, and other light baggage, in a forced march to Paris.

Mr. Rose suggested a plan for putting ideas in requisition, which he had found very successful at a verdurers' meeting on the New-forest bill; and proposed, as the most intelligible mode, the plan of the new Cavalry act. Gentlemen who are supporters of the ministry, and of the war, might be classed according to the number of ideas they possessed, or were supposed to possess, respectively; ten in a class for instance, where each gentleman had only one idea apiece, and so in proportion, if any gentleman happened to possess more. That the gentleman on whom the ballot fell, should be bound to furnish one idea for the use of the State; the fitness of which should be judged of by the deputy lieutenants of the respective counties. When the whole return was complete, Mr. Dundas might be directed to put the ideas into a large decanter, and Mr. Pitt and he might pour them out, as existing circumstances might require.

"Sir William Young observed that such a ballot would fall very inconveniently upon many gentlemen, who might thereby be deprived of the only idea they had in the world.

"Sir Gregory Page Turner said he did not pretend to deny his having an idea; but he solemnly protested, if it were rejected by the lieutenants, he should not know which way to turn himself for a substitute.



"Sir James Marriott and Dr. Lawrance gave it as the opinion of the best publicists of the old school, that it might lead to a very unpleasant disclosure, in the case of acting justices and landed gentlemen in the country; and that it might affect the rights of corporations, most of whom had only ideas granted by ancient charters from the Crown; certainly not impaired by use, but still most important to be reserved entire and undiminished.

"Mr. Boyd offered the minister ideas dated Hamburgh, and said, on a very moderate discount they might be drawn in London and accepted by the Treasury.

"Mr. Pitt said he could rely on the candour of the majority of the House of Commons, for their adopting, in a time of scarcity of ideas, the same patriotic conduct they had shewn in the scarcity of bread-corn; namely, to be satisfied with ideas of an inferior quality. That it always gave him pain to distress the country gentlemen, as he felt this particular requisition necessarily would; but he had the satisfaction of adding, that very few ideas would be wanting, and those redeemable at a short date; seven or eight of any sort would enable him to make six speeches of three hours and a half each, which would carry on the session perfectly well till the Easter recess; and as the Secretary at War had kindly consented not to

expend any, he was under no difficulty but about the Admiralty.

"Mr. Pybus assured the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the board had done so well without ideas of late, that he need not give himself any concern upon their account.

"Mr. Pitt thanked Mr. Pybus very politely, and observed that in that case, without any violation of the appropriation paper, the Admiralty ideas might be put into the poor bill.

"The Duke of Dorset hoped that if the minister persisted in the plan of putting ideas in requisition, His Majesty's menial servants would be exempted.

"Mr. Pitt assured his Grace that he need be under no sort of anxiety, the case being perfectly analogous to the powder licence, as they were both a sort of poll tax.

"Mr. Pitt returned the gentlemen present a great many thanks for their obliging hints; told Mr. Rose to make a minute of the transactions, and to write a civil note to Alderman Curtis, requesting him to second the motion he should make on Tuesday, for leave to bring in a Bill for the better supplying His Majesty's ministers with Ideas in the present embarrassing posture of their affairs with the Public."



### Notice by Lord Aldborough.

"LORD ALDBOROUGH acquaints Mr. Dunn that he met yesterday a parcel of sheep on the Battin-glass road, which, from the brand, he concluded to be his property; but to his surprise was told by the drover they were Mr. Dunn's, and that A. stood for Andrew. Lord Aldborough therefore desires to know if Mr. Dunn has taken upon him to use such freedom with Nobility, or his Lordship's letter, as to mark but one letter, as if he was a Peer of the Realm, and *that* his christian name. If done through folly or inadvertancy, will, for this time, look it over; but must insist on his directly making a brand with A. D., else his Lordship will seize on, as his property, all sheep marked A. only, and perhaps be induced to complain to the House of Lords of a breach of privilege, which is very expensive and troublesome to the person complained of; which he wishes to prevent in time the necessity of, as he likes good neighbourhood without improper liberties.

"*Belan, Friday, 30th October, 1778.*"

### Singular Inscription.

THE following is literally taken from a sign in the vicinity of Reading:—

"BEARDS TAKEN OFF AND REGISTRED  
BY ISAC FACTOTUM,

*Barber, Peri-wig maker, Surgeon, Parish Clerk, School  
Master, Blacksmith and Manmidwife.*

"SHAVES for a penne, cuts hare for too pense, and oyld and powdird into the bargain. Young Ladys genteely edicated. Lamps lited by the hear or quarter. Young Gentleman also taut the Grammar Langwage in the neettest maner, and grate kear takin of their Morels and Spelin. Also Salme singin and horse Shewin by the real Maker. Likewise makes and mends all sorts of Butes and Shoes. Teches the Hoboy and Jewsharp. Cuts corns, bleds and blisters on the lowes Terms. Glisters and purgis at a penne apiece. Cow-tillions and other dances taut at home and abrode. Also deals holesale and retale perfumerry in all its branchis. Sells all sorts of stationary wair, together with blackin balls, red herrins, gingerbred, Coles, scrubbin brushes, treycle, mouce traps, and other sweet metes. Likewise Godfathers Cordiel,



red rutes, Tatoes, Sassages, and all other gardin-stuff.

"N.B. I teches joggrafy, and those outlandish kind of things. A Bawl on Wensdays and Fry-days. All performed, god willin, By me,

"ISAC FACTOTUM."

END OF VOL. VI.



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